

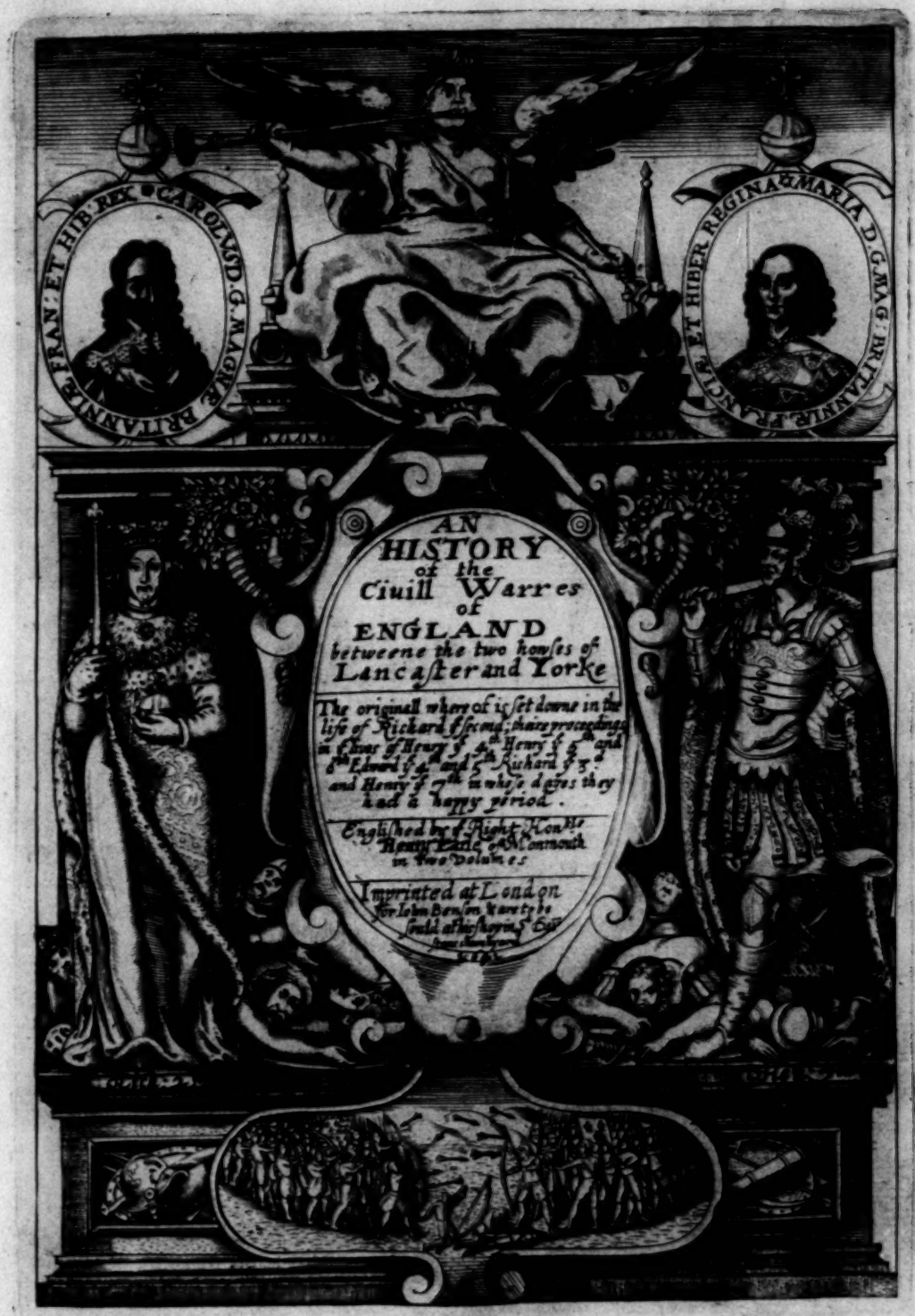
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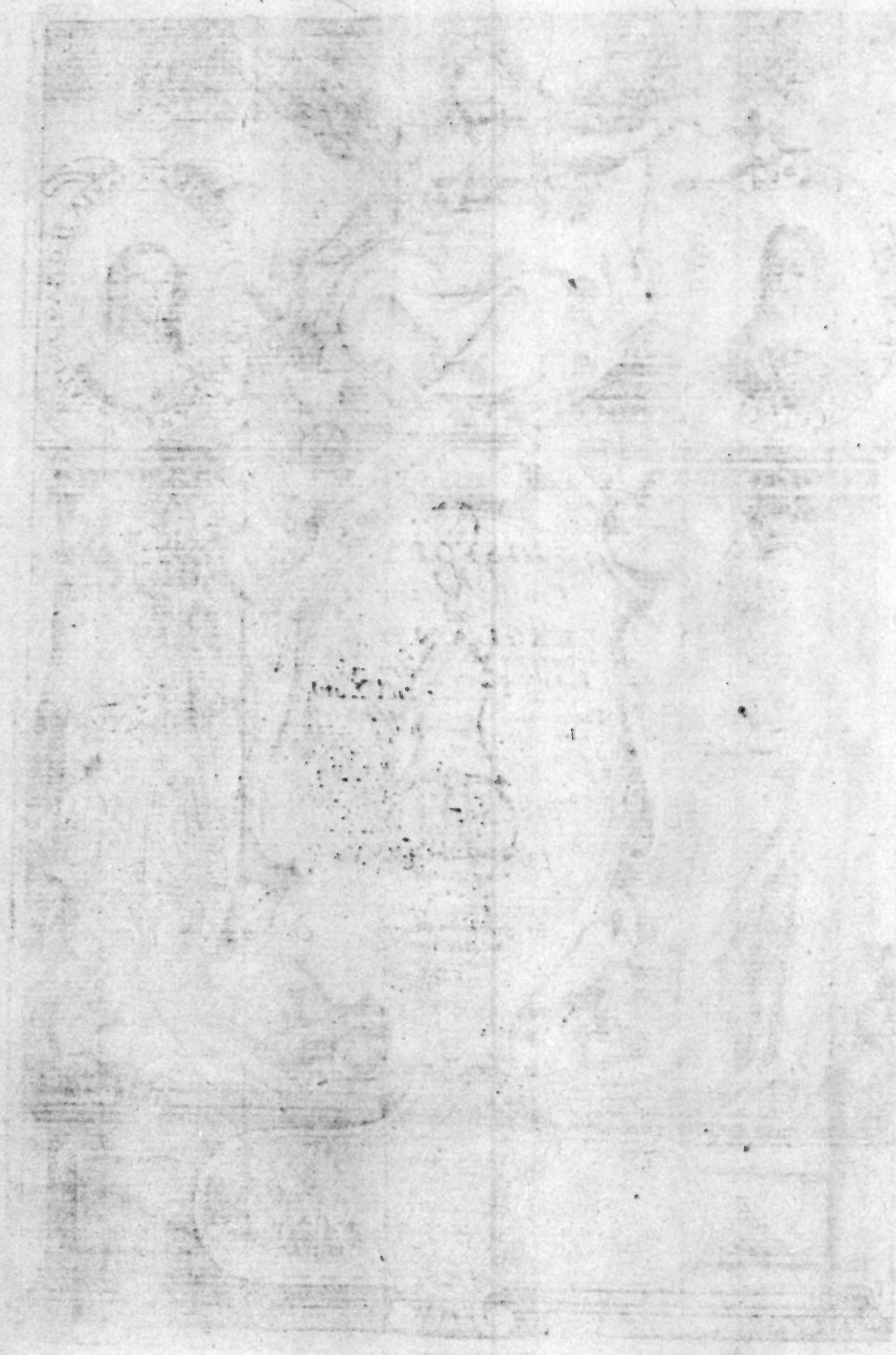
Hen: Do: Cary: Baro de Leppington Comes Monmouthensis, et Hon.mi Ord: Balnia Eques.



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CAROLVS D. G. MAG. BRITANNIÆ FRAN: ET HIB: REX
MARIA D. G. MAG. BRITANNIÆ FRANC: ET HIBER REGINA
AN
HISTORY
of the
Ciuill Warres
of
ENGLAND
betweene the two houses of
Lancaster and Yorke
The originall whereof is set downe in the life of Richard ffirst: thirs proceeding in ffiues of Henry ffourth Henry ffift and 6th Edward ffourth and fift Richard ffift and Henry ffeuenth in whose dayes they had a happy period.
Englished by the Right Hon.ble Henry Earle of Monmouth in two Volumes
Imprinted at London for Iohn Benson Warnyth sould at his shopp in St Dunstans Church yard



AN HISTORY OF THE Civill VVarres OF ENGLAND,

Betweene the two Houſes of

Lancaſter and Yorke.

The originall whereof is ſet downe in the life of *Richard* the ſecond; their proceedings, in the lives of *Henry* the fourth, the fifth, and ſixth, *Edward* the fourth and fifth, *Richard* the third, and *Henry* the ſeventh, in whoſe dayes they had a happy period.

Written in Italian in three Volumes, by Sir Francis Biondi, *Knight, Gentleman of the Privie Chamber to his Majeſty of Great Britaine.*

Engliſhed by the Right Honourable HENRY Earle of MOUNMOUTH, in two Volumes.

THE FIRST VOLUME.

Imprinted at *London* by *T. H.* and *I. D.* for *Iohn Benſon*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop in Saint *Duſtans* Churchyard, 1641.

AN

HISTORY

OF THE

Civil WARS

OF

ENGLAND,

Between the two Houſes of

Lancaſter and York.

THE TRANSLATORS EPISTLE TO THE READERS HIS COUNTRIMEN.

THat Tranſlations are at the beſt but like the wrong ſide of Hangings, u granted. Yet he who cannot get to ſee the right ſide, may by the other gueſſe at the Story therein repreſented. This of mine may yet ſeeme to be of a worſe condition; as onely the reducing back to our owne Language that which hath beene collected from our home Stories, and publiſhed in a forreigne Tongue; ſo as it may almoſt be termed the turning into Engliſh what was turned out of Engliſh. But the Authour hath had his end: the making the valour and honour of our Kingdome knowne to his owne Countreymen; for which we owe him a Nationall thankes. I have choſen this way to pay mine, by affording you all a means how to acknowledge yours, and thus I have part of my end likewiſe. The remainder being my obſervance of his deſires, and the ſhunning of ſpending my time worſe. The Italian ſaith, Chi non puo quel che voule, quel che puo voglia. If I could coine anie thing out of my owne Braine, worthy of my Countreymen, they ſhould have it: ſince not, let them accept of this Picce of Gold changea into Silver, and therein of the good will of their

Compatriot

MOUNMOUTH.

THE TRANSLATORS EPISTLE TO THE READERS.



THE AVTHORS EPISTLE *DEDICATORY*,

To the High and mighty Monarch,

CHARLES,

King of great BRITAINE, FRANCE and IRELAND.



I Was of opinion, Sir, that the eminent condition of Princes did require from such as serve them, actions answerable to the greatnesse of their thoughts, and that otherwise they would prove contrary to the dignity of the one, and duty of the other. But upon better advice, I found that Princes make use of men as they do of metals, which though not all of a like worth, yet are they all adapted to proper uses; so as iron and lead, (though of meane esteeme) are not to be slighted in things where gold and silver are of no use. I, Sir, that am the meanest of all your Majesties metalls, having undertaken to write the story of the Civill warres of England, was in some dispute with my selfe touching the Dedication. And though in all reason I was to dedicate it to your Majesty (as I most humbly doe) yet the thread of my discourse wanting the mentioned proportion, I have laboured to perswade my selfe to offend rather against it then against my duty; not that I ever imagined my lead could be any ways servicable unto your Matie, but that I faine would hope your Majesty through Royal clemency wil

be

be pleaſed to approve of my reſolution occaſioned by the leaſure times your Majeſties liberality cauſeth me to enjoy.

The reaſon, Sir, why I write it not from its beginning, is my not being ſure to finiſh it. To make therefore an entire ſtory, I have choſen that part thereof which is to be handled under one title and object. And I have written it in this language, for that Italy, though rich in ſcience and hiſtory, is but meanely furniſhed with this ſtory, having had no light at all thereof ſave by *Polidore Virgill*, who by writing it in Latine, hath made only for the learned, and by making it ſo ſuccinct, hath afforded me field room to make it for all men, and to adde many things to the much, which perhaps (for lacke of time) was by him omitted.

I know not Sir, whether the freedome I take in giving my opinion upon the paſſages herein, be to pleaſe all men, but a bare ſtory ſeemed to me to be like a naked body, which expoſed to the injury of ayre, groweth infirme, and being ſeene by others is aſhamed. Some are of opinion that all things ought to be repreſented in their originall purity, that ſo the liberty of giving judgement might be left unto the reader; yet the beſt both of ancient and moderne writers have done otherwiſe. But a whole peece of cloath being preſented to the Readers view, he cannot judge whether all the threads bee of equall goodneſſe, unleſſe the weaver, who knowes from whence he had them give him a true information; not thereby taking from him the liberty of giving his judgement, but rather affording him a double freedome therein, for to the examination of the ſtory he adds the power of examining the hiſtorians opinion: I prayſe goodneſſe, and blame vice, but in the ſecond Volumne I doe not praiſe the ſoft unſinnowy goodneſſe of *Henry* the ſixth. *Xenophon* decyfering a perfect Prince in the perſon of *Cyrus*, amongſt exerciſes preſcribes him hunting; not that by the cuſtome of ſeeing blood ſhed hee ſhould become cruell, but that by not commiſerating delinquents, he might become juſt; and not abhorring the ſight of dead beaſts, warlike; otherwiſe contaminated with a womaniſh pitty, he would at the ſame time have made him incapable both of ſcepter and ſword. Goodneſſe though feminine

by

by name is of maſculine effects; and fixing its undazled eies upon God its primary end, ought to become void of folly, ſcruples and feares.

I am ſorry, Sir, I was ſo late in undertaking this affaire, ſince I am too late aware that contemplative ſciences do in their univerſall objects produce particular ends, bring delight and glory to the underſtanding, no profit; that truth may ſow the ſeeds, but opinion reape the harveſt, that we are not wiſe, ſave when we know, we know nothing, which is that learned ignorance ſo ingeniouſly handled by the Cardinall of Cuſa; I place not here divine knowledge; ſhe hath two reall foundations to be eſteemed ſuch; propheſies, miracles, and hiſtories take from this number. But ſince we are taught to know no more then is behooveſull, and that with ſobriety, and according to the gift we are endowed withall, I ſee not that we are neceſſitated to buſie our ſelves therin, unleſſe there be a lawfull vocation, whilſt we ought to content our ſelves with the knowledge of God, by the generall way of the worlds harmony and order, and by the particular way of faith.

The true cauſe then, Sir, which hath moved me to this undertaking, is the having conſidered that the end of civil life, being to live well and happily, and that there is no happineſſe without knowledge, nor knowledge without ſcience, ſince thoſe of contemplation doe not, it muſt be the morall ſciences which doe produce it: the which appeareth manifeſt unto me, for that nature hath imprinted in us the principalls thereof, to make it the more eaſie unto us, to the end that without contemplation or learning, the learned and unlearned may be equally capable therof, agevolated by their object, the which is either familiar in us, as are affections, or hath dependency upon us, as have actions. As ſoone as we are borne, by the traditions of our parents, and ſuch as have the care of our bringing us up, we learne to love vertue, and hate vice; being become men, to governe our family; growne more mature, to rule the weale publique: and if we meet not with ſo much of facility in the laſt, as in the other two, it happeneth for that morall and Oeconomicall vertues are but the Columnes, whereas the practice of States, the knowledge of Princes, and how

how to manage people, are the true ſtructure of this edifice; upon the modell though of paſt events. For as wits though never ſo excellent expreſſe no other conceits then what have formerly been expreſſed (ſine they cannot exceed the bounds wherewith knowledge in generall is limited) ſo adventures, though caſuall, happen not but by way of Analogy to what hath already happened; depending upon the conſtant cauſes of former orders, the which though diverſe in time, are, notwithſtanding at all times like unto themſelves, if not equall. So as ſince we are wanting in the practice of preſent affaires, the knowledge of what is paſt is neceſſary, the which not being to be had but by hiſtory, it followeth that hiſtory be the ſafeſt way to this happineſſe, worthy to be with all diligence frequented, not by me alone, but by the very beſt. This, Sir, is the occaſion of my preſent labours; which I conſecrate unto your Majeſty not ſo much for that they appertaine unto you (containing the Acts of your moſt glorious predeceſſours) as that your Majeſty poſſeſſing all ſuch diſcipline as does become a great King, will together with the worke accept the devoted good will of the workeman, who boaſts himſelfe of nothing more then of the honour he hath to be

Your Majeſties moſt humble and faithfull ſervant

Giovanni Franciſco Biondi.

THE

THE GENEALOGY OF EDWARD THE THIRD,

Who had

Five Daughters, and seven Sons.

1. Isabella, *who married* Ingheran *Lord of Coucy, by whom shee had two daughters,* { 1. Mary, *married to* Henry *of Bar.* 2. Philippa, *married to* Robert Vere, *Duke of Ireland, afterwards repudiated.*
2. Ioane, *married to* Alfonso 11. *King of Castile and Leon.*
3. Blanch, *who dyed young.*
4. Mary, *married to* Iohn Montford, *Duke of Britany.*
5. Margaret, *married to* Iohn Hastings, *Earle of Pembroke, who dyed without issue.*

1. Edward *Prince of Wales, who married* Ioane *daughter of* Edmund *Earle of Kent, brother by the fathers side to* Edward *the second, by whom he had* Richard *the second, who succeeded his Grandfather in the Kingdome, and dyed a violent death without issue.*
2. William *of Staisfield.*
3. Lionel, *Duke of Clarence.*
4. Iohn *of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.*
5. Edmund *of Langley, Duke of Yorke.*
6. William *of Windsor.*
7. Thomas *of Woodstocke, Duke of Gloucester.*

The two Williams *both dyed young without issue.*

The Genealogies of the foure other are hereafter set downe.

The Genealogy of *Lionel* Duke of Clarence, third Sonne of *Edward* the third.

Lionel *duke of Clarence married* Elizab. *daughter of* Will. Burgh *earle of Vister. by whō he had*

- Philippa, *who married* Edmund Mortimer, *Earle of March, and had by him*
  - Roger, *Earle of March. declared by* Richard *the second successour to the Kingdome the yeare* 1387 *who married* Elizabeth, *sister to* Thomas Holland *Duke of Surrey, and had issues*
    - Edmund *Earle of March, who died in Ireland without issue, the third yeare of* Henry 6.
    - Roger, *who died young.*
    - Anne, *who married* Richard *Earle of Cambridge, sonne to* Edward *Duke of Yorke; she afterwards laid pretence unto the crown.*
    - Eleanor, *who dyed without issue.*
  - Edmund.
  - John, *beheaded in the third yeare of* Henry *the sixt.*
  - Elizabeth, *married to the Lord* Pearcy, *unnamed Hotspurre.*
  - Henry, *the second Earle of Northumberland, who was slaine in the first battell at* S^{t} Albans, *who by* Eleanor *daughter of* Ralph Nevil, *first Duke of Westmerland, had*
    - Henry, *the third Earle of Northumberland, who was slaine siding with* Henry *the sixt, against* Edward *the fourth.*
  - Philippa, *who had three husbands, but no issue.*

The Genealogy of *John* Duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon of *Edward* the third, from whom came 4. Kings, *viz. Henry* the 4.5.6.7. Of 3. wives he had 8. children, what Sonnes, what Daughters.

By Blanch, *daughter to* Henry *Duke of Lancaſter, grandchild to* Henry *Earle of Lancaſter, & great grandchild to* Edmund, *ſecond ſonne to* Henry *the* 3.

- Henry *the* 4. *married to* Mary *daughter to* Humfrey *of Bohun, Earle of Hertford, Eſſex and Nottingham, Conſtable of England, by whom he had*
  - Henry *the* 5. *married to* Catherine *of France, by whom he had*
    - Henry *the* 6. *who married* Margerit, *daughter to* Reignald *Duke of Anjou, King of Sicily, from whom came*
      - Edward, *Prince of Wales ſlaine by* Edward *the* 4.
  - Thomas, *Duke of Clarence,* / Iohn, *Duke of Bedford.* / Humfrey, *Duke of Gloſter,* — *who all died without iſſue.*
  - Blanch, *married to the Elector Palatine.*
  - Philippa, *married to the King of Denmarke.*
- Philippa, *married to* Iohn *King of Portugal, from whom came the ſucceſſors of that Crowne.*
- Elizabeth, *married to* Iohn Holland, *Duke of Exeter, beheaded at Cheſter.*
  - Richard Holland, *who dyed young.*
  - Iohn, *Duke of Exeter, who had two wives, viz.*
    - Anne, *daughter of the Earle of Stafford, by whom*
      - Henry Holland, *Duke of Exeter, diſ-inherited by Act of Parliament the firſt yeare of* Edward *the fourth, and found dead the thirteenth yeare betweene Dover and Caleis.*
    - Anne, *daughter to* Ioh. Montacute *earl of Salisbury, by whom*
      - Anne, *married to* Thomas Nevil, *brother to the ſecond Earle of Weſtmerland.*
        - Ralph Nevil, 3. *Earle of Weſtmerland*
  - Edward, *who died without iſſue.*

By Conſtance, *daughter to* Peter, *King of Caſtile,* — Catherine, *married to* Henry, *ſon and heyre to* Iohn *King of Caſtile and Leon, from whom deſcended the heires of thoſe Kingdomes.*

By Catherine Roët, *daughter to a King of Armes, by whom hee had before he married her, and who were after made legitimate by the Popes authority and Act of Parliament,*

- Iohn Beaufort, *Marquis of Sommerſet and Dorſet, who married* Margerit, *daughter to* Thomas Holland, *Earle of Kent.*
  - Henry, *who dyed young.*
  - Iohn, *firſt Duke of Sommerſet, who maried* Margerite *daughter to Sr.* Iohn Beauchamp.
    - Margerite, *married to* Edward Adham *earl of Richmond.*
      - Henry *the* 7. *who married* Elizabeth *daughter to* Henry *the* 4.
  - Edmund, *Duke of Sommerſet, ſlaine in the battell at S.* Albans,
    - Henry, *Duke of Sommerſet, beheaded an.* 1462.
      - Charls Sommerſet *Earle of Worceſter, baſtard.*
    - Edmund, *Duke of Sommerſet, beheaded, Anno* 1471. *dying without heyrs.*
  - *who married* Eleanor, *daughter of* Richard Beauchamp, *Earle of Warwicke.*
    - Iohn, *ſlaine at the battell of Teuksbury.*
  - Thomas.
  - Ioane, *married to* Iames *the firſt, King of Scotland.*
  - Margerite, *married to* Thomas Courtney *Earle of Devonſhire.*
    - Thomas, *Earle of Devonſh. beheaded.*
    - Henry, *beheaded.*
    - Iohn, *ſlaine at Teuksbury.*
- Henry Beaufort, *Biſhop of Wincheſter, Cardinall of* St. *Euſebius, and Chancellor of England*
- Thomas Beaufort, *Earle of Dorſet, Duke of Exeter, and Chancellor of England.*
- Ioane Beaufort, *for whoſe iſſue looke the next leaſe.*

Iane Beaufort, *married to* Ralph Nevill, *Earle of Westmerland.*

- Richard Nevil, *Earle of Salisbury, beheaded, who married* Elenor, *daughter to* Thomas Montigue, *Earle of Salisbury.*
  - William, *Lord of Faulkenbridge*
  - Edward, *Earle of Abergaveny.*
  - George, *Lord Latimer.*
  - Robert, *Bishop of Durham.*
  - Cuthbert.
  - Henry.
  - Thomas.
- Richard Nevil, *Earle of Salisbury and Warwicke, surnamed, The great, he married* Anne, *daughter of* Richard Beauchamp, *Earle of Warwicke.*
  - Iohn, *Marquis Montigue, who maried the daughter of Sr* Edward Engelthorpe.
    - George Nevil, *Duke of Bedford, degraded together with his father, for not having left sufficient meanes to maintaine their honour.*
    - Luce, *first married to Sir* Thomas Fitz-Williams, *then to Sir* Anthony Browne, *by whom*
      - William, *Earle of Southampton.*
      - *Sr* Anthony Browne.
  - George, *Archbishop of York, and Chancellour of England.*
  - Iane, *married to* Will. Fitz-Allen, *Earle of Arundel.*
    - Thomas Fitz-Allen, *Earle of Arundel.*
      - William *Earle of Arundel.*
  - Elenor, *wife to* Thomas Stanley *Earle of Darby.*
    - George, *Baron Strange*
      - Thomas, *Earle of Darby.*
    - Edward, *Lord Mounteagle.*
    - Iames, *Bishop of Ely.*
- Isabel, *wife of* George Plantagenet, *Duke of Clarence, brother to* Edward *the fourth, drowned in a But of Malmsy.*
  - Edward, *Earl of Warwicke, last heyre male of the* Plantagenet, *he was beheaded.*
  - Margerite, *Countesse of Salisbury, wife to* Richard Poole, *beheaded the* 13. *yeare of* Henry *the* 8. *she was mother to Cardinall* Poole.
- Anne, *wife to* Edward, *Prince of Wales son to* Henry 6. *he was slaine by the Duke of Gloceſter, who after married the said* Anne.
  - Edward *Prince of Wales, who died before his Father.*

Catherine, *wife to* Iohn Moubray, *second duke of Norfolke.*

- Iohn, *duke of Norfolk married to* Elenor, *daughter of the Lord Bourchier.*
  - Iohn, *duke of Norfolk married to* Elizabeth, *daughter to* Geo. Talbot, 1. *earle of Shrewsb.*
    - Anne, *wife to* Richard, *Duke of York second son of* Edward *the fourth.*

Elenor, *wife to* Henry Pearcy, *second Earle of Northumberland, slaine in the service of* Henry 6. *in the first battell at Saint Albans.*

- Henry, *the third earle of Northumberland, slaine in the like service, who married* Elenor, *daughter to* Richard, *Lord Poinings.*
  - Henry, *the fourth Earle of Northumberland, slaine by the people, for leavying a taxe imposed by* Henry *the seventh, and the Parliament, he married* Maudlin, *daughter to the earle of Pembrocke.*
    - Henry, *the fifth earle of Northumberland.*
    - William.
    - Allen, *a Bishop.*
    - Iocelin.
    - Elenor, *married to* Edward Stafford, *duke of Buckingham.*
    - Anne, *wife to* William Fitz-Allen, *Earle of Arundel.*

Anne, *wife to* Humfrey Stafford, *first Duke of Buckingham, slaine in the first battel at Northampton.*

- Humfrey, *Earle of Stafford, slaine in the first battell of Sr Albans; he married* Margerite, *sister to* Edward Beaufort *Duke of Sommerset.*
  - Henry, *second Duke of Sommerset, beheaded by* Richard 3. *he married* Catherine, *sister to* Richard Woodville, *Earle Rivers.*
    - Edward, *Duke of Buckingham.*
    - Henry *of Wiltshire, both beheaded by* Henry *the* 8.
  - Iohn Stafford, *Earle of Wiltshire, married to* Constance, *daughter to Sir* Henry Greene.
    - Edward Stafford, *Earle of Wiltshire.*
- Catherine, *wife to* George Talbot, *Earle of Shrewsbury.*
  - George, *E. of Shrewsbury, married to* Anne, *daughter to the Lord Hastings.*
    - Francis, *Earle of Shrewsbury.*
    - Margerite, *married to* Henry Clifford, *Earle of Cumberland.*

Sicely, *of whose issue see the next leafe.*

Sicely, *married to* Richard Plantagenet, *Duke of Yorke, who waged warre with* Henry the 6. *as lawfull pretender to the Crowne, hee was slaine in the battell of Wakefield.*

- *King* Edward *the* 4. *who married* Elizabeth, *daughter of* Richard Woodville, *Earle Rivers.*
  - *King* Edward *the* 5. — *Both slaine in the Tower by their uncle* Richard 3
  - Richard, *duke of Yorke.*
  - Elizabeth, *married to* Henry *the* 7.
    - Arthur, *prince of Wales.*
    - Henry *the* 8.
  - Catherine, *married to* William Courtney, *earle of Devonshire.*
    - Henry, *Earle of Devonshire, and Marquis of Exeter, beheaded by* Henry *the* 8.
- Edmund, *who died in the battell with his Father.*
- George, *Duke of Clarence, drowned in a But of Malmsey in the Tower, he married* Isabel, *daughter to* Richard Nevil, *Earle of Warwicke.*
  - Edward, *Earle of Warwicke, beheaded under* Henry *the* 7.
  - Margerite, *Countesse of Salisbury, married to* Sr Richard Poole, *beheaded under* Henry *the* 8.
    - Henry, *Lord Montigue, beheaded under* Henry *the* 8.
    - Reginald Poole, *Cardinall.*
    - Vrsula, *married to* Henry *Lord Stafford, sonne and heyre to* Edward, *last Duke of Buckingham.*
- Richard, *Duke of Glocester, by tyrannicall usurpation, called afterward* Richard *the* 3. *who married* Anne, *daughter to* Richard Nevil, *Earle of Salisbury and Warwicke.*
  - Edward, *Prince of Wales, who died during his fathers life.*

The Genealogy of *Edmund* of Langley, Duke of York,

fifth sonne of *Edward* 3. of whom came 3. Kings, *viz.*

Edward the 4.5. and *Richard* the 3.

Edward *Duke of Yorke, married* Isabel, *second daughter to* Peter *King of Castile and Leon, by whom he had*

Edward Plantagenet, *Duke of York, slain at Agincourt*, 1415.

Rich. Conesburg, *E. of Cambr. beheaded at Southam*, 1414. *conspiring against* Hen. 5. *his wife was* Ann, *sister & heyr to* Edm. Mortimer. *E. of March.*

- Edward *the* 4. *whose wife was* Elizab. *daughter to* Richard Woodville, *earle Rivers.*
  - Edward *the* 5.
  - Richard, *Duke of Yorke.*
  - *Both slaine by the Duke of Gloucester.*
- Edward, *Earle of Rutland, he died in the battell with his father.*
- Elizabeth, *wife to* Henry *the* 7.
  - Arthur *Prince of Wales.*
  - Henry *the* 8.
  - Margerite *married to* Iames 4. *King of Scotland*
  - Mary, *married to* Lewis *the* 12. *King of France, and after to* Charles Brandon *Duke of Suffolke.*
- Catherine, *married to* William Courtney, *Earle of Devonshire.*
  - Henry Courtney, *Earle of Devonshire, and Marquis of Exeter.*

Richard Plantaginet *Duke of Yorke, he wonne the battell at* S Albans *against* Henry *the* 6. *An.* 1455 *he was by Parliament declared heyre to the Crowne, and protectour of the kingdome: he died at the battell of Wakefield, his wife was* Cecily, *daughter to* Ralph Nevil, *first Earle of Westmerland.*

- George, *Duke of Clarence, drowned in a But of Malmsie; his wife was* Isabel, *eldest daughter to* Richard Nevil, *earle of Warwick and Salisbury.*
  - Edward, *Earle of Warwicke, beheaded under* Henry 7.
  - Margerite, *Countesse of Salisbury, married to* Sr Richard Poole, *shee was beheaded under* Henry *the* 8.
    - Henry *Lord Montague:*
    - Regnald Pool, *Cardinall.*
- Richard *the* 3. *his wife was* Anne, *second daughter to* Richard Nevil, *Earle of Warwicke, and Salisbury.*
  - Edward, *Prince of Wales, who died young.*
- Anne, *wife to* Sr Thom. Sanleger.
  - Anne, *wife to* George Mannors, *Lord Rosse.*
  - Thomas, *Earle of Rutland.*
- Elizabeth, *wife to* Iohn Poole, *Duke of Suffolke.*
  - Iohn Poole, *last Earle of Lincolne of that house, slaine at Stockefield, in opposition to* Henry *the* 7. *Anno* 1487.
  - Edward, *Earle of Suffolke, beheaded Anno* 1513.
  - Humfrey, *a Bishop.*
  - Edward, *Archdeacon of Richmond.*
  - Richard, *who died in the battell of Pavia, Anno* 1525.
- Margerite, *wife to Charles Duke of Burgundy.*

Isabel *married to* Henry Bourchier *Earle of Exeter,*

- William, *Vicount* Bourchier, *married to* Anne, *sister to* Richard Woodville, *Earle of Rivers.*
  - Henry, *Earle of Essex, whose wife was* Anne, *daughter to* Sr William Say.
    - An, *maried to* William *lord* Par *of Kendall.*
- Henry Bourchier.
- Humfrey *Lord* Cromwel, *slaine at Barnet field.*
- Sir Iohn.
- Sir Thomas.
- Sir Edmund, *slaine at Wakefield.*
- Cecily, *married to* Iohn Deverox, *from whom doe descend the now present Earles of Essex.*

The Genealogy of *Gloceſter*, ſeventh Sonne of *Edward* the third.

Thomas *of Woodſtocke, Duke of Gloceſter, married* Eleanor, *daughter to* Humfrey Bohun, *Earle of Hereford, Eſſex, and Northampton, Conſtable of England.*

- Humfrey, *earle of Buckingham, baniſhed out of England by* Richard *the ſecond, kept priſoner in the Caſtle of Trine in Ireland, he was recalled by* Henry *the fourth, and in his returne dyed of the plague,* Anno 1399.
  - Humfrey, *Earle of Stafford he died in the firſt battell at* S[t] Albans 1455. *his wife was* Margaret *ſiſter to* Edward Beaufort, *Duke of Somerſet.*
    - Henry Stafford, *who after his Grandfathers death being ſecond duke of Buckingham, taking armes againſt* Richard 3. *was beheaded: his wife was* Catherine, *ſiſter to* Richard Woodville, *Earle Rivers.*
      - Edward Stafford, *Duke of Buckingham, beheaded under* Henry 8.
      - Henry, *Earle of Wiltſhire.*
      - Humfrey.
      - Elizabeth, *wife to* Robert Ratclif, *Earle of Suſſex.*
      - Anne, *wife to* S[r] Walter Herbert, *and after to* George Haſtings *Earle of Huntington.*
  - Anne, *married to* Edmund, *Earle of Stafford, who died in the battell of Shrewſbery the firſt yeare of* Henry *the fourth.*
    - Humfrey, *Earle of Stafford, and firſt Duke of Buckingham, he died in the battell at Northampton,* Anno 1460 *his wife was* Ann *daughter to* Ralph Nevil, *earle of Weſtmerland.*
      - S[r] Ralph Stafford, *whoſe wife was* Margaret, *Counteſſe of Richmond, mother to King* Henry *the* 7.
      - Edmund.
      - George.
      - William.
      - Iohn *Earle of Wiltſhire, who married* Conſtance, *the daughter of* S[r] Henry Greene.
        - Edward Stafford, *Earle of Wiltſhire.*
      - Catherine, *married to* Iohn Talbot, *third Earle of Shrewsbery.*
        - Henry *Lord* Talbot.
        - Francis Talbot, *earle of Shrewsbery.*
        - George Talbot, *fourth Earle of Shrewsbery, who by two wives had*
          - Thomas.
          - Anne, *married to* Thomas Butler, *laſt Baron of Sudley.*
        - Margaret, *married to* Henry Clifford, *Earle of Cumberland.*
        - Mary, *married to* Henry Pearcy, *Earle of Northumberland.*
        - Iohn, *dyed young.*
        - Anne, *married to* S[t] Peter Compton, *after to* William Herbert, *Earle of Pembrocke.*
      - Philip, *who dyed young.*
      - Anne, *married to* Iohn Holland, *Earle of Huntington, and Duke of Exceter.*
        - Henry Holland, *Duke of Exceter, who was found drowned in the Sea betweene Dover and Caleis.*

THE INTRODVCTION.

MY intention is to write the ſtory of England, for as much as concernes the Civill Wars of that Kingdome, from their firſt riſe, to their happy period. Events, which the leſſe they be known forth of thoſe Climats, the more worthy are they of others knowledge. Civill knowledge accounts not him wiſe who applies himſelfe only to what concernes his owne Country, but who enlargeth his underſtanding to the univerſall knowledge of all Nations. Such as are unexperienced and too paſſionately given to the love of their owne Country doe vſually miſpriſe forraine occurrences; whilſt alteration in governments doth vary thoſe vertues in them by which they acquired a name above others. The Aſſyrians, Medes, and Perſians, the Macedonians Greeks, and Romans, doe witneſſe this unto us; people ought not to boaſt of what they were, but (if there be any occaſion of oſtentation) of what they for the preſent are. Barbariſme is not ſo generall in the now preſent times, as in times paſt: of as many Nations as are, there is not any one who at this day can vaunt her ſelfe to be the lawgiver unto others. What is wanting in ſome one is peeced up by the advantages which ſome others have not. This diſcipline of warre, learning, the liberall ſciences, arts mechanicall, and civill comportment are ſo diffuſed, as thoſe who laſt embraced them, are like to ciſternes, which doe more abound with water then doe the houſe tops and gutters, from which they did at firſt fall. There was a time when the Grecians had preſumption enough to repute the Romans barbarous; their condition ſhewes us how much they were deceived. The Vandalls, Lombards and Gothes were civilized at the coſt of the Roman Empire. Where luxury and vice increaſe, their dominion decreaſeth, and together with the rigor of the mind, civility it ſelfe: which is not defined by ceremoniall complements, but by the ſtrong effect of a judicious underſtanding. England, then Albion, and now Britaine, a Country not fully knowne before Cæſars time: from the entry of the Romans fell to be one of the

moſt noted, and moſt glorious Monarchies of the world. She did not ſend multitudes of people abroad: for abounding in whatſoever is requiſite to nature (and that in ſome perfection) ſhe had no need of other Colonies, nay her owne abundance and fertility was ſuch, as invited her being oppugned; whilſt divided, and under the command of many, ſhe remayned a prey to them that did aſſaile her. I intend not to ſpeake of her beginning; ſo long a work ſutes not with ſo ſhort a life as is mine. I will take my riſe from her Civill warres, which will ſhew unto us what evill effects ſtates divided within themſelves doe produce; and how that nature to render this people valiant, tooke from them the apprehenſion of death, the onely thing which makes men baſe and cowards; not that an inclination to peace bee not to bee numbred amongſt the greateſt happineſſes of mankind, but for that the world being what it then was, and what it will be to the end, humbleneſſe and meekneſſe ought only to be accounted amongſt individuall vertues: So as if people be not of themſelves fierce, they ſhall alwaies be ſubject to the neglect and injuries of ſuch as eſteeme a pleaſing behaviour no vertue, but a weakneſſe of nature. The praiſe of manſuetude in one or a few, is not incompatible with valour, but in a whole nation it is as much to be blamed as it is the occaſion of harme. For vertue or vice are not judged by Morall or Theologicall termes, but by the good or bad effects which from thence may enſue. The Brittans were not ſubject to ſuch defects; and though they made triall of many, ebbes of fortune being miſerably inforced (if we may beleeve Gilda) to invoke the Roman aſſiſtance, it was for that they were divided in their forces and inclinations. But being brought under one abſolute King, they appeared to bee all members of one ſolide body, of force not to bee conquered, and of minde alternatly diſpoſed, either to preſerve their reputations or dye. They have obtained famous victories, though fewer in number by two thirds. The battell of Creſſi and Poictiers witnes this unto us; but more particularly thoſe that we are to meet withall in this our ſtory: their minds were at firſt wholy ſet upon liberty, ſo as free from forraine feare, they oftentimes would boggle at their own kings, who though they were abſolute, had notwithſtanding their Monarchy ſo well upheld by the Lawes, that they could hardly fall from regall power to oppreſſion. And though the jealouſie of this liberty hath ſometimes been very great in theſe people, even

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to the making of them headſtrong and ſeditious, yet inconveniences which doe incidently happen, ought not to be of power enough to take from the ſubſtance of that government, the title of a well governed Common wealth. And though it be not voide of faults (heaven being the onely perfect Monarchy) yet not ſuch as are cauſe of miſchiefe. They are not taxed or oppreſſed; without grievance or new impoſitions. And whereas the Country people in other parts walke bare foot and bare legged, with tattered cloathes, and leane lookes: heere well cloathed and well liking, they in ſubſtance are, and in apparell ſeeme to be honorable and wealthy Citizens. But it is plainely ſeene by them that men are weary of well doing. For ignorant of other mens miſeries, when they want their wonted warres, and triumphes, they thinke themſelves miſerable, whilſt in compariſon of as many as I know, they are the happieſt nation in the world. Nor is the authority of their kings leſſened by this liberty: when they are vertuous and frugall, or elſe eſteemed of for their victories and Trophees; they have done with their people even what they pleaſed. The two Henries the 5. and the 7. in this our ſtory (not to make uſe of any out of it) are examples of this. Nor do their meane revenues in compariſon of thoſe exceſſive ones of other Kings make them leſſe rich; for free from the extortion of great men, from maintaining of Citadell, Gariſons, horſe, confines: not troubled with Switzers, dependences, correſpondencies, ſpies (all neceſſary expences, be it for the preſervation of ones owne, or the pretending to what is anothers) they need not have any more. They are ſecure at home, having no dependency but on the King: for abroad, the Sea is their ditch, their Citadell, thier Bul-warke; and their ſhips though their chiefeſt charge, yet ordinarily are of no vaſt expence. Beſides, upon any extraordinary occurrence, their treaſure is locked up in their ſubjects purſes, from whence it is drawen by the uſuall way of Parliament, without oppreſſion or injury to any one: and what by this meanes is rayſed, doth not (as in many other ſtates) remaine a continuall revenue to the Prince. By the teſtimony of Philip de Comines, the revenue of France in Charles the ſevenths time, did not exceed one hundred and foureſcore thouſand pound ſterling. Vnder Lewis the leventh, they came to foure hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling; the yeare 1608. under Henry the fourth, three millions one hundred thouſand pound ſterling.

and at this present time under Lewis the thirteenth (if the relation be not false) it amounts to foure millions and five hundred thousand pounds Sterling, or more. Hence I inferre that the Kings of England walke in the eclyptique line of their government, ruled by two just counterpoises, regall authority, which makes them be obeyed; and the Lawes, a just weight, equally fitted to shape forth a well constituted Aristodemocraticall government. The people enjoy their liberty provided for by the Lawes: The Nobility such Honours and Offices as become their quality: and the King his will in making warre or peace: All confiscations and power of pardoning, the Lawes not having debarred him of any thing which appertaineth to an absolutely juridicall Prince. I thought good to touch upon these few things, for that necessary foreknowledge which may bee needfull to this our History: And if they may appeare strange to such as are borne under Princes who know no other Law then their owne will, they ought not to thinke it strange, that governments to be good, ought (as all other sublunary things) to bee composed of more elements then one; and that their contrariety produceth the unity which nature requires. The Gentiles did not without some great mystery faine their Gods to bee bound by fate, and by their swearing by the Stygian waters. For Princes are these Gods, their oathes by the Stygian waters, the oathes which at their Coronation they take for the good of the people: which would not be necessary for good Princes (for goodnesse is a Law unto it selfe) but as necessary for those who may happen not to be such, as are the soule and sense to a living body: nor ought they for this to thinke themselves ere a whit the lesse firmly rooted: for as God is the more potent for the impotency he hath to sinne, so their potency is more solide, whilst incorporated into the Lawes it becomes impeccable: otherwise if they stood onely upon their owne legges, hatred and feare, their naturall enemies, were borne coetaneans with them, to insnare them. These my prayses of this Nation may percbance appeare not to be true to him who shall consider the beginning of our story, since that passing over the relation of so many glorious Kings, I take my rise from the unfortunate reigne of Richard the second, who comming to the Crowne at eleven yeares of age, doth prove the miserable condition of such States as are governed by an infant King. But vertue and vice change together with the times; a

necessary

neceſſary viciſsitude in governments, not in a proper reſpect, but in reſpect of the generall; for if it were otherwiſe, people endowed with equall generoſity, would either reciprocally deſtroy themſelves, or elſe they would all fall under the command of ſome one who were more eminent in vertue then all the reſt. Man hath his age prefixt, ſo have Kingdomes: to die of decrepite age is not uſuall, of diſorders uſuall: Kingdomes periſh more by diſorders then by decrepit age: ſo as the people members of the King their head, cannot but languiſh when he languiſheth. I conclude, that the end of theſe my ſlight endeavours are, to repreſent as in a looking glaſſe, to Princes moderation, to ſubjects obedience; for that violent changes draw after them ſlaughter, miſery and deſtruction.

Errata. In the life of R.2. *of* H.4 *and* H.5.

Page. 1. *Line* 10. *Reade* Creſſy. ibid. 25. This. 3. 4. Leon. ibid. 36. atteſtate. 10. 38. Dukes. ibid. Flanckers. 18. 2. keyes. ibid. 28 ſeize. 20. 2. to much wiſedome. 31 6 not the nearneſſe. 38. 9. *Berkely* 41. 14. incapible. 44. 1. the. 50. 21 who. 52. 26. Corteri. 53. 27. unprovided. 45. 22. lands. 55. 32. fell'd. 58. 2. King *Richard* had concluded for 30. yeares. ibid. if it had beene. ibid 46. illegal'. 59. 6. a tree water'd. ibid. 32. but under. ibid. 48. heire to *Richard. Glendour*, uſing. 69. 22. the oare. 70. 43. who. 74. 47. covering. 76. 45. Corbeil. 77. 6. might have been; if of. ibid. 18. Bourges. 79. 29. *Mowbray*. ibid. 26. bolder reſolves: revenge being. 82. 1. intending. ibid. 39. and, in another. 89. 10. contumacy. ibid. 35. Angouleſme. 90. 24. Suburbs St. Marceau. 91. 12. was onely. 101. 9 that the injury. 105. 7. a Carthuſian. ibid. 13. Du Main. ibid. 20. examine whether the late. 106. 19 *Merovæus* were the ſon of *Cladian*. 107. 1. *Clotharius*. 110. 42. *Malcolme*. 111. 12. more peace nor leſſe trouble. 113. 14. undertaken. ibid. 41. rewarder. 114. 3. *Richard* the third. 115. 19 Seine. ibid. 37. reſolved. 116. 44. Eu. 118. 22. puft up. 119. 48 the arrowes. 120. 31. Bornonville. ibid. 2ad. *Ilembert* d'Agincourt. ibid. 39. little leſſe. 126. 37. *Valentiana*. 127. 48. Touque. 130. 34. to. 131 3 ſtreets were (to. ibid. 5. Burgondy. ibid. 13. others ſex for. 132. 9. Archery. ibid. 35. many. 143. 25. by the Duke. 145. 44. *Montague*. 146. 21. bloudy hands and Crocodiles teares. 148. 11. Bride. ibid. 15. Charenten. 149. 19. Villa nova. ibid. 27. rather to hinder the enemies. ibid. 47. mine. 152. 35. leaving. ibid. 37. that. ibid. 47. paſſion, which in. 154. 24. beſet with jewels. 155. 37. Swinton. 157. 4. is is he that. ibid. 8. any. ibid. 14 price. ibid. 17 Earle of Mortaigne. ibid. 24. Thian. 158. 16 Marne invironing. ibid. 41. beſiegers. 159. 35. *Montague*. ibid. 42. went to her. 160. 23. Senlis. 162. 18. armes, his.

Errata, in the life of *Henry 6.*

Page 7. *Line* 24. *Reade, John* the fift. 10. 31. (being arm'd and in march). 11. 24. fortune. 15. 4. *Jaqueline*. 18. 8. Gough. 24. 6. Touraine. 29. 47. *Amadeus*. 30. 21. nor to looſe. ibid. 42. Joyeuſe. 38. 23. Argentres. Hall. 39. 42. a Dukedome. 42. 33. overburdened. 43. 35. This is worthy. 48. 21 yet are. ibid. 32. once. 56. 21. Hubbub. 57. 33. to the ſecond. 67. 33. maugre thoſe. 68. 18. Huts. 69. 29. *Ioane*. 72. 11. miſſion. 79. 13. river Soame, confining. 92. 29. *Eugenius* the 4. 104. 30. together all. 105. 41. Bruges. 106. 20. might ſerve. 107. 29. not but. ibid. 36. Roxborough. 112. 13. *Iaqueline*. 113. 18. haven. 114. 24. cultivated. ibid. 39. *Henry*. At the ſame time *Longueville*. ibid. 42. *Charles* his obedience; playing. 115. 17. Tholouſe. ibid. 46. when. 117. 34. unto him his. 119. 18. Duchies. ibid. 31. enmity. 120. 21. *Lewis*. 121. 11. not able. 122. 1. Towne. ibid. 26 whomſoever. ibid 30. England. Theſe were. 123. 33. environed with enemies. ib. in marg. 1443. 124. 26. 1 ſeparation. 125. 43. not acknowledge God. 128. 12. humble, devout. ibid. 43. men and together with them the Queen, perceiving. 129. 20. a lover of his. 130. 48. Fougeres. 131. 9. did not approve. ibid. 29. would not faile. ibid. 35. Louviers. 132. 14. emboſſed by them. ibid. 42. The Count of Dunois. 133. 22. by *Charles* to the. ibid. 36. of the ſame Caſtle. ibid. 43. Argenton. 134. 26. Freſnoy. ibid. 42. towres. ibid. 46. ſlaughter was greater of. 136. 48. the 8 of December. 137. 22. whence. ibid. 25. Breſſe Lord high Marſhall of Normandy, and. 138. 10. Guenne went handſomely forwards, though. ibid. 11. faſt as. ibid. 12. *Guiſchin*. ibid. 17. *Louvet*. 138. 23. 60. ibid. 44. Freſnoy. 139. 7. Sir *Matthew Gough*, &c. up. ibid. 10. *Fermigni*. ibid. 16. among which were *Twet Mowbray* and Sir *Thomas Drew*: *Vere* and *Gough*, with the. ibid. 23. that they. ibid. 41. Caſtres. 140. 48. Cherburg. Bricquebec, Valonges. 141. 11. was very ſtrong. ibid. 13. conceale. ibid. 42. that the. 142. 6. Falaiſe. 145. 28. They. ibid. 42. the. 148. 2. kinſman. ibid. 24. retire. 149. 31. with. ibid. 35. of ſome who ſhund. 150. 14. Eeden. 151. 35. 10000. 152. 15. found. 153. 42. he. 154. 19. ſects, the one doth not beleeve the other. 155. 9. State. ibid. 14 but. 156. 16. get. 161. 12. forbare not. ibid. 26. eſteemed; ſo much the leſſe to be. ibid. 48. Sudley. 162. 33. not notwithſtanding. 166. 11. this. ib. 22. beſtead. 169. 1. inhibit. ib. 7. he. 170 49. but to reſtore. 172. 39. he ſhould. 176. 45. were upon. 177. 4. cruelty.

The Reader may dot himſelfe a pleaſure, and me a courteſie, if, with his pen, he will correct theſe Errata before he reade the Book; which if it take ſo well as may give encouragement for a ſecond Impreſſion, I will take care the like ſhall not be committed.

THE CIVILL WARRES OF ENGLAND.

FRom foure *Edwards* did *Richard* the second descend: of which the first three were succeeding Kings; the fourth, Prince of Wales, surnamed the Blacke Prince, who dying before his Father *Edward* the third, did not attaine the Crowne. England could not boast of braver Princes, nor Europe of more gallant Commanders, then were the latter two; they brought home renowned victories; the blacke Prince, not yet fully sixteene yeares old, was victorious in the battell of Cresses, his Father being present, who denyed him succour, onely looking on whilest he with bare two thirds of 8500. men fought with little lesse then 90000. to the end that that worth which before its accustomed time did bud forth in him, might produce early fruits, watered by the Rivolets of glory and honour: and not many yeares after, being fewer by three fourths then were his enemies, hee in the battell of Poictiers tooke King *Iohn* of France prisoner, invironed by all the Princes and Nobility of that Kingdome: but dying not long after in the full growth of his glorious atchievements, he left behinde him this *Richard*, which did succeed his grandfather, the yeare 1377.

Edward the third had seven sonnes; foure whereof dyed during his life time: the first, as hath already beene said; the second and sixth without issue: and the third which was *Lionel* Duke of Clarence, left no other issue save *Philip* married to *Edmond Mortimer*, Earle of Marsh, of whom came *Roger*, and of *Roger*, *Anne*, the innocent cause of mischiefe to that kingdome; for being married to *Richard Plantaginet*, Earle of Cambridge, second sonne to *Edmund* Duke of Yorke, she inriched that Family by her just pretences to the Crowne, much more then by her portion,

Richard the 2.

whereof her ſucceſſors to the prejudice of the whole kingdome, did afterwards make uſe. For though the laying private claims to Eſtates be alwaies lawfull to the pretender, yet is it not alwaies expedient for the publique; nor are they eaſily obtained, but by unjuſt and cruell waies. *Iohn* Duke of Lancaſter, *Edmond* and *Thomas*, the fourth, fifth, and ſeventh, were onely thoſe who did outlive him. The latter two whereof were afterwards by their Nephew created Dukes; the one of Yorke, the other of Gloſter. I will not here ſet downe their poſterity, the reader may betake himſelf to the Genealogicall tables prefixed, by means whereof any whoſoever (be he not brutiſhly ignorant both of the law of nature and kingdoms) may give his judgment of the right or wrong of thoſe who raigned: and if therein you ſhall not meet with the to be commiſerated number of thoſe of the blood Royal, who either through the obſtinacie of hatred, or incivility of civill warres came immaturely to their end, the occaſion will be, for that being deſcended of women, by former marriages expatiated into other families, cruelty would triumph in the diverſity of ſpoiles, and begird her temples with a Crowne partly compoſed of the blood of many, who by their deaths reduced the blood Royall of England to a ſmall number; the which whether it were expedient or not, and whether the multiplicity of pretenders be of uſe, or the contrary, to Kingdomes, let it be a diſpute referred to the argumentation of good wits; though extreames being in all things bad, that ſeemes leſſe harmefull which conſiſts in the weaker breath of a few, then what in the violent whirlewindes of many; their authority and deſignes being able to diſſolve, their oppoſitions and jealouſies able to raze whatſoever well founded Monarchy.

Richard was by nature endowed with amiable conditions, for being of a comely perſonage, and of a liberall and generous minde, he was likely to have proved like unto himſelfe, had he had the fortune to have arrived at the maturity of his judgement under the guidance of his Grandfather, or father: but being freed from the authority of ſuch as might have ſweetned the aſperity of his yeares, the fruits of ſuch hopes as were conceived, were before their maturity corrupted; for infatuated by the ſoothing of his flatterers, and enforced by his ſervants affections (to which Princes through a maligne influence are uſually ſubject) he hated all ſuch counſells as did oppugne his minde; he rewarded ſuch as did not contradict him, and being growne older, he through wofull experience found, that his undoing was occaſioned by his having equally offended kindred, Clergy, Nobility, and people.

Of the three Dukes, he of Yorke was of a ſweet condition, given to paſtime, void of ambition, a hater of buſineſſe, nor did he trouble himſelf with any, but for formalities ſake; being thereunto conſtrained by his quality. The other two, Lancaſter and Gloſter, both of them ambitious, and turbulent, did notwithſtanding differ in this; that whereas the former endeavoured the encreaſe of his authority, by making himſelfe to be feared, the other aſpired to the like end, but by contrary meanes; Lancaſter declaring himſelfe from the beginning to be an enemy to the people; Gloſter if not by inclinations, by cunning, profeſtly popular.

Firſt, *Richard* did much apprehend Lancaſter, thoſe who for their own particular intereſts did ſooth him in his youthly deſires, endeavoured

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to perſwade him that Lancaſter, who was an obſtacle by them reputed too difficult for their deſignes, would have plots upon his perſon; but being gone into Spaine (his thoughts being fixt upon the Kingdomes of Caſtile and Lyons, to both which in the right of his ſecond wife *Conſtance* he did pretend) he left Gloſter to inherit theſe ſuſpitions; who oppoſing himſelfe in all actions againſt his Nephew, after having provoked him by injuries, and by detractions vexed him, for his reward loſt his life. *Richard the 2.*

It is not my purpoſe to write all the acts of this King, a great part whereof I paſſe over; as the rebellion of the peſants, with intention to extirpate together with the Nobility. himſelfe; his expeditions in France in the purſuit of his Grandfathers and Fathers deſignes; in Flanders in the favour of *Vrban* the ſixth againſt *Clement*, who called himſelfe Pope in Avignon: in Ireland to tame the ſavageneſſe of that people; in Scotland to repreſſe inroades, and his marrying the ſiſter of *Wincelaus* the Emperour; I will onely treat of ſuch things as cauſed his ruine, after having reigned 22. yeares.

Certaine men were at the firſt deputed unto him as well for the government of his perſon, as eſtate; whoſe plurall authority enſuing to bee more of burthen then benefit, it was reduced to the perſon of *Thomas Beauchamp* Earle of Warwicke, choſen to this charge by the unanimous conſent of Parliament; but the King herewithall not contented (being by reaſon of his yeares unfit to governe, and by reaſon of his bad Councell not apt to be governed) began to alter this ordination, in the perſon of *Richard Scrope*, formerly by the Parliament choſen Chancellor of England, a man ſo void of blame in all his actions, as he was very worthy of the charge impoſed upon him. The King amongſt the moſt conſiderable jewells of his Crowne, hath one thereunto inchaſed by the Lawes; that thoſe whoſe fathers dye in the nonage of their ſonnes, fall under his tuition till the one and twentieth yeare of their age; all their revenew redounding from the aforeſaid time to the King, ſave the third part which is reſerved for their education: it now ſo fell out that by vertue of this prerogative, *Richard* enjoyed the income falne unto him by the death of the Earle of Marſh, and divers others; he in lieu of making uſe thereof himſelfe, gave them as donatives to many; ſuch gifts being of no validity without a teſtate of the great Seale, the Chancellor would not give way thereunto, as well in conſideration that the Kings debts being great hee ought himſelfe to make uſe thereof, as likewiſe thoſe on whom he did beſtow them being men of no uſe nor merit, were altogether unworthy of ſuch rewards; at which *Richard* being offended that his profuſeneſſe (which by thoſe who received the benefit thereof was termed liberality) ſhould be queſtioned by an Officer, he forced him to relinquiſh the office, ſuſpending the nominating of another in his place, that he himſelfe might by the great ſeale which now remained in his cuſtody, authorize it; leſt being withſtood by the former, he might meet with the like obſtacle by him who ſhould ſucceed him; and by this meanes, the doore being opened to one inconveniency, it continued ſo to many others which enſued.

Of thoſe who miſled this young Prince in his reſolutions, five there were who bare extraordinary ſway with him, *Alexander Nevil*, Archbiſhop

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biſhop of Yorke, a man ſo well skilled in what belongs to Court affaires, as was not by his Prieſtly ſimplici'y to be allowed: *Robert Vere*, Earle of Oxford (a young man of no bad inclination, had he not beene corrupted by the riſe of a great fortune) not without infamy, the onely favourite: *Michael Poole* a violent man, who from the ſonne of a Merchant, was got to the honour of being Chancellor of England, and Earle of Suffolke; he was like a ſhip which not fit to beare ſo great ſayle, overſets: *Robert Triſillian*, a very bold man, chiefe Juſtice, who having made the Lawes a ſnare, and Juſtice a pitfall for many, was at laſt ſerved with the ſame ſauce, being by them ignominiouſly put to death: and *Nicholas Bambridge*, Alderman of London (one of thoſe Citizens who nobly behaved themſelves in the ſedition of the Peſants) hee had deſerved an honourable remembrance, had he not in the affaires of government proved as ſeditious as they.

The King was impatient of being ſubject to the Lawes of minority, as were his ſubjects, and that his deſires ſhould bee limited by the Lawes, and that himſelfe ſhould bee reſtrained by that authority which did derive from him: hee thought the order of the world in Princes did conſiſt in diſorder: a defect incident to thoſe yeares: for youth takes little or no delight in any pleaſures which are not ſeaſoned with licentiouſneſſe: and he being naturally given to pleaſe thoſe who pleaſed him, did all things againſt the haire; ſo to eaſe himſelfe of that burden, which contrary to his nature he could not uninforced beare: his uncle of Lancaſter was the burden which did moſt moleſt him: for being the prime man in the kingdome next to himſelfe, all ſuch as daily found themſelves oppreſſed by the inſolence or inſatiateneſſe of the favourites, had their recourſe unto him. An averſion which though not good, was not yet without reaſon, the originall thereof being conſidered.

The King had formerly beene enformed by an Iriſh Carmelite Friar, that the Duke had ſecret plots upon the life of his Majeſty, and though the accuſer had much deſired that this buſineſſe might be kept ſecret till ſuch time as being made good he might at leaſure and with beſt convenience be attached. The King notwithſtanding out of youthfull inconſtancy did communicate it to two of his Chaplaines, at a certaine time when the Duke came unexpectedly in: who finding himſelfe not welcomed according as he uſually was, imagined that they were talking of him, and therefore withdrew himſelfe into another chamber; the Chaplaines doubting their owne ſafety (for the Duke could not but ſuſpect ſomewhat) adviſed the King to make it knowne unto him, which he did. Wherefore calling for him, he acquainted him with his accuſation, wherwithall ſomewhat ſurpriſed, he in moſt humble manner deſired his Majeſty not to give credit to ſuch people, ſince ſo deteſtable an intention never entred his breaſt, nor could it be for his advantage; for ſay he ſhould have ſuch an intention (which God forbid he ſhould) how could he effect it, ſince by ſo wicked a paricide, he was deſervedly to fall into the hatred of all men? he profered to prove his innocency by his ſword; he earneſtly deſired that the Friar might be put into ſafe cuſtody, and if it ſo liked his Majeſty, into the cuſtody of *Iohn Holland*. This *Iohn* was brother by the mother ſide to the King, and conſequently void of ſuſpition,

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had not his desire of marrying *Elizabeth*, daughter to the Duke, (which afterwards he did) made him partiall: but the King not minding this, granted the Dukes desire. The impression which at first this accusation made in him, was confirmed by the bold behaviour of the Earle of Buckingham (not yet Duke of Gloceſter) for entring at unawares into the Kings Chamber, he swore by all the Gods to kill whosoever it was that durst say his brother was a traytor (not excepting the King himselfe) an action by how much the more rash, so much the more deserving a condigne punishment, if the times had been such as would have permitted it; or had the Scepter been upheld by a more puissant arme, then was that of *Richard*. But the Frier the preceding night to the day which was appointed for judgement, was by *Iohn Holland*, (to whom he was given in custody) and another companion of his, hanged up by the necke and privie members: And to the end that hee might die the more speedily, they placed a great stone in the center of the Arch, which his body in that posture made; in which manner being the next day found, without further enquiry his body was taken from the prison, and like the carcasse of a traytor, drag'd up and downe the streets of London. *Richard the 2.*

This action did no wayes advantage the Duke in the opinion of such as did not hate him, whilst to those who had conspired his ruine, it afforded weighty arguments whereby to infuse into the King unremoveable suspitions, by the which being for two whole yeares tormented, *Trisillian* undertooke to free him thereof, by finding some meanes to put him to death by Law. But this affaire (being made knowne to so many favourites as the King had, and hee himselfe not given to secresie) came to the Dukes eares, who conceiving that his quality was not sufficient for his safeguard, (his death being decreed) retired himselfe to Pomfret, a Castle of his owne; where fortifying himselfe, hee resolved to have no other Advocates then strength and weapons, in a cause wherein his estate, honour and life was concerned. The Princesse of Wales, the Kings mother, was then in a Countrey house of hers; where examining the danger her sonne was in, being (if not for his owne sake, for those that were about him) generally hated; she, though corpulent, hasted and made an agreement between them. But mens mindes, like to the earth, abound more in bad then good seeds: for as soone as the bad hearbs are weeded out, others spring up in their place, as happened in this affaire.

It may not be amisse for us to give our opinion of the right or wrong of these severall parties. The King was young, and wholly possest by wicked people, who like to thirsty Leeches, endevoured to drowne themselves in the fullest veines, they lived not save in the death of others; nor were they enriched but by other mens losse and confiscations. They thought belike, that great men were like Eagles feathers, which doe corrode those of other birds, that therefore it behoved them to rid their hands of the Duke. He on the contrary was not without his venome; his hatred increased the more, for that for his Nephewes fault, he seemed to be torne in peeces by the meaner sort of people, a provocation sufficient to make a man of his quality undergoe whatsoever excesse: which that he did, the death of his accuser may serve for an argument; for it was not likely that he should feare danger, being innocent: he was great of himselfe,

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selfe, strengthened by the authoritie of his brethren, by his dependants and followers; not being to bee judged but by his Peeres. And though the Court might have a great part in them, yet not so great as was to surmount his share; hatred of favourites being in all men of more force, then the hopes of amending their owne conditions by so unworthy meanes.

On the other side, it may be that the Frier wrought upon by mightie promises, had slandered him, he not being likely to have pryed into so secret a businesse, whilst others knew nothing thereof; being himselfe neither of the privacie, nor family of the Duke, and it may be not known by him: but if it were so, the Duke ought not to have ended the question by violence, nor ought his violence to have been authorised by impunity; what was this but to assure unto us the reality of his fault, and that hee was imboldned by the Kings minority, and secured by his owne greatnesse.

At this time did *Charles* the sixth reigne in France, son to that *Charles*, who for having hindred the progresse of the English Armes, deserved to be stiled *Charles* the *wise*: and who taught by the example of his progenitors, instructeth us, That crazie states are not sustained by hazards, but by good counsell: for rashnesse is seldome favoured by Fortune. He dying, left store of treasure behinde him; and therewithall this *Charles*, who contrary to him, had likely by his hare-braindnesse, to have lost France. The inward and conformable maladies of these two kingdomes did seasonably abate the edge of their weapons, by short, but redoubled truce; the sympathizing conditions of the two Kings requiring it to bee so, *Richard* being but two yeares older then *Charles*, each of them alike prodigall, and unfit for government; the one and the other under the government of Tutors: Kings barely in title, their Uncles exercising that authority; nor was there any difference between them, save that *Charles* was beloved, *Richard* hated: and whereas the former failed through want of wit, the other erred onely through the corruption of counsell; *Charles* had exercised the maidenhood of his Armes in the behalfe of *Lodovick* Count of Flanders, against the Flemings, who did rebell against him: And proving therein prosperous, hee became so greedie of warre, as the truce with England being expired, hee coveted nothing more then the continuation of that hatred, his little experience not well advising him, and his yeares making him presume himselfe borne for that, which his
1386. predecessors never durst undertake. Hee begun the warre in Poictou, Saintunge and Limosin, under the conduct of the Duke of Burbone. He sent into Scotland to *Robert* the second, who then reigned, an aid of Lances and Crosse-bow-men, by *John* of Vienna his Admirall, to the end that the English being busied on the one side, might be the lesse able to resist the invasion which he intended to make on the other. For having given order for a great Army at Sleus, and for another in Bretanny, he intended himselfe in person to attempt the conquest of that Kingdome. Burbone tooke many Forts and other places in those Provinces: But the Admirall was but badly received in Scotland: he found not the King at Edinburgh, his usuall place of residence; for he cared not to be found there, as esteeming the comming of those people burthensome. Hee very well knew King *Charles* his humour, and believed that for some whimzies of his

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owne, hee would put upon him the neceſſitie of warre, which Scotland uſeth not to undertake but upon good conditions, occaſion and advantages: But things were not as the King beleeved; for Embaſſadors having been ſent to him the yeare before from France, to acquaint him with the truce made for one yeare with *Richard*, wherein hee was likewiſe comprehended, ſome of the Councell had treated with them, that if the King of France were reſolved to ſend over to them a thouſand horſe, five hundred Croſſe-bow-men, and Armes for another thouſand, they would trouble England: which being by them underſtood as a thing reſolved upon, they were come without more a-doe, with the men and Armes required: They brought no horſes along with them, to avoid trouble, thinking to finde enough there; but Scotland being then, according to its own wont, not as now, furniſhed with what is neceſſary, and with much of ſuperfluity, had not horſes wherewithall to furniſh them, they were forced to fit themſelves with horſes at exceſſive prices. The King being returned, the Admiral delivered his Embaſſage; the which being ſeconded by ſuch as thought to better as well their private as the publicke condition, upon the hopes that England being ſet upon on both ſides, would in likelihood be loſt, King *Robert* could not reſiſt the importunity of his people. So as his royall will being publiſhed within a few dayes, 30000 fighting men appeared under their Banners. With thoſe, and his owne men, the Admirall entred Northumberland, took there divers Townes, burnt and deſtroyed the Countrey; nor had he retired from thence, had hee not been inforced by thoſe who were moſt experienced, having received advertiſement that the King was marching towards them with a great Army. The Engliſh Army conſiſted of 68000 men; what Bow-men, what Lances, with Pioners and other attendants, it made up 100000. and as many horſe. The Admirall perſiſted in his opinion of giving battell: when being brought to the top of a hill, under the which the enemy lay, and having ſeen their order, and their number, he changed his minde: But being reſolved, come what come would, to doe ſome famous act, hee made this propoſition; that ſince they muſt of neceſſity quit the field (which without much raſhneſſe could not be made good) they might doe the like as the enemy doubtleſſe would doe; to wit, that as the enemy was like to finde Scotland without defence, ſo they paſſing by the other part of England (likely to want defenders) might by their ranſacking of the Countrey, make amends for what of dammage Scotland was likely to receive. This advice being approved of, they came downe from the Hills, and entred Comberland, where finding no reſiſtance, they ranſacked all the parts thereof; they aſſayed Carliſle, but unfortunately: for it was defended by many brave Gentlemen. This meane while *Richard* being entred Scotland, came to Edinburgh; he burnt almoſt the whole Towne, but not the Caſtle, ſaved by the ſort, and its ſituation. From thence ſome of his troops paſſing further, they burnt and deſtroyed Townes, Houſes and Monaſteries, till they came to Sterling, meeting with none that oppoſed them; the men of warre being gone (as you have heard) into Comberland, and King *Robert* having retired himſelfe to places of more ſafety: ſo as the Cattell being driven into the woods, they reaped no profit for all the harme they did, which made them more inſatiate in their ruinating

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nating the Countrey; nay had not provision of victuall by shipping and cart beene brought from England, they could not have found food for one onely day in that Countrey: for being naturally barren, and of set purpose destroyed, there was not so much as grasse for their horses to bee found. The King therefore being necessitated to returne, Lancaster propounded, that taking necessary provision along with them, they might returne by the way of Comberland, as the Scots had done, and so barring their returne, they must needs of themselves fall into their hands.

The proposition pleased the Councell, and the King himselfe, and was the onely one like to be effected; but when night came, the Earle of Oxford had accesse to the Kings eare, and whispered unto him, that the Dukes ends were to bring his Majesty to the last of dangers. For it was impossible for them to passe over those hils, winter being so farre advanced, without great prejudice: that the numerous army required greater store of provision then was to be carried on sumpter horses: that the enemie having ruinated and harassed the Country, they were not likely to finde straw enough, much lesse other necessaries. If the speakers Genius much more predominant then was the Kings, was able without such likely arguments to prevaile with him, how much more did it now doe so, strengthned by these reasons, and former jealousies had of the Uncle: so as the next day, whilst (according to the resolution formerly taken) the army expected to have order for marching towards these parts, the King having in sharpe tearmes upbraided the Duke with disloyalty, for that hee durst advise him to the danger of either perishing by famine, or becomming a prey unto the enemy, said that he would returne into England the road way; whilst the Duke if he pleased, with such as would follow him, might goe into Comberland; for his part, hee, and such as loved him, would goe the other way. The Duke astonished at so unexpected an entertainment, excused himselfe in all humility, omitting nothing that might appease the King; nor had this sufficed, had hee not beene seconded by many Lords, who were witnesses to his conscience. This was the last sceane of these Tragicomicall distasts; worthy to be so stiled, to put a difference betweene them and those Tragicall ones of Gloster: the former ending in words, the latter in effects maligne and mortall. He then returned the same way hee came; having for his so great expence reaped no other fruit then the breaking of *Charles* his designes.

The Admirall according to his instructions, was to have wintered in those parts, that by renewing the warre in the Spring, he might facilitate the invasion which *Charles* was to make on the other side: but it was not in his power to effect it, both man and horse being brought to that passe as they had not whereon to live. Those who had most money could find nothing to buy: and those who would have sold their horses, or any thing else to have supplyed their wants, could finde no chapmen: to tarry all in one body in one place, was impossible; to divide themselves dangerous; the peoples hatred being like lightning, a fore-runner of tempests, there was not any who either could or would tarry there. The Admirall understood this very well; he intended to give the most necessitous leave to depart, and to promise the rest speedy supplyes of money: but those who had leave to bee gone, were not suffered to imbarque themselves;

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they would neither ſuffer them to tarry, nor to be gone. The Scots exclamed that 'twas they that had made the warre; that their countrey was ruin'd by reaſon of them; that they had done more miſchiefe then had the Engliſh; that they had trodden downe the corne, cut downe trees, and as if they had beene in the enemies countrey, lived onely upon rapine; for which they required ſatisfaction: excuſes or were not found, or not admitted of. The Admirall was at laſt conſtrained by publique proclamation to ingage himſelfe to give ſatisfaction to all ſuch as pretended to have received injury by his men. The debt being agreed upon, he imbarqued his men, tarrying himſelfe in Scotland, till ſuch time as he received moneyes, wherewith he ſatisfied the creditors, and ſo departed unſatisfied himſelfe. This was *Charles* his firſt adventure, wherein meeting with a rub, it made him the ſecond time ſtumble againſt a yet harder ſtone. The Admirall being returned, confirm'd in him the reſolution of his imaginary conqueſt; aſſuring him that the whole people of England exceeded not 60000. Archers, and 7. or 8000. Launces; a ſlender defence in compariſon of what forces were for her ruine muſtered in France. But it is uſuall in nature for the moſt excellent faculties to be more tender then are the reſt; ſtrong and acute ſights ſuffer more by looking on the Sunne, then thoſe which are obtuce and weake: therefore if the Admirall, a judicious Commander, failed in his judgement, being dazled by the ſplendor of ſo many ſhips, engines, and Princes as were gathered together at Sluce, he ought to be pardoned. Some are notwithſtanding of opinion that France would never have dreamed upon any enterpriſe on England, had it not beene by his perſwaſion; and that the Duke of Burgundy (by the death of his wives father, now Count of Flanders) deſiring the ſuppreſſion of the Engliſh, who had fomented the rebellion in thoſe provinces, made him give this advice, which was praiſed of all ſave the Duke of Berry, though he durſt not make publique oppoſition, ſeeing *Charles* was inclined thereunto. Others write that the Duke of Burgundies intentions were not to hazard the King in paſſing the Seas; the landing being difficult, and more difficult to keepe himſelfe there when he ſhould be landed; the people conſiderable by reaſon of their number, and valour; the comparing of theſe with thoſe who had formerly conquered them equivocall: that at the preſent they were governed by one onely King, whoſe hatred was not to be put in ballance with the hatred they bore to ſtrangers: that they were paſſionately lovers of liberty, abhorring the French nation; and a countrey in which (graſſe excepted, which as in a perpetuall Aprill is alwayes there greene) they would finde nothing; not occaſioned by barrenneſſe, but providence: and that there being neither Caſtle, nor other place wherein to ſettle, it was to be wonne by inchmeale, upon the uncertainty of fortune, and battle; any one of the which being loſt, (ſuccour being far off, ſubject to delayes, tempeſts, and winds) the victory would no longer be the thing in queſtion, but the ſafety, life and liberty of the King, Princes, and people; that battels had little leſſe then loſt France; the which was by *Charles* the wiſe returned to its former luſtre, not by fighting, but by temporizing; moreover, that there they had neither partakers, nor intelligence; without the which thoſe who in preceding times did, would not have attempted it: that his true deſigne

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ſigne was to hinder Lancaſters journey into Spaine, ſo to ſecure that State to *Iohn* King of Caſtile, a deſigne in conſideration of ſo immenſe an expence, more then unworthy the refined judgement of that Duke. But whatſoever the matter was, it is hard to reconcile Writers, tedious to diſpute the buſineſſe: therefore what really appeares, agreed upon by all ſides, ſhall be the current of our diſcourſe.

All theſe preparations were not of force enough to divert the Duke of Lancaſter from his intended journey; nor the apprehenſion thereof ſufficient to make England detaine him; which, on the contrary ſide, furniſht him with ſhipping, men and pay for ſix moneths, nor was *Richard* leſſe liberall to him in favours; the deſire of having him gone, was of more force with him, then the feare of whatſoever forraigne forces. He would have him honoured like a King: he gave him a Crowne royall: his wife *Conſtance* being by the Queen preſented with the like, both of them paſſing rich.

This mean while the French Fleet lay in the havens of Flanders, that of Sluce not being able to *containe 1267* bottomes: for upon this number all Writers doe neere upon agree: as many ſhips as ſailed upon the ſea from the Straits of Guibraltar to Prucia, were detained for this ſervice, there were numbred of Knights and Gentlemen 20000. as many Croſſe-bow-men of Genowa; the which together with foot and adventurers, made up the number of 100000. the Mariners, ſervants and other people, made up another number apart. Whoſoever had not hired ſome veſſell of his owne proper coſt, be he of what condition he pleaſe, hee was allowed no more attendance but one horſe and one ſervant: no unuſefull mouthes were allowed of; there was no Prince uninvited, nor who invited did not contribute. The King of Spaine ſhips, the Duke of Saxonie and Bavaria's Souldiers. The Count of Savoy went thither in perſon, accompanied by many warriers: the ſtrife in expences between Princes and great Lords, was very great: To what was neceſſary they added ſuperfluity: the Maſts and Yards gay with ſtreamers, gliſtered with gold & azure; incredible ſtore of victuals: there was nothing unprovided for: the price of things were eighteen times doubled: all things were growne to an exceſſive price; the proviſions of the Navie were not touched: what was there daily conſumed, was ineſtimable; warriers flocked thither not unlike a torrent, ſpending prodigally the certainty which they had, upon the hopes of uncertaine gaine. The court of it ſelfe was ſufficient to cauſe a dearth. The King was accompanied by the Duke of Lorreigne and of Bar: by the Counts of Savoy, Genowa, Saint *Paul*, Armignac, Longaville, Eu: by the Dolphin of Auvergne, by the Lord Cuſſi, and by all the Barons and Nobility of France. Conſtable *Cliſſon* did on the other ſide in Bittanny rig forth a Navie of 72 ſhips, and that nothing might bee wanting to the ſecuritie and Majeſtie of ſo great a King, the woods of that and the neighbouring Provinces, were impoveriſhed, for the building of a Citie, framed all of boords and rafters; it was compaſſed about, as it were with a wall, Bulwarkes, Loop-holes, Caſements, and other things then in uſe in fortification, which might bee joyned together or taken in peeces, as occaſion ſhould ſerve. The circumference thereof was 3000 paces, the height twenty, and at the diſtance of twenty paces was placed

a turret

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a turret of thirty paces high, capable of ten defendants, within this circuit in anſwerable diſtances were placed lodgings for the King, Princes, and Officers, Piazzaes, Market-places, ſpace for Pavillions; nothing was wanting which was requiſite in a ſtrong, commodious, and long-ſince built City: but all this Fabricke, together with five hundred men, being imbarqued for Sluce, a chance winde aroſe, which diſperſt the Fleet; and three veſſels loaden with this Fabricke, were together with their Maſters and Architectors, driven upon the ſands in the mouth of the Thames; the Admirall with twenty other gaining Sluce with much adoe. King *Richard* afterwards cauſed this fabricke be reared up in a ſpatious place. At the ſame time came the Duke of Berry to Sluce, much expected many weekes before. Hee by divers pretences had of purpoſe prolonged his comming, though he had beene daily ſolicited: hee finding their mindes perplexed by reaſon of this loſſe, which they tooke as an ill Omen, made uſe thereof, declaring himſelfe averſe to this expedition; that in his opinion the King ſhould not doe well to hazard his perſon, liberty, and eſtate to the danger of the Seas at ſuch a ſeaſon as this, (it was now November) much leſſe to the danger of war, in a country where he could meet with nothing but manifeſt danger: that the relation of the Engliſh forces to conſiſt of but 60000. Archers, and 8000. Pikemen, was falſe; ſince it was manifeſt that beſides ſuch as guarded the havens, and thoſe who Lancaſter had carried along with him, *Richard* had an army of 100000. Archers, and 10000. horſe. This being exaggerated in full Councell, were it, or for that hee really was of that opinion, or out of a deſire to croſſe the Duke of Burgondy, the chiefe inciter to this enterpriſe; or that they were both of one minde (as ſome beleeved) to ſave their reputations, the voyage was put off to another time; wherewith the Nobility were ſcandalized, but much more the common people, from whom ſo vaſt a ſumme of money had beene raiſed for nothing. The preſent charge was caſt up to have ſurpaſſed the ranſome of King *Iohn*, which was very great.

Diſorders this meane while were not wanting in England, ſubject to be in ill condition, ſince the King and people did not agree. This diviſion had ſtrewed ſtrange feares in the mindes of many; *Richard* not ceaſing to governe himſelfe according to the will of ſuch as govern'd him. All things were without order, and done without acquainting his Uncles therewithall. All things paſſed under the hand of the Earle of Suffolke, by the direction of the Earle of Oxford. A Parliament was called at Michaelmas. Much people were raiſed out of every Shire, and lodged twenty miles round about London, to the end that they might bee ready upon all occaſions. So as ſo great a number being aſſembled together, and not paid, they muſt of neceſſity live by force and rapine; a diſorder which if at other times it bee of great conſequence, was certainly of no ſmall importance now. For the key of military diſcipline (which is ready pay) if it be not well handled is ſoone broken: and if men be defrauded, and payments be not made, there is none who doe obey, none who doe command. For remedy to this inconvenience, order was given that the Souldiers ſhould retire themſelves to their owne homes, with directions to be ready to returne when commanded; whilſt the enemy who lay at Sluce, with hourely expectation to tranſport themſelves, needed

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with a faire winde but one nights ſayle to effect their deſires. But it befell the French as it doth gameſters, they loſt for lacke of knowing when to ſet their reſt.

One of the firſt things the Parliament did, was the making the Earle of Oxford Duke of Ireland, which cauſed whiſpering and diſlike in all men. Not many monthes before in the late Parliament of this ſame yeare, hee was created Marqueſſe of Dublin, and *Michael Poole* Earle of Suffolke; the Kings Uncles Dukes; the Earle of Cambridge, of Yorke; the Earle of Buckingham, of Gloſter; and *Roger Mortimer* Earle of March (in caſe the King ſhould die without iſſue) was declared heyre to the Crowne. An obſervation which I choſe to place here, as requiſite to the pretences of the houſe of Yorke, the which in their due time will bee tryed by the ſword, none having at any time (to the beſt of my knowledge) taken poſſeſſion of a controverted Crowne, by the authority of Lawes, or decree of Judges.

Moneyes being afterwards required for the preſent occaſions, they were denyed with an *Hannibal ad portas*; they pretended no neceſſity thereof: that the Earle of Suffolkes purſe was alone ſufficient to ſupply all wants: they accuſed him of many miſdemeanours: they required that his accounts might be ſeene: the upper houſe ſided with this requeſt; chiefly the Duke of Gloſter. The King who imagined to finde none who would preſcribe Lawes to him now, that Lancaſter was gone, found he had judged amiſſe; but being reſolved not to ſuffer his ſervants bee rent from betweene his armes, he determined (if it be true which is ſaid) to put his Uncle to death; that by freeing himſelfe from ſo great an obſtacle, he might infuſe reverence and reſpect into others. *Richard* would be feared, beleeving it to be the onely way to obedience: but he was not aware that though Princes ought to cloath themſelves with the habit of reverence and reſpect, the ſame habiliament is woven with the thread of affection; the other of feare, being made of threads of hatred, and compoſed of brittle and direfull materialls. A ſupper was given order for in London, to which Gloſter, together with thoſe who had openly declared themſelves enemies to Suffolke, were invited; that by the ſervice of napery and wine they might bee ſlaine; *Nicholas Bambre* was chiefly imployed in this affaire, who the preceding yeare was Lord Maior of London; but *Richard Stone* then Lord Maior, infinitely abhorring ſo great a wickedneſſe, hindred the effecting of it. So as the Duke being acquainted with it, and by him the reſt, they contented themſelves with their owne private ſuppers, finding them more ſavoury, then the riotous other. The diſcovery of this plot was the Colliquintida which diſtaſted the palats of the Uncle and Nephew, and which increaſed in the common people the hatred of the King, and love of the Duke; affections which though they hurt the former, as concurring cauſes of not permitting him to live, they did not helpe the other as not being able to fence him from a miſerable death.

The King retired himſelfe to Eltham, that he might not bee preſent at the averſeneſſe of the Parliaments proceedings: where being advertiſed that the members of Parliament were reſolved not to treat of any other buſineſſe, unleſſe the great Seale were taken from the Earle of Suffolke,

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he commanded them to ſend unto him fortie of the ableſt members of their houſe, that he might treat with them, and reſolve upon what was moſt convenient. But to ſend ſo great a number being not thought fit, they reſolved to ſend unto him the Duke of Gloſter, & *Thomas Arundel*, Biſhop of Ely, with the which he ſeemed to be content. The Articles of their commiſſion were in chiefe two; the firſt, that the King having diſburſed great ſums of money, they humbly beſeeched him to ſuffer them to take the accounts. The ſecond, that the preſence of his Majeſty being requiſite for the treating and concluſion of buſineſſe, hee would be pleaſed to remember, that by an ancient law it was permitted to the Parliament men to returne home to their owne houſes at any time when the King (not hindred by ſickneſſe) ſhould abſent himſelfe for forty dayes together from the place of Parliament. *Richard the 2.*

The Kings anſwer ſhewed how much he was diſpleaſed at ſuch propoſitions, for without further advice he replied; that he apparantly ſaw the ends of the people, and commons, to tend to rebellion, that he thought not to doe amiſſe, if he ſhould call in the King of France to his aide, ſince it would redound leſſe to his diſhonour, to ſubmit himſelfe to a King, then to his owne ſubjects. The two Commiſſioners indeavoured as much as in them lay, to ſhew unto his Majeſty, that the houſe of Parliament had no ſuch intention, and that if by miſ-information hee would needs beleeve the contrary, that which he had ſaid would neither prove honorable, nor advantagious for him: wiſhing him to conſider that ſuch a reſolution was not likely to work ſuch effects, as his paſſion promiſed unto him: the people of England being ſtrong enough to defend themſelves, and a people which did ſo much abhorre the French, as that they would never endure to be governed by them; whilſt on the contrary ſide, he the King of England, ought to pretend to rule the French: that the evils which from them were to enſue, were likely to fall onely upon himſelfe, to his preſent ruine, and perpetuall infamy in after ages. *Richard* had now the uſe of his naturall judgement, free from wicked counſellers; ſo as weighing their reaſons, he was perſwaded to returne to London. Suffolkes miſdemeanors was the firſt thing which was handled; they deputed the Duke of Gloceſter, and Earle of Arundell his Committees, the judgement which enſued, (as ſome will have it) was, degrading, confiſcation and death, moderated with this caution; If it ſhould ſo pleaſe the King. And according to ſome others, the loſſe of his office, a fine of 20000 markes, and the loſſe of his penſion of three thouſand a yeare, which was paid him out of the Exchequer. Upon this judgement *Richard* againe abſented himſelfe, not able patiently to endure that he abhorred; he condoled with Suffolke, that his faults had brought ſuch infamy upon him, as tooke from him all meanes of defending him. The ſentence notwithſtanding was not executed, a reſervation being therein had to the Kings pleaſure; leaving him at liberty, they contented themſelves with ſuch ſufficient ſecurity as he gave them. Thirteen men were afterwards choſen, who under the King, ſhould take upon them the government of the Kingdome: of the which number were the two Uncles of Yorke and Gloſter, and the Earle of Arundell. An Oligarchy at all times dangerous in a Monarchicall government: and which firſt inſtituted in the reigne of *Richard*, was afterwards

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wards (as harmfull) repealed. But examples are not ſufficient to ground Lawes upon, when the injuſtice of the Prince is ſuch, as it receiveth Lawes from the ſubject: when their injuſtice ſprings from their weakneſſe, and when their weakneſſe proves the nerves of ſtrength and veines of juſtice to the people; whether being arrived, commanding, they are blind in doing of offence, whilſt being commanded, they were *Argu-eyd* in receiving offences: every man cries out, Liberty; a pleaſing thing, and according to nature: but to bring others into ſervitude, is a vice in nature, & more in reaſon. The tyranny of the *Decemviri* in Rome was more inſupportable then that of *Tarquin*; and the ſhort government of theſe thirteen more inexorable then all *Richards* reigne: ſo as if wee conſider things aright, we ſhall finde, that evils have almoſt alwayes had juſt beginnings, but contrary proceedings and ends; hatred envie and revenge unmasking thoſe vices which covered by the deceitfull cloake of Common-good, were beleeved to be vertues. The laſt buſineſſe, and the one-ly one which gave ſatisfaction to the King, was the aſſigning over to the Duke of Ireland, the thirty thouſand markes paid in by the Admirall *Cliſſon*, for the ranſome of *Iohn* of Brettony, Count of Pointivers his ſonne-in-law. This *Iohn*, together with his brother *Guy*, was taken priſoner by *Iohn Shandois* in the battell of Antroy, the yeare 1364. The French ſeconding *Charles* of Bloys, father to the two young brethren (who died in that battell) and the Engliſh *Iohn Montford*, both of them pretenders to the Dukedome of Bretanny: they gave unto him this money in colour that he ſhould goe into Ireland, to take poſſeſſion of ſuch lands as the King had there given him; but in effect to ſeparate him from him: barring him of all delay, they prefixt unto him Eaſter for his departure from England. This was the price at which they thought to have purchaſed his abſence; but neither did he ſee Ireland, nor was the King likely to loſe his company, if Fortune did not deprive him of it. This Parliament ended, with the giving of one Subſidy, which was alotted to *Richard*, Earle of Arundell, to be ſpent at ſea; where having done conſiderable actions, accompanied with the Earle of Nottingham, he gave to the Duke and others further occaſion of hatred; whereby to ſuppreſſe thoſe vertues which in well-governed Common-wealths uſe to be rewarded, ſo to incite others to the ſervice of their Countrey, by the bait of emulation and honour: a diſmall ſigne of corruption, the bringer in of vice, and fore-

1387. runner of ruine. The Parliament was no ſooner ended, but the King returned to London, retooke the Earle of Suffolke to his former favour; who, as one condemned, ought not to have been permitted to have ſeene the King, nor have come where he was, he anuld all that was decreed againſt him; conniving onely at this, that the office of Chancellor ſhould remaine in the Biſhop of Ely, upon whom it was conferred. And to the end that matters of ſcandall might never be wanting to the favorites; and that their inſolencies might witneſſe to the world, the ſupreame power they had over him, he ſuffered the Duke of Ireland to do one act of ſcandall, the which diſtaſted all men.

The Duke amongſt the chiefeſt of his honours, married *Phillep*, the daughter of *Ingram Guiſnes*, Lord of Conſi, and *Iſabel* daughter of *Edward* the third, coſen to the King, a great and noble Lady by her owne

deſerts

deſerts, as well as birth, not moved thereunto by any inciting cauſe, but his owne pleaſure, he reſolved to repudiate her, that hee might marry one *Ancerona*, a Bohemian, a Carpenters daughter, who came into England in the Queens ſervice. It is to be beleeved, that he had not taken her, had not *Richard* adhered to him; and the diſpenſation of *Vrban* the ſixth, had not been obtained without the Regall countenance (there being no lawfull cauſe for the putting her away) although it was the eaſilier gotten, for that the Dutches *Phillep*, being a Frenchwoman, adhered to the ſchiſme of *Clement* of Avignion. So that it is no wonder if the King were not generally beloved of his people, ſince that to ſecond the Dukes unlawfull humours, hee put no valuation upon himſelfe. The Duke of Gloſter was herewithall ſoundly netled; neither did he cloake his anger, though to declare himſelfe therein, was not agreeable to the rules of wiſedome: for an open enemy puts himſelfe to too much diſadvantage. Eaſter the prefixed time for the journey into Ireland, was come and gone, the world was to be ſatisfied. He delayed the time under the colour of making preparations; but not able to put it off any longer, he departed, and together with him the King, who went (as hee gave out) to accompany him to the Sea ſide. Being come to Briſtow, they did not put to Sea, but leaving it on the left hand, paſſed forward into Wales, as if the people had forgotten the journey to Ireland. Trickes and devices the more ſcandalous and unſeaſonable, for that they argued ſome ſtrange alteration. The authoritie of the governours troubled his quiet, and the advantage that they had got upon Regall authority, threatned his ruine, they coveted to ſecure themſelves from them: for neither did the Duke intend to goe into Ireland, nor the King to part with him, nor the Archbiſhop of York to ſtand the ſhock of univerſall hatred, nor the Earle of Suffolk to return to the cenſure of the Parliament, nor *Triſillian* nor *Bambre* to give an account of their paſt actions. Whereupon finding themſelves in great danger, they agreed that it was impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt, without ridding them out of the way, who were onely able to undoe them. A wicked reſolution, but now neceſſary, ſince they were come to that paſſe, as nothing but extreams could worke their ſafety. The difficulty of the buſineſſe lay in the making away of Gloſter, Arundell, Warwicke, Nottingham and Darby, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Lancaſter, who hitherto hath not been named, though the firſt ſubject of our Story. They had likewiſe proſcribed many others: with whom they might not have done amiſſe to have temporized; but all delayes were to them dangerous: and treacheries framed formerly againſt Gloſter, made it impoſſible for them to compaſſe their ends by the ſame meanes. The law was thought the ſafeſt way, and the more marked the ſafer. Many there were who had followed the King, not ſo much out of reſpect, and to claw the favourite, as for that the aire of London, under the blaſt of the thirteene, not tempered by the propitious breath of Regality, was thought peſtilentiall: They all ſeemed to make up but one body; yet they were diverſly inclined, *Yorke*, *Ireland*, *Suffolke*, *Triſillian* and *Bambre*, were all ruled by like intereſt, the reſt not ſo: The former being in a deſperate caſe in their owne reſpects, the reſt not ſo; unleſſe in reſpect of them. *Triſillian* framed ten Articles, whereof the firſt nine contained onely two queres: The firſt, whether the King being inforced

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to give his assent to the Acts of the last Parliament, to the prejudice of his Prerogative, might not lawfully revoke them. The second, that if hee might doe it, what punishment did they deserve who had forced his assent? The tenth was, whether or no the judgement given against Suffolk, was erroneous, and consequently revocable.

To this purpose the chiefe Judges of England were summoned to the Castle of Nottingham, that they might give their opinions in these points, and having given them, subscribe them. Their answers were according as were desired, but they did not all incline to subscribe them; by threats and examples they were drawne unto it. *Robert Belenap*, chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas, threatned by the Duke and Suffolke, was the first that underwrit them; which when he had done, he said, now I lacke nothing but a rope; if I should not have obeyed you, I know I could not have escaped your hands; now that I have obeyed, I shall not scape, being punished by the Barons of the Land: nor can I complaine if they so doe. The answers of the learned in the Law were, that the King might revoke all as done against his will: that those who were the cause of it, deserved death as traytors: and that the judgement given against Suffolk was erroneous, and consequently revocable. This being done, they thought the worst was past: the goods of the condemned were already shared; nor remained there any thing save the owners death, to the taking of possession, the which was diligently indeavoured: besides the Judges of the Kingdome, the Sheriffes of every Shire were summoned thither, for two purposes: the one to know how many men might be found who would fight against the Barons: the other, that if another Parliament should be called, the Knights and Burgesses might be chosen by the kings recommendation. To the first they answered, that the people stood so well affected to the Barons, that they would not take armes against them: to the second, that to chuse the Burgesses contrary to the usuall forme of Law, and liberty of the Kingdome, was not onely impossible but dangerous. The few that with an implicite obedience soothed their designes, were commanded to be ready at need. The Duke of Gloster was advised of all these affaires; and fearing left greater inconveniences might ensue, he went unto the Bishop of London, to whom he swore, that he nere had other designe, then the service and honour of the King and Kingdome: that his onely errour was, that he had hated, and still did hate the Duke of Ireland, so singularly beloved of the King; but that hee was so farre from repenting himselfe of it, that he desired the King and all the world might know, that his hatred should never cease till crown'd with a just revenge: that he was sory that no revenge was to be found answerable to his offence, to wit the divorce of a Lady, cosen to the King, and neece to him: he desired the Bishop to go to Court, to acquaint the king with his good intentions: to intreat his better opinion of him, and to perswade him to lesse dangerous designes. The Bishop went, did what was desired, and was graciously heard, and had received as gracious an answer, had not the Earle of Suffolke, who apprehended all reconciliation, mard the matter. These men were like to those, who falling down headlong, lay hold upon some craggy stone, which if pull'd out, falls downe with them. They kept themselves close to the King, indangering his

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ſafety to ſave themſelves. The Earle ſhewed unto *Richard*, how that the Dukes minde was full of deceit, dangerous ambition, ſeditious practices, charging him with whatſoever he might doe, to the prejudice of his Majeſty, as if he had already done it, in ſuch ſort, as the Biſhop not able any longer to endure ſo much provoking petulancy, commanded him to hold his peace: he, not accuſtomed to ſuch commands, asked him why? becauſe (replied the Biſhop) you being a condemned man, and one who lives onely by the Kings meere grace, ſhould not meddle in theſe affaires. Theſe words did ſtrangely offend the King; who after many and terrible threats, went his way, commanding him to goe unto his place of reſidence, and not to ſtirre from thence without his expreſſe permiſſion. The which hee forthwith did: for afterward having made relation to the Duke of what had paſt, he retired himſelfe to his owne Church. *Arundel*, *Warwicke* and *Darby*, were thoſe who were moſt expoſed to danger: To theſe *Gloſter* joyned himſelfe, ſhewing that it was not now time to temporize: that force was the onely meanes whereby to worke their ſafetie with the King, and to keep the plotters of miſchiefe within their bounds; ſince that an open warre would be more advantagious to them, then a deceitfull peace, ſubject to deceit, danger and ſuſpition. Theſe reaſons being approved, they all withdrew themſelves to their own homes, uſing all the meanes they could to raiſe great troops of armed men: the King advertiſed of their preparations, thought the beſt courſe hee could take, would be to prevent them, and take from them the meanes uniting themſelves. Whereupon the Earle of Arundell being fartheſt diſtant from the reſt, and more expoſed to danger, hee commanded the Earle of Northumberland to ſurprize him; who taking along with him ſtore of company, came to Rigate in Surrey, where finding him rather in a condition of offending then being offended, he thought he ſhould doe better to returne without doing of any thing, then by making a raſh attempt, diſcover the reaſons of his comming. But the King did not for all this, quit his deſigne: hee gave the like order to divers others; commanning, that if hee could not be had alive, hee ſhould be brought dead. The Earle was ignorant of theſe plots, but being advertiſed of them by *Gloſter*, (who had better ſpies in Court) hee travelled with all his followers, all night long, and in the morning came weary to Aringey, where hee found the Duke and *Warwick*, with a great number of Souldier; a rumor was at the ſame time ſpread, that the King under pretence of going to Canterbury to performe a vow, would paſſe over into Fraoce, to ſurrender unto that King, Callis, the caſtle of Guines, & whatſoever elſe was in that country poſſeſſed by the Crown of England; which, whether or no it were invented to increaſe the peoples hatred, is more then I can ſay, but he made no ſuch journey; not to free them of ſuſpition, but for the fear he had of their combination. For their forces were not to bee deſpiſed, their ends being (as they gave forth) to reduce him to a better and more frugall government: ſo as apprehending danger, he demanded counſell, not without ſome ſignes of feare. Some were of opinion, that he ſhould do well to temporize, entertaining them with hopes of ſatisfaction. Others thought that this knot was too faſt tyed, & not to be undone but by the ſword. The Archbiſhop of Yorke was the author of this opinion; but it met with many oppoſitions.

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ons. The King could reap nothing thereby but losse; the gates were opened to a civill warre: and if amongst bloud and dead carcasses, the key should perchance be lost, hee was not like to meet with them in time, to shut the gate at his pleasure: that if he should overcome, it would bee a mournfull victory; both friends and enemies being the chiefe of the Kingdome, and equally his subjects. That if hee should be beaten, hee had no place to retire unto; his ruine was inevitable, his kingdome, life and liberty being at the stake: *Ralph Basset*, a Gentleman of quality, said freely, that he would not have his head broken for the Duke of Irelands sake. But the Earle of Northumberland propounded the giving them a hearing, as the best resolution in this case could be taken. This advice pleased the most of them: The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Ely, Chancellour, were sent to perswade them to present themselves the next Sunday in Westminster, where they might themselves lay open their grievances before the King; assuring them that they should finde his Majesty ready to give them a gracious hearing. But they found the adverse party hard to resolve; being by past examples reduced to small beliefe, and lesse trust: for where there is neither shame of infamy, nor feare of punishment, breach of promise, craft and treachery, are taken to bee tearmes of wisedome, and things handsomely carried: the which being well knowne unto the Chancellor, who dealt uprightly in this businesse, he desired them not to sticke at this, since the good and peace of the Common-wealth depended upon this resolution, passing his word unto them, that if there were any thing of fraud intended, he would give them timely advertisement. Upon this security they promised a meeting: but as their suspitions were not vain, so did the Chancellor faithfully keep promise with them: for understanding that 1000 men were laid in ambush to cease upon them at unawares, he advertised them thereof, to the end that either they might not come, or if they came, come so accompanied, as they need not fear danger. Sunday being come, the King wondred that they came not, and understanding the reason, swore he was no wayes conscious of it; and commanded the Sheriffes to goe to the place of ambush, and to cut in peeces as many as they should there meet: But the ambushers having retired themselves upon the advertisement of *Thomas Trivet* and *Nicholas Bambre* their leaders, that care was needlesse. 'Tis hard to say, whether the King had any hand therein or no, unlesse they ground their opinions on this, that a Prince who onely intends his owne desires, values no plighted faith, neither religious nor civill, so as the breach thereof may tend to his own interest; and to him his ends being considered, the miscarrying of these Lords, had been much availeable; and the not making inquiry after the authors of it, must needs bee subject to a bad construction. Notwithstanding al this, the Chancellor forbare not to doe all good offices: he mitigated the resentment of this fresh wound, with reiterated lenitives, and procuring them to boot with the Kings word, a safe conduct in writing, he secured them a second time, and drew them to Westminster, whither they came well accompanied, relying much upon the fidelitie of the people; a securitie upon such occasions, efficatious, though wavering. The King understanding their arrivall, came thither in his Robes, with his Scepter in hand, and Crowne upon his

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his head, invironed by Prelates and Lords. His favourites and confidents, upon good advice, ſtaid at home. *Gloſter* as ſoone as he was come into the Hall, kneeled downe before him, together with his aſſociates. The Biſhop, whoſe office it was, as being Chancellor, to declare unto them the Kings intentions, did in a grave manner ſay; That the King their Soveraigne Lord, being informed of their aſſemblies made at Haringie, forbare to uſe the way of violence (which eaſily he might have done) to reduce them to their obedience; that hee had put a greater valuation upon the bloud of his ſubjects, and their own particular ſafeties, then upon the injuries done unto himſelf: That he was rather pleaſed to make uſe of his owne grace and favour (the naturall Panacea of good Princes) then to apply violent remedies to ſo grievous a malady: That his reſolution was not onely to pardon paſt offences, but patiently to liſten unto their grievances, and to remedy them if need ſhould require. They tendring all humble thankfullneſſe, anſwered: That their aſſemblies had been made, not with intention of taking Armes againſt his Majeſty, their Soveraigne Lord, but driven thereunto out of the neceſſity of his Majeſties good, and the weale publicke: That they had taken this reſolution to withſtand the treacheries plotted againſt them and the State, by certaine traytors, who under pretence of ſerving his Majeſty, intended the ſubverſion of King and Kingdome. Paſſing by the reſt, they inſtanced in the Duke of Ireland, Archbiſhop of Yorke, Earle of Suffolk, *Triſillian* and *Bambre*. They offered to make good their aſſertions by the ſword, throwing downe their gloves as gages, a thing then in uſe; and which, in caſe of difficultie, is as yet ſometimes uſed in England. The King having patiently given them hearing, anſwered: That he was not well pleaſed, that from the appeaſing of one quarrell, many others ſhould ariſe; hee willed them to be preſent at the Parliament, which was to commence the next day after the purification of our Lady, where all differences ſhould according to the Lawes, be ended. The which being ſaid, he immediatly added theſe words: And you my Lords, what reaſon did permit you to take up Armes againſt me in this my Land? thought you thereby to frighten me? could not I have raiſed greater forces to your deſtruction? I would have you all to know, that upon this account, I no more value you, then the leaſt Scullion in my Kitchin. Theſe laſt words being ſaid, not allowing time for a reply, he tooke the Duke by the arme, and raiſed him from the ground; and returning to his Palace, welcomed them all with ſuch appearing ſignes of friendſhip, as in token of his good will, hee called for wine, and did in a familiar friendly manner drinke with them. That which was agreed upon in this buſineſſe, was; That the differences ſhould be decided by Parliamentory juſtice: That the King ſhould take the parties intereſſed, into his protection: That the one ſide ſhould not wrong the other: That in the intrim neither ſide ſhould raiſe forces: and, to the end, that no marke of infamy might remaine upon the fore-named Lords, *Richard* cauſed a proclamation to be made, that they being accuſed of treaſon by ſome of his Councellors (namely by *Ireland* and the reſt) for any diligent enquiry that could bee made, there was found no treaſon in them, nor reaſons to beleeve it. Hereupon returning to their owne homes (the Kings mutability, and the malice of their adverſaries

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considered) they resolved not to dis-band the forces which they had. A deliberation in respect of what ensued, ascribed to too much wisedome: for hardly had they taken their leaves, when the Duke of Ireland went into Wales; where, under the command of *Thomas Mullinax*, a brave Souldier, and one much followed in those parts, hee assembled together five thousand fighting men, hoping that when these should bee joyned to those who were at London, he might bee strong enough to make his party good; and thus he marched towards London. On the other side, *Glester, Darby, Arundell, Warwicke* and *Nottingham* divided themselves, that they might hinder his passage. 'Twas *Darbies* fortune to meet with him. The Duke came puffed up with confidence, with Standards Royall, the King being on his side, and the chiefe Citie, if not out of selfe-inclination, by the incedencie of his partie, he expected not to be encountred. He perswaded himselfe that others were as full of feare as he of hope. Being come to Burford, a towne in Oxford-shire, hee himselfe was the first that descried the enemy, which stood in battel-aray to hinder his passage. It fared with him as with those which growne fierce upon supposed advantage, turne cowards; if found equall in force, they bee unequall in valour. His former confidence ceased, cowardise and feare springing up in the place thereof. *Mullinax* could by no meanes infuse courage into him; 'twas bootlesse to make it appeare unto him, that the enemies forces were inferior to his, that the Earle of Darby was onely there, a youth, and till then of no reputation in warre. Mountaines, though covered with iron, would not have secured him; imagining himselfe to bee (as indeed he was) the onely marke whereat those bowes aimed, the onely quintan those lances addressed themselves against, and that the safety of his men consisted in his flight, since 'twas hee, not they, that was desired. *Mullinax* for all this, could not forbeare to give battell. But hardly had the first blow been given, when the Duke mounted upon a very fleet horse, ran away: the river withstood his flight; hee found the first bridge cut in two, the other well guarded; despaire overcame feare, hee took the water, where both he and his horse being born down, he quit his Saddle, swimming not without danger to the other shore. Before hee tooke the river, he had throwne away his Cuirace, Helmet, Guantlets and Sword, in such a case offensive and troublesome weapons; he marched the lighter without them. He came to Scotland; from thence to Holland, where not thinking himselfe safe (for that *Albertus*, Duke of Bavaria, the Lord of that Country, was a friend to the Kings Uncles) he went to France, and from thence to Lorain, where he shortly after died. This mean while, many of his Souldiers had abandoned their Arms, not out of cowardise, but meere anger: And *Mullinax* having done all that could be expected from a wise and valiant Captaine, perceiving that the Duke was fled, and that part of his men were escaped away, part surrendred themselves, began to thinke upon his owne safety: hee betooke himselfe to swimming; but *Thomas Mortimer* threatning to shoot him if he would not render himself, he yeelded upon condition his life might bee safe; which not obtained, permit me yet (said he) to dye like a man in single combat with thy selfe, or some of those that are about thee. But as he endeavoured to lay hand upon the shore, *Mortimer* slew him. A man who deserved to have lived longer,

longer, or elſe to have died for ſome other cauſe then the taking up of Armes by the Kings commiſſion. No ſeverity was uſed to the reſt. The Gentlemen with their weapons paſſed under *Derbies* colours, the reſt unarmed were ſuffered to returne: no enquiry was made after the Duke, his Armes and horſe arguing his being drowned: his carriages fell into the victors hands: amongſt other things, there were found letters, wherein he was by the King ſolicited to make what haſte he could, proffering to live and die with him. But this dayes worke, through his owne fault, put a period to all his favours: he choſe rather to live hatefull to himſelfe, and abhorred by others, then to embrace the honourable hazard of victory or death. While matters fell out thus luckily in theſe parts, fortune would compleatly favour the Barons deſires, by bringing to their hands a poſt from France, he brought with him a ſafe conduct for *Richard*, &cas many as would accompany him, to Bullen, where King *Charles* was to be, to conclude the bargaine touching the buying of Callis, and other ſtrengths in thoſe parts for a certaine ſumme of money. *Richard* being moreover, to doe him homage for Guaſcony, the onely province which remained in his hands of all thoſe in France which either by inheritance or conqueſt belonged to the Crowne of England: Eſſentiall points to juſtifie their proceedings, and condemne the Kings. They notwithſtanding concealed this buſineſſe for the preſent, and marched towards London with fourtie thouſand men, where the King intended to keepe his Chriſtmas. As ſoone as the Duke of Irelands defeat was divulged, the firſt who fled, were the Archbiſhop of Yorke and *Triſillian*: *Suffolke* went his way diſguiſed in beard and habit; nor was any newes heard of him till hee came into France. The King retired himſelfe to the Tower, as the place leaſt expoſed to ſudden dangers. *Gloſter* and his companions came to London on Saint *Stephens* day; he lodged all his men in the ſuburbs: many were flocked thither, not ſo much drawne by affection, as out of the hopes of ſacking ſo rich a Citie. The chiefe Magiſtrate who feared this, knew not to which ſide to betake himſelfe: if hee ſhould receive the Barons, the King would bee offended; if not, the Barons. Small reſiſtance was to be made, the walles without defence, and the meaner ſort of people ready to throw themſelves into the richeſt Merchants houſes. The preſent danger prevailed, the Barons were invited into the Citie, and to their people without, was proviſion of bread, wine, cheeſe and beer ſent; an opportune remedy: for wanting nothing, and being received as friends, they could not frame unto themſelves an occaſion of tumult. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Biſhop of Ely, and others, who as being neuters, endeavoured peace, counſelled the King to give them hearing, to the which he was no wayes inclined; his hopes perſwading him, that the multitude of people would of themſelves grow weary, and ſo ſhortly diſſolve, and that the Barons being abandoned by their followers, would without further trouble fall into his hands: the which being by him publickly ſaid, and underſtood by them, they ſwore they would never depart till they had ſpoken with him, armed as they were, and this did they more really performe, then did he his threats, which with feare-infuſing forces are of no validity. They did as it were beleager him in the tower: for the Thames being well guarded, and they themſelves making good the Citie,

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Citie, he had no possible meanes of making an escape, whereby perceiving the vanity of his owne opinion, he yeelded to the advice of others, necessity being the chiefe motive.

But it was impossible to bring them together; for neither would hee come out of the Tower, nor they enter, for fear of the like treacheries, as in a lesse proper place, they had not long before had experience of: at last feare found the meanes: he propounded unto them to send men who might search the Tower; with the which contented, they sent two hundred armed men, who having searched every corner, received the keyes of the gates, and so secured their entry: Their complements were short and coole, as was to be expected in a businesse of such nature. They first shewed him the Letters written under his owne hand to the Duke of Ireland, upbraiding him with the breach of his private promise, and publique faith, publiquely proclaimed: but at the sight of his safe conduct for France, which in the second place they shewed him, he grew pale, and not knowing what to say in his defence, burst forth into teares. That which was then resolved upon, was, that he would the next day come to Westminster, to take order for his past misgovernment. He would have had them lodge in the Tower with him, but they excused themselves, upon the necessity of their being present with their men. For his satisfaction Darby and Nottingham tarried there. At night when hee retired to his rest, those who were neareſt about him, wished him to consider, that to goe to Westminster would be both shamefull, and dangerous: whilst they considered not, that where honour is in question, shame consists not in the eyes but in the minde, which could penetrate the thickest walls: and that he could not meet with greater danger by comming forth, since he had already put himselfe into the hands of his most hated enemies. But according to his custome, imbracing the worst counsell, he refused to goe to Westminster: at which the Barons thinking themselves deluded, they sent him word that if he would not come, they would chuse a new King in his stead. A more considerable shame and danger, then was the quitting of the Tower, and the doing of what of himselfe as King, he ought unintreated to have done. Yet all these errours considered, there is no law which permits subjects to make so insolent a protestation.

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Hitherto their actions had been in some sort justifiable; the States necessity excused what of violence they had formerly used: but to use such tearmes to a young King as ought onely to be used to an old incorrigible Tyrant, they had neither law for their justification, nor reason for their excuse; since they were chosen Governours for the conservation not extirpation of the King and Regall Majesty; but though God was pleased that his inconstancie should be punished by this affront, and that like a childe he should be frighted with the noise of the rod, hee was not notwithstanding pleased, that they should hate that in him, which they loved in themselves, that they should fall from justice to severity, and from a juridicall government to tyranny: so as both sides having offended, it is no wonder if all of them in their due times did receive alike punishment.

The King being by threats brought to Westminster, this proposition was made unto him, that in consideration of many disorders which had happened to the prejudice of his honour, and the good government of the King-

Kingdome, by the infidelity of certaine traytors that were too familiarly about him, (to the end that more the like might not enſue) hee would bee pleaſed that they might bee baniſhed the Court, and his preſence. To the which, he (bereaved of all acts of will, eſpecially ſuch as tended to contradiction) did much againſt his will, give conſent; grieving that hee was to loſe their company who hee intirely loved, and eſteemed his onely faithfull adviſers; the chiefe of theſe were three Prelates: The Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhop of Durham his Treaſurer, and the Biſhop of Chicheſter his Confeſſor. Three Barons, *Zouch*, *Burnel*, and *Beamont*; five Knights, many Ladies and Gentlewomen. To boot with their baniſhment, they were to give in bond for their appearing at the next Parliament, to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be alledged againſt them. Of the three Biſhops, Yorke and Chicheſter, were freed from this ingagement, for they were formerly fled. Many others of all conditions were impriſoned, Prieſts, Gentlemen, and Lawyers: of the which the moſt conſiderable were *Simon Burle*, and *Nicholas Bambre*. The day appointed for Parliament being come, and the Judges having tane their ſeats, they were all (one onely excepted) committed to priſon; for that in the preceding Parliament they had given their votes for the legitimacy of the election of the governours; and in the Caſtle at Nottingham, had ſubſcribed to the Articles of *Triſilian*, to the contradiction of what they had formerly done. Thoſe who had abſented themſelves, were cited to appeare. The Duke of Ireland, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, Earle of Suffolke, and *Triſilian*, were ſummoded to anſwer to ſuch Articles of Treaſon as ſhould bee objected unto them, by Gloſter, Darby, Arundel, and Nottingham: and that in caſe they did not appeare during the ſitting of that Parliament (which continued from the Purification to Pentecoſt) they ſhould be for ever baniſhed, and their goods confiſcated. *Triſilian*, relying more upon his warineſſe, then a wary man ought to doe, was betrayed by one of his ſervants, and taken in a houſe neare the Parliament, whither with confidence he had retired himſelfe, that he might the better diſcover the daily paſſages. He had the face to deny himſelfe, having ſo transformed himſelfe, as he was almoſt not to be knowne. After much mockery, he was hanged. *Bambre* who was his companion in actions, was the like in fortune: hee had his head ſtrucken off with a hatchet, which hee himſelfe had cauſed be made to behead a number of people, whoſe names were found in a liſt about him. Many others went the ſame way. But the death of *Simon Burle* was thought leſſe juſtifiable then all the reſt. This *Simon* was nobly borne: *Iohn* his father was Knight of the Garter, and his Uncle *Walter Burle* was one of the firſt to whoſe charge *Edward* the third truſted the education of his ſonne *Edward*, with whom this *Simon* being brought up under his Uncle, he proved ſo full of worth, as the Prince thought hee could not commit the government of his ſonne *Richard* to a more deſerving man. A choice not to be ſleighted, being made by ſuch a Prince. In this his charge he knew ſo well how to comply with *Richards* inclination, as that when he came to the Crowne, he raiſed him to great honour, making him Knight of the Garter, Chamberlaine, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Conſtable of Dover Caſtle, and Privy Councellor. Some ſay he made him Earle of Huntington, but I finde not this made good. The reaſons

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reaſons of his ruine were, his ſumptuous living, the ſincerity of his minde, and the places he enjoy'd; by the firſt, having exceeded all former preſidents for magnificency; he drew envie upon him by his ſincerity, he made Gloſter his enemy, for he unfainedly loved the Duke of Ireland; the which if it were a fault in him, let who will, judge; certainly, a true affection and friendly faith, (things ſo ſeldome ſeene in Court) ought rather to have procured praiſe then blame: his places, the laſt in order, but firſt in effect, was the axe that ſlew him. The Duke not being able to make any pretence unto any of them, neither for himſelfe nor any other, ſave by his death; the faults which were laid to his charge, were, the waſtefull ſpending of the Kings treaſure; the converting of the ſouldiers pay to his private uſe; his having ſent great ſummes of money to Dover Caſtle, from whence he had by night conveyed them into Germany; that upon the bruit of the comming of the French into England, he had uſed meanes to the Deane and Chapter of Canterbury, that the rich monument of that Church ſhould be put into his hands, under pretence of keeping it ſafe in Dover caſtle, but in effect to ſend it as his owne into Bohemia: to the firſt charge he wanted no defence, for there were ſo many through whoſe hands the Kings monies paſſed before they came to him, as that he had no part therein, ſave what the King in bounty gave him; for what concerned the ſouldiers pay, he was not allowed one that might reckon with him, and make even the accounts, whereupon he was found in arrere 250000. frankes; he on the other ſide demanded ſatisfaction for his expences in his journey to Bohemia concerning the Kings marriage; but this not being granted, he required time for paiment, which was likewiſe denied him: for the tranſportation of treaſure, there was no proofe made of it: that he was a friend to the Duke of Ireland (as hath bin ſaid) might well increaſe his danger, but not his fault; for what concerned the tombe or monument, who can tell whether his intention was rather to ſend it into Bohemia, then to keepe it ſafe in Dover caſtle, as the occaſion required, and his words witneſſed. Juſtice ought not to puniſh a fault not committed, for that it might be committed; nor ought a Judge condemne a man of a mentall conception not expreſſed; for that ſuch a thing might have bin imagined and put in execution: two things make much for his innocency; that he was beheaded on the ſudden, by the ſole command of the Duke of Gloſter, without any legall proceeding; and that the Earle of Darby had endeavoured his freedome, inſomuch, as that he grew to high tearmes with the Duke. Walſingham accuſes him for having conſented to ſell Dover caſtle to the French: when the King ſhould give him notice that he was proud, arrogant, an oppreſſour of the poore, a diſpiſer of the Church, a fornicator, an adulterer; but he rather ſpake like a preacher, (being indeede of the Clergie) then as an hiſtorian: for the ſurrendring up of Dover 'twas one of theſe popular errours which in the fall of great men, diſperſe themſelves amongſt the common people: it doth not appeare that the King would have ſold Dover to the French; nor is it likely, that he had any intention of giving them ſo principall a place in England, whilſt when he would have ſold Callice, and the adjacent places, he reſerved unto himſelfe the Dutchie of Gaſcony; nor did the letters which together with the paſport were intercepted, make any

mention

mention thereof. As for pride, arrogancie, and the neglect of the poore, they are evils much practiſed, againſt ſuch as from a low beginning, are raiſed to great preferments. If on the contrary ſide, he had been to have ſhewed unto us, what ſtore of humility, meekneſſe and charity hee had found amongſt ſuch who from a low beginning have arrived at great preferments (though the world be not quite void of vertue) he would have been more troubled in finding of them out, then in finding out a peece of paper wherein to make a ſhort Catalogue of their names. Beſides, though ſuch ſinnes may deſerve blame, yet they deſerve not death, being a fitter ſubject for the Court of Conſcience, then the Aſſiſes. Hee was underſtood to bee a contemner of the Church (as I beleeve) by reaſon of his pretended ſacriledge of the rich tombe, in all likelihood fals: For if the French had landed (as all men had reaſon to think they would) Canterbury was no wayes defended, the loſſe of that treaſure moſt certaine, and *Burles* providence worthy of reward and praiſe. For fornication and adultery (ſay it were true) if the lawes were therein ſevere, not onely the Court, but the whole world would quickly be diſpeopled. I conclude, that the Duke of Gloſter took liberty, & the weal-publick for his colour; but the bringing of the King under, & his own particular intereſt was the ſoule therof. The Judges remained for the laſt act of this Tragedy, who as the laſt impriſoned, ſo were they the laſt puniſhed; they were as well as the reſt, condemned to dye: but the Queen begged their pardon, ſince they were inforced to ſubſcribe the Articles: they were notwithſtanding baniſhed in perpetuity, having only ſo much as might ſuffiſe them for livelihood alotted unto them out of their confiſcated goods: a good fortune which *Burley* met not with; for he was beheaded before the King had any notice thereof, otherwiſe he had not died; which when he underſtood, hee uttered againſt *Gloſter* what ever affection, paſſion, or reaſon could dictate unto him. But this Oligarchy did not long continue: for it began but a little before the laſt yeare of *Richards* minority, and ended as ſoone as hee came to full age, the yeare 1389. The manner of deſtroying it (whether it proceeded from the advice of others, or from himſelfe) was noble and generous: hee commanded all the Nobility to come to Court, which they did: being all met in the Councel Chamber, he was not long in comming thither himſelfe. They all with much expectation longed to heare what he would ſay; when being ſet in his chaire, and looking round about him, he asked them how old they thought hee was? Anſwer was made full 21. If ſo (ſaid he) in reaſon my condition ſhould not be worſe then is the condition of my ſubjects, who by the lawes are at thoſe yeares exempted from guardianſhip, and are admitted to the managing of their owne affaires. Hitherto I have been a ward; being now no more ſo, I renounce the being governed by you, intending hereafter to governe my perſon and my affaires, as beſt ſhall pleaſe my ſelfe. And to the end that from that time forward, they might hold him for a free and abſolute Prince, he forthwith tooke their offices from ſome of them, and conferred them upon ſome others: breaking the ice by the change of Chancellour. The Archbiſhop of Yorke, formerly Biſhop of Ely (for when *Nevil* was baniſhed, he removed to that See) kneeling downe, did readily deliver up unto him the great Seale. Hee likewiſe changed the

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1383.

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Lord Treaſurer, the Clarke of the Signet, and the Judges, hee removed the Earle of Arundel from being Admirall, and conferred that place upon the Earle of Huntington, brother by the mothers ſide to his Majeſty. He put the Duke of Gloſter, Earle of Warwicke, and others from the Councell Table, naming new Councellors in their places: And not yet fully reſolved whom to chuſe for Chancellor, hee carried the great Seale along with him to his Chamber, where pitching upon a choice, he returned backe, and gave it to *William Wickham* Biſhop of Wincheſter; a favour which he unwillingly received. All this paſſed quietly on, no words proceeding from any one, although the kingdome, a body then ill affected, paſſed but from one ague fit to another.

1390. At the end of this yeare the Duke of Lancaſter returned to England, having ſpent three yeares abroad. The mortality which fell amongſt his people, cauſed by the exceſſive heats in Spaine, forced him to retire into Gaſcony, where having begun a treaty with the Duke of Berry, to give unto him for wife his daughter *Catherine* (ſhe upon whom the pretence to the Kingdome of Caſtile fell after her mothers death) he thereby raiſed ſuch jealouſies in *Iohn* the firſt, who then reigned, as that the ſaid *Iohn* demanded her for wife unto his eldeſt ſonne *Henry*, (who was afterwards the third King of that name) a youth of but ten yeares of age, though *Catherine* were nineteen years old: Upon theſe conditions, that hee ſhould pay unto him for the preſent, 200000 Nobles, and 10000 markes yearly during the life of the Duke, and his wife *Conſtance*, mother to *Catherine*: That he ſhould aſſigne over unto *Coſtanſa*, *Guadalajara*, *Medina del Campo*, and *Olmedo*, that ſhee might enjoy the fruits thereof during her life: and that the eſpouſed Princeſſe ſhould be ſtiled by the name of Princeſſe of Auſtria; the ſonnes of thoſe Kings, though their eldeſt, till then being only ſtiled *Infanti*. The two on the other ſide, renounced all their pretenſions to thoſe Kingdomes. The Duke had before this, married his daughter *Phillep*, borne unto him by his former wife, to *Iohn* the firſt, King of Portugall; having the good fortune to place them both, in a like countrey and dignity. His comming into England happened in an opportune time, for the King having ſummoned the Nobility to Redding, (where he then was) ſome ſtrange alteration was doubted, the ill will he bore to many being conſidered: the Duke did ſo behave himſelfe, as ſweetning the King, they were all well received, and contentedly diſmiſſed. But the Kings jealouſies of him not ceaſing, being likewiſe diſpleaſed with his returne, hee by the aſſiſtance of the firſt Parliament (to the end that hee might againe bee gone) gave him the Dutchy of Aquitany, together with all the honours, incomes and prerogatives, which of old did belong unto that Dukedome, and which for the preſent were enjoyed by that Crowne; inveſting him with the accuſtomed badges of golden rod, and Ducall Cap, upon the meere tye of ſimple homage. *Richard* was not ſtrait handed of what he poſſeſſed, but mainly addicted to his owne will, with the which rather then to have parted, he would well nigh have parted with his kingdome. Inſomuch as fearing leſt if Lancaſter ſhould joyne with Gloſter, hee mought give him enough to doe, To free himſelfe from an imaginary obſtacle, hee weighed not the eſſentiall impoveriſhing of the Crowne, of its richeſt Jewell. And if the effects did not

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follow, it was not for lacke of his good will, but the good will of the people of that Dutchy; who being obſtinate, would not contrary to their priviledges, be diſmembred from the Crowne of England; neither did *Gloſters* ſiding with him (though extravagant) any thing at all availe; which did not proceed from brotherly affection, as he would have it conceived, but for that Lancaſter being preſent, his authority was the leſſe, who did pretend to be the onely director in the government of affaires. Hee was not troubled at the eldership of his other brother, the Duke of Yorke, ſince that he chiefly intended his private pleaſures. But *Richard* was deceived in *Lancaſters* intentions: for it is not alwayes good to judge of things preſent by what is paſt. For as in his departing from Spain, he merited to be eſteemed one of the moſt valiant and wiſeſt Princes that did then live; ſo at his returne to England he deſerved to be held a peace-maker: experience and the incommodities of warre, having made him deſirous of repoſe, and changed or moderated his diſpoſition; the which was plainly ſeen in him the ſhort time that he lived: ſince that he did not onely tolerate the being denied by the Gaſcones, but did patiently endure his ſonnes diſtaſtes and exile: not being moved at whatſoever accident, ſave his brothers death; the which hee notwithſtanding ſuffered, whilſt if he had had like ambition as formerly, hee mought not have been deſtitute of hopes; the King being mightily hated, he as much beloved: And though the putting of his brother to death, mought bee juſtifiable, the manner thereof was ſuch as could not be denied to be unjuſt, cruell and tyrannicall. *Richard the 2.*

The King was no ſooner come to age, but hee was informed that the Duke of Gloſter had raiſed forces againſt him; the which being found falſe, he would not ſuffer him to juſtifie himſelfe, but injoyned him ſilence: were it either that hee might keepe this plea on foote againſt him, or to free his accuſers from puniſhment; the three next yeares paſt peaceably on, the peace of France being on both ſides earneſtly endeavoured, but the reciprocall pretentions and ſtoutneſſe of both parties made it impoſſible to bee concluded. *Richard* did deſire it, and the difficulties which the French met with for matter of warre, made them likewiſe deſire it as much, if not more. *Charles* his indiſpoſition continued, as likewiſe the Uncles diſcords, each intent to their owne private deſignes and intereſt, ſo as not able to conclude a peace, they continued the league one yeare longer, the which (the ſtate being in quiet) afforded *Richard* leaſure to live according to his owne inclination, which was ſuch as had he not erred in the extreme, could not have beene better, but the ſplendor of prodigality is like that of lightning, which conſumes and beares downe whatſoever it meets withall, hee kept the greateſt and nobleſt Court of any King in Europe: His ſubjects led by his example, dreamt not of frugality (a vertue not much knowne in England) but gave themſelves over to luxurioufneſſe; great was his exceſſe of diet, the pompe and bravery of his Court in apparell unimitated, the number of his ſervants exceeding all beliefe, 10000. men fed daily of his bread; the Queene had 300. women which belonged to her ſervice, 300. was the number which belonged to the kitchin: when he went to Ireland he made him a horſe-mans coat which coſt 3000. markes; according to 1391.

Richard the 2.

which if you proportion all other expences the ſumme will not be to be eſtimated. Hee proclaimed Tiltings and Barriers, Princes and Cavalieres from all parts flocked thither, who were all defraid during their being there, and preſented at their departing. In his private family he knew not how to deny any thing; he granted whatſoever was asked. The eaſineſſe of obtaining favours, imbaſed their value: for favours are then greateſt, and moſt to be eſteemed of, when they are conferred with moſt judgement, and leaſt expected; ſo as his ordinary revenues not ſuffiſing, hee was inforced to uſe extraordinary meanes. His immoderate affection to his ſervants, his Uncles tyranny, and peoples hatred, not able to undoe him, his immenſe prodigality made the laſt deſpair, without the which he could not have been ruined; being in ſome neceſſity for lack of money, & willing perchance by a little to try whether he might rely on a greater ſum upon occaſion, he deſired to borrow of the Citie of London a thouſand pound; an inconſiderable ſumme for ſuch a King, and ſo rich a Citie: they notwithſtanding honeſted their deniall; with pretending not to have ſo great a ſumme; which anſwer, though diſcourteous, was not injurious. But an Italian Merchant offering to lay downe the money for them, hee was ſo cruelly beaten, as that they had well nigh ſlaine him: ſo as the affront reflecting upon the King, who neither in juſtice nor reputation could ſit downe by it, As hee was meditating upon revenge, hee met with a ſecond inſolencie, more cruell and more inſufferable. The Biſhop of Salſbury, Lord Treaſurer, was then at the Court at Windſor, having left the greateſt part of his houſhold at London. It happened a man of his deſirous to ſport himſelfe with a Baker, who paſſed by with a Basket full of Bread, tooke a loafe out of the Basket; the Baker hereupon giving ill words, he broke his head: the common people would have laid hands upon this man, but being defended by his companions, hee got into his maſters houſe: they beſet the houſe, and were ready to have ſet it on fire, had not the Lord Maior and the reſt of his brethren, come in; the people demanded the delinquent, threatning fire and ſword. The Biſhops ſervants denied to deliver him, pleading the priviledge of Eccleſiaſticall immunity; and certainly much miſchiefe would have beene done, had not the Maior, what by authority, what by faire ſpeeches, appeaſed them; ſhewing them that faults, how great ſoever they were, ought not to bee puniſhed in ſuch a popular ſeditious way; for ſuch juſtice would bee more erroneous then any other fault could be. The Biſhop being advertiſed hereof, made his preſent addreſſe unto the King, accompanied with as many Prelates as were then at Court; he ſo aggravated the buſineſſe, as that happening at the ſame time, when as the Italians wounds were as yet freſh, hee gave order for the impriſonment of the Maior, and reſt of his ſociety, as all equally guilty; not for that they were authors of this ſedition, but for that having behaved themſelves inſolently before, they had given example to the common people to doe the like. Nor yet herewithall contented, hee bereft the Citie of all its priviledges, and wholly overthrowing the fabrick thereof, gave the government of the Citie to a Gentleman that was his ſervant: nor did he leſſen his reſolution of puniſhing them, though they were interceded for by many, of the which the Duke of Gloſter was the chiefe: But being importuned by ſo many, he ſuffered himſelfe to be perſwaded

ſwaded to goe, accompanied by his Queen, to London; where being met with ſhews & arches triumphall, and richly preſented, as if it had been the firſt day of his coronation; he reſtored the Citie to its former condition, the Maior and other Miniſters to their former dignities, and recalled the ſeats of juſtice from Yorke (whither to their prejudice and diſgrace they had been put over) but upon this condition, that they ſhould pay unto him ten thouſand pounds Sterling, for the charge hee had been at in reducing them to their duties, which was the chiefeſt cauſe of alienating them from him. So now the thouſand pound which was at firſt but deſired to be borrowed, and was denied, grew to ten thouſand pound by way of Fine; their preſents and other ceremonies at the making of his entry, having coſt them as much, without receiving any thankes or acknowledgement. *Richard the 2.*

This meane while the league drew to an end, wherewithall neither of the Kings were well pleaſed. The Dukes of Berry, and of Burgondy were ſent to Bullen, in the behalfe of the French; and the Dukes of Lancaſter and Gloſter in the Engliſh behalfe; where meeting with the former difficulties, they agreed upon a truce for foure yeares, wherein they comprehended the King of Scots, which was afterwards a ſtep towards the long truce and affinity which enſued. 1393.

This yeare did Queen *Anne* die, as likewiſe the Dutcheſſe of Lancaſter, the Counteſſe of Darby, and the next yeare the Dutcheſſe of Yorke, as if Fortune had conſpired to make almoſt all the Princes of the bloud, accompanie the King in his widowerſhip. *Richard* was ſenſible of her death, (as being affectionate enough) but did not for all that alter his reſolution of going perſonally into Ireland: as neither did it divert Lancaſter from going to take poſſeſſion of his Dutchy of Guaſcony. The King paſt over into Ireland with an Army of thirty thouſand Bow-men, and 4000 men at armes, where in nine months hee wonne more then did ever the famous King *Edward*, his grand-father; who having at the ſame time to doe with Scotland, Flanders, Normandy, Brittanny, and Guaſcony, could not fix his thoughts onely upon this nation, as *Richard* might doe, who made his way rather by dexterity, then force. For the Countrey being full of woods and marriſh grounds, not well ſtored with proviſions, the inhabitants accuſtomed to poverty, to the inconveniencies of the aire, to living in Caverns, to the paſſing over Bogges, and commodious conveying of themſelves from one place to another, the conquering of them was likely to have proved a tedious and troubleſome buſineſſe. The which fore-ſeen by him, he endevoured to win them after a new manner. He payed the Souldiers punctually, to the end they might not be neceſſitated to injure the Countrey; hee made much of ſuch as yeelded themſelves, and leaving for the preſent the Armes which he and his predeceſſors had wont to beare in their Shields, he tooke thoſe which were borne by *Edward* the Confeſſor, placing them in his Standards and Seales: and reaped his ends thereby; for by this means he purchaſed their love; the memory of that holy King being extraordinarily reverenced by the Iriſh. By ſuch like cunning as this, people who are more led by blinde imaginations, then by the truth, are uſually deluded. This is one kinde of naturall not prohibited Magicke, which by timely applying the Princes 1394.

actions

Richard the 2.

1395

actions to the peoples humours, workes wonderfull effects without the effusion of bloud.

This Ireland was commanded by many petty Kings; almost every Province had its particular Prince: he drew foure of them to his obedience, and by the example of his honourable treating of them, had drawne all the rest, had he not been by his Prelates desired to returne, to remedy the troubles which the *Wiclifs* opinions had raised up in England. Whence it may be gathered, that had hee not been naturally given to listen unto bad advice and flattery, hee would have proved a good Prince.

1396

The Duke of Lancaster was received in Guascony as the Sonne and Uncle of a King, but not as Duke of Aquitany; he with much modesty shewed them the donation which his Nephew had given him, and did with as much patience endure the not receiving of it: He moved, that Embassadours mought be sent into England, giving them his word, that hee would approve of what should bee there agreed upon, though to his prejudice; the which was done. The points which opposed the donative, were two: The one pertaining to Justice, the other to reason of State. That which belonged to Justice, was, the preservation of their priviledges. The Kings of England were obliged to keep the Dukedome of Aquitany perpetually united unto the Crowne: they had deprived themselves of any power of dismembring it, giving it away, or of giving it in fee-farme to any whosoever, were he or Sonne, Brother, or Uncle to the Crowne. They swore at their coronations, to maintaine these priviledges, and did authorise them by letters Patents, and great Seales. *Richard* had sworne the same, and had given them letters Patents to the same purpose; but hee had forgot it, being very young when he did it. The point of State was; that the successive Dukes contracting affinity with other Princes, (which must of necessity ensue) as namely with Burgondy, Ffance, Normandy, Brettany, Fois, Navar, Castile and Portugal, they should in processe of time divest themselves of all interest, and shake off the friendship of England, and the subjection thereunto. The reason of their priviledge wrought much with *Richard*; but this last consideration broke the necke of all the favours therein intended to the Duke, for all that Gloster could do to the contrary, who left nothing unattempted, whereby he might keep him aloofe off. Hee annulled the donation, and recalled the Duke, receiving him at his returne with more honour then good will. This businesse being ended, there remained nothing of importance, but the providing of himself of a new wife, not any daughter being then to be found amongst his neighbouring Princes. Navar had daughters and sisters too, but *Richard* did not incline that way. The Duke of Gloster had a daughter marriageable; nor could any thing more acceptable have befallen the Kingdome; but the being his full Cosen-german, served him for a justifiable excuse: for if bare consanguinity had emboldned the Duke so much to molest him, what might he expect from him when hee should bee likewise joyned unto him by so neere affinity as to be his Father-in-law. But if this was the cause why he would not marry her, he was deceived: for this was the onely means to have made the Duke on his side, and whereby to have avoided the evill

evill which did befall him: But the blinded eyes of humane judgement fore-ſees not what's to come, but rather by eſchewing meets with thoſe evils which it thought to have left behinde. The true cauſe, as I conceive, was, that as his love was in extremity, ſo was his hatred; and that conſequently the hatred he bore to *Gloſter*, was the reaſon why hee deteſted this match, not the meanneſſe of bloud. *Richard the 2.*

The King of France had a daughter between ſeven and eight yeares old; here *Richard* pitched his reſolution, though hee therein met with three obſtacles, all of them of moment: That ſhee was daughter to a King that was his enemy: ſo yong, as that hee was not in a long time to hope for iſſue by her: and that ſhe was formerly promiſed in marriage to the Duke of Brettanies eldeſt ſonne. Hee did not ſo much reflect upon the firſt, ſave what made for his advantage: for deteſting warre with France, he could not finde a better meanes to ſettle a peace between the two Crownes, then this. For her yeares, hee did not much value them, ſince hee himſelfe was young enough; and alſo her being promiſed to *Brettany*, he ſlighted it, ſince the King of France ſtood more in need of his friendſhip, then the friendſhip of any other. Hee ſent a ſolemne Embaſſage to France; and though anſwer was not preſently made, (for time was taken to conſider of it) the Embaſſadours returned partly aſſured of ſucceſſe: the King, People, and Councell, being all of them well inclined to the buſineſſe.

At this ſame time, the Duke of Lancaſter tooke his third wife. It ſo fell out, as that he had three ſonnes and a daughter by one *Catherine Roet*, the daughter of a King of Armes, ſhe was ſervant to his firſt wife *Bianca*, and he kept her as his Concubine during the life of his ſecond. The deſire hee had to make his children legitimate, and her good conditions (though not nobly borne, as he) made him reſolve to marry her; and not unluckily: for *Iohn* the Duke of Somerſet (who was he alone who of the three brethren had any iſſue) was Great-grand-father by the mothers ſide, to *Henry* the ſeventh, who put a period to the civill warres of England: He did legitimate them, and his ſucceeding marriage by Act of Parliament, and by ratification of Pope *Boniface* the ninth, from whom he obtained a Bull to that effect. I was not willing to leave out this particular in this place, as neceſſary for what we ſhall hereafter meet withall.

The Kings marriage was likewiſe this meane while concluded: and ſince a finall peace could not bee concluded on, in reſpect of many places which the Engliſh pretended unto, a ſuſpenſion of Armes for thirty yeares was covenanted, with caution that both ſides ſhould peacebly enjoy what at this time they were poſſeſſed of. A buſineſſe which did ſo highly incenſe the Duke of Gloſter, as the King did divers times feare leſt hee might upon this occaſion raiſe a rebellion; ſince the people depended much upon him, and were not very well pleaſed with this marriage, nor truce; he went in perſon to the confines of France, to receive his wife, as likewiſe did her father, to deliver her up unto him. Being with much content parted, he cauſed her to be crowned at Weſtminſter, not being yet fully 8 years old. Shortly after came the Count Saint *Paul* into England, ſent by *Charles* to receive the oath of truce; a man of a working ſpirit, and who was husband to *Iane Holland*, ſiſter to *Richard* by the mothers ſide. 1397.

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ſide. The King diſcourſing with this man, complained of the Duke of Gloſters contumacie, that hee was the onely man who oppoſed himſelfe againſt the match with France, as deſirous of warre with that Nation, and likely (that not enſuing) to raiſe a warre at home. To which the Count, with a ſad brow, replied; That the birth and bloud of ſuch ſubjects, allowing them more authority then ſtood with the Kings ſafety, was dangerous; that to temporize in cures, made the malady greater: But that as one poyſon was antidote to another; ſo dangers could not but by dangers be ſalved: yet with this advantage, that the former being certaine, 'twas a queſtion whether the others would prove ſo or no: That clemencie, when 'twas the off-ſpring of weakneſſe and feare, was alwayes ſubject to ingratitude and neglect, never to thankfulneſſe and acknowledgement. So as Princes who wanted the Ballance to weigh offences, and the power to counterpoiſe them by condigne puniſhments, might account themſelves as already loſt.

Theſe or the like words gave the definitive ſentence againſt *Gloſters* life; for they were faſt rooted into *Richards* minde, as proceeding from one that was wiſe, a Friend and an Ally, and who was void of intereſt. He now wavered no longer neither in reſpects nor delayes, hee firmly reſolved to put him to death, but had not pitched upon the manner. As ſoone as the Count was gone from England, he acquainted the Earle of Huntington, and of Nottingham with his deſigne; and having with them agreed upon what was to be done, he went out of London one night about Supper time, and rid all night accompanied by a great many armed men; who lying in ambuſh not farre from Plaſhey, the Dukes houſe, the King ſent *Huntington* to acquaint him with his comming: The meſſage was no ſooner delivered, but by the ſound of trumpets, notice was given of the Kings arrivall. The Duke, who was then in bed, threw his night gowne about him, and came downe to meet his Majeſty, taxing *Huntington* of unkindneſſe for not having given him earlier notice. But theſe complementall quarrels were ſoone appeaſed by the Kings ſmiling aſpect, who deſired him to goe make himſelfe ready, for that he muſt preſently, upon ſome urgent occaſion, goe along with him to London. The Dutcheſſe in her night cloathes, entertained the King whilſt her husband did on his apparrell; who not having leaſure to take his uſualll traine along with him, got on horſe-backe, followed by ſome few, and giving order for the reſt to follow him. As ſoone as they were come to the place of ambuſh, *Richard* ſpur'd on, and the Marſhall comming from where hee was conceald, tooke the Duke priſoner: 'twas bootleſſe for him to call upon the King, who ſeeming as if he heard him not, purſued on his way. The unfortunate man was brought to the Thames, there imbarked, and carried to Callis, a fort under the command of the ſaid Marſhall; where hee was ſhortly after ſtrangled: or, as many will have it, ſtifled between pillowes. A buſineſſe which clearly demonſtrates unto us, that their number is but ſmall, who falling into extravagancies, upon confidence in the people, have not come to miſerable ends. And though errors were committed on both ſides, it cannot notwithſtanding be denied, but that Princes are provoked unto tyranny more by the inſolencies of particular men, then of their owne diſpoſition. For it being dangerous to proceed by the ordi-

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nary course of Law with a priviledged man, as was Gloster, it behoved *Richard* to doe that by force, which he was not sure to effect by justice; since that his danger was more to be feared in the tolerating of such presumptions, then in the violating of the Lawes. And so it had certainly fallen out, had he not done worse: But evils fruitfull in themselves, produce multitudes of their like: And honesty, in any one affaire, once forsaken, quite banisheth all shame in all succeeding actions. After the Count Saint *Pauls* departure, the King had received many distasts, which wounding his reputation, had confirmed him in his resolution of putting the Duke to death. Brest, a Fort of great consequence in Brettany, was by the Duke thereof pawned for a great summe of money to *Edward* the third, upon condition of being rendred when the moneyes should bee paid. It was a place which had formerly fitted England for accommodations of warre in these parts. And if *Richard* had had the same designes his predecessors had, as he had not, it may bee hee would not so punctually have observed conditions, but as matters now went having received the monies, he restored it to the owner without further dispute. The Duke of Gloster who no whit abated his blaming of the Kings actions, did in bitter manner twit him in the teeth with his restitution, as done to the prejudice and dishonour of the State: the King who thought he had not well understood him (so outragious was his language) willed him to speak it over againe; and he not changing the sense, but saying the very selfe same words over again, did so much incense his Majesty, as after having shewed him that he had done nothing which without infamy he could have forborne to have done, he seemed to his other Uncles to be much greeved thereat; who though they confessed him to be over violent, did yet excuse him; affirming him to be as void of malice, as jealous of the honour of the kingdome; the which he was in so high a degree as that he could not suffer the least diminution thereof, how just soever. Afterwards, when any discourse concerning the King, was offered, hee spoke of him as of one degenerate, and without courage; that being unfit for government, the greatest favours that could be done him, were to allot livelihood unto him in some commodious prison. Whereupon his brethren despairing of his amendment, and fearing lest their presence might adde to his boldnesse, retired themselves to their Countrey-houses; beleeving, that being left alone, he would be more reasonable. But so far was he from this, as that he fell upon a resolution, which if it were not the cause, was the last pretence of his death: he had as well plotted the Kings ruine, as the King his. Hereupon a randesvous was made in Arundell Castle; where a resolution was taken of ceasing upon the Kings person; of imprisoning the Dukes of Lancaster and Yorke (to the end that they might not disturbe the businesse) and of hanging the greatest part of all the Privie Councell. The chiefe conspirators were, the Earle of Darby, Arundell, the Marshall and Warwicke; and of Prelates, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Abbot of Saint Albons, and the Prior of Westminster. This conspiracie is thus reported by a certaine Historian; but I cannnot beleeve it to be true, for reasons which shall hereafter bee alledged. The Earle Marshall discovered the plot unto the King, and the King unto the Councell, which perswaded him to retaine the Duke; the

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which being done, Arundell and Warwicke were forthwith impriſoned. And to ſhun the danger of a popular inſurrection, publi ke proclamation was made, that the fore-named perſons were impriſoned not for any former fault, but for freſh treaſonable offences, to be made knowne the next Parliament, where they ſhould be judged. The Lord Cobham, and divers others, were likewiſe made priſoners. The meane while the King not knowing how his two Uncles would take this buſineſſe, furniſhed himſelfe with Souldiers, and commanded thoſe of his ſide to come to the Parliament well attended. The two Dukes hearing that their brother was taken, and afterwards put to death, were much afraid of themſelves; fearing, leſt the King being ill counſelled, might take armes likewiſe againſt them. Whereupon having aſſembled together a great many of ſuch as ſided with them, they came to London, where they were affectionately received by the people, who wanted onely a head to riſe in rebellion. But Lancaſters ambition being long ſince blowne over, and Yorke the ſame he ever was, all things continued in their former quiet: many Lords interpoſing themſelves, who perſwaded them that the King would doe nothing for the time to come without their knowledge and conſent; the which he afterwards ill-favouredly performed.

When the Parliament was aſſembled, the faults of thoſe who were impriſoned, were laid open. To diſguiſe the myſtery, commandement was ſent to Callais to the Earle Marſhall, that hee ſhould preſent the Duke. Anſwere was made, that he was dead of a violent feaver. And as there was none deſirous to ſift further into the truth thereof: ſo did they not demurre upon the condemning of him, and the confiſcation of his goods. Arundel & Warwick were ſentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered, as Traytors. The formers puniſhment was remitted to a ſingle beheading, in reſpect to his bloud: for he was the ſonne of *Elenor* the daughter of *Henry Plantagenet*, Earle of Lancaſter, who came from *Edmund* the ſecond ſonne of *Henry* the third. The other (his life being pardoned, but not his goods) was condemned to perpetuall priſonment in the Iſle of of Man: for confeſſing himſelfe guilty, (which Arundell would not do) he was referred to the Kings mercie. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, accuſed for having obtained a pardon for his brother the Earle of Arundell, a declared Traytor, (his defence unheard) was condemned to a perpetuall baniſhment: his patrimoniall goods confiſcated, and a new Archbiſhop obtained from Rome to ſupply his place in Church, (who held the place onely till the other was called home, no mention was made of the conſpiracie at Arundell Caſtle, which is ſufficient to make it bee ſuppoſed falſe; ſince that alone had been enough to have condemned him. Falſe tales were framed to undoe the Archbiſhop, whilſt he might have beene found guilty of treaſon in the higheſt degree.

But the wonder was, how the Duke of Lancaſter, who was made Lord high Conſtable for the preſent occaſion, had the heart to heare his brother called traytor, and in the giving of his ſentence to call him ſo himſelfe; whilſt being formerly himſelfe accuſed of treaſon by the Iriſh Fryer, he was by Gloſter more brotherly dealt withall. The which ſurely happened, either for that where private intereſt doth prevaile, honeſty and affection muſt give place: or elſe for that men who are

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politickly wiſe, had rather truſt their honour to the talke of the vulgar, than their goods and lives to the refined ſenſe of ſupreame authority: the one more plauſible, the other more ſecure. The like befell the Earle of Arundell, who obſerving that the Earle Marſhall, who was his ſonne-in-law, and the Earle of Kent his nephew, aſſiſted as well to the cuſtody of his perſon, as the ſolicitation of his puniſhment, ſaid unto them: That others would hereafter be ſpectators of their miſery, as for the preſent they were of his, whilſt in reaſon it ſhould leaſt become them to behold ſuch a ſpectacle. The common people beleeved that hee died a Martyr; that the King, haunted with evill apparitions, wiſhed hee had never ſeene him, and that his head was by miracle rejoyned unto his body: the beliefe whereof grew to ſuch a height, as that the King cauſed him ten dayes after to be taken by night out of his grave, commanding certaine Lords to goe ſee the truth of it. They found his head (as by the headſman) parted from his body, and cauſed his head & body to be reburied in an unknowne place, to the end that the people might commit no more ſuch fooliſh ſuperſtitions. The feaſt of the Nativity cauſed a prorogation of the Parliament, which was adjurned to Shrewsbury, where the King created five Dukes. He made Darby Duke of Hereford, Nottingham Duke of Norfolke, Rutland Yorkes eldeſt ſonne, Duke of Aumerle, and his two brothers, Kent and Huntington, Dukes of Surrey and of Exeter. *Margaret*, the daughter and heire of *Thomas*, late Earle of Norfolke, fifth ſonne to *Edward* the firſt, was created (for her owne life) Dutcheſſe of Norfolke: He made the Earle of Somerſet Marquis Dorſet: the Lord *Spencer* Earle of Gloſter, Lord *Nevill* Earle of Weſtmerland, Lord *Scroope* Earle of Wiltſhire, and Lord *Thomas Pearcie* Earle of Worceſter, dividing amongſt them the goods of Gloſter, Arundell and Warwicke, the more to oblige them unto him. The other priſoners were proceeded withall with leſſe ſeverity. He anulled the Acts of Parliament made the eleventh yeare of his reigne. He granted (according to cuſtome) a generall pardon, excepting fiftie to be by him named; intending by this meanes to keep them all in their duties: for every one was ſure, if they ſhould fall into his diſfavour, to be one of the fiftie excepted; ſo as having reduced affaires according to his owne will, and rid his hands of thoſe hee ſtood in feare of, hee thought hee might now doe what hee liſt without feare of checke; ſince there was none of ſo cleare a conſcience, who had not cauſe to feare himſelfe. The Duke of Hereford, who from ſuch actions apprehended danger of publicke hate, finding a fit occaſion to ſpeak with the Duke of Norfolke, told him, that hee being a Counſellor, and one whom the King did much affie in, he was bound in duty to make him ſee, that the ſmall eſteeme his Majeſtie made of the Nobility, though leſſe of himſelfe (ſuffering himſelfe to be ruled by people of baſe condition, and no worth) might likely one day cauſe unto him ſome unlooked for inconveniencie, ſince that the peoples patience was not long to be relied upon; eſpecially when it is transformed into deſperation and fury. Norfolke promiſed his ſervice therein, ſeeming well pleaſed with it, though indeed hee no wayes liked it. For conſidering that ſuch like offices were unpleaſing to the King, and that his favour was not to be preſerved by giving him good advice, but by ſoothing him, hee did in ſo deteſtable a manner

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relate Herefords diſcourſe, as cauſing him to be called for, he would have Norfolke to make good to Herefords face what he had behinde his back affirmed of him: the which the one affirming, and the other denying, the lye being given on both ſides, Hereford threw downe his glove, which Norfolke readily tooke up; the King appointing them Coventry for the place, and Saint *Lamberts* day for the time of combat. The two Champions failed not to appeare at the time appointed, and had already begun their carreere with lance in reſt, when they were commanded to hold their hands. The King having a long while diſputed the buſineſſe upon the Scaffold (which was ſumptuouſly built for his Majeſty to ſee the Duell) cauſed proclamation be made, that for good reſpects his Majeſty would not have the combat further proceeded in; and that his pleaſure was, that the Duke of Hereford ſhould bee baniſhed the kingdome for ten yeares, upon perill of his life, and the Duke of Norfolke for eve. upon the like penalty. It was obſerved that this ſentence was given the ſame day twelve-month that Norfolke had cauſed Gloſter to bee ſtrangled at Callais. He forthwith left England, and in little more then one yeare after died for griefe at Venice. 'Twas thought that the Kngs rigour towards him, proceeded from a deſire he had to be rid of him: for hee having been formerly of the Barons faction, and having of late wrought himſelf into the Kings favour by the ruine of others, he thought that upon occaſion he might ſerve him as he had done his friend the Duke of Gloſter, and the Earle of Arundell his ſonne-in-law. Princes though they doe not puniſh themſelves for the evill they commit, puniſh the inſtruments of evill, to the end that they may not be thought altogether unjuſt.

The Duke of Hereford, who when he took his leave, in token of the Kings good will, was remitted foure yeares of his baniſhment; parted from England, being generally bewailed, and was well received in France, where the Duke of Berry would have given him his daughter for wife, had he not been hindred by *Richard*, fearing leaſt the favour of that Duke in France, and the peoples love in England, might prove dangerous. *Richard* by reaſon of ſuperfluous expences, was in continuall want; and money paſt through his hands as water through a ſieve. Continuall neceſſity was the continuall feaver which cauſed this thirſt in him; the which not able to bee quenched by the ordinary revenues of the Crowne, nor yet by the extraordinary helpes of Parliament, hee was inforced to digge new Welles. Hee borrowed money of all the Lords, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall, by way of privy Seale, obliging himſelfe to pay them, but never did: The which though it bee ſomewhat hard, yet not ſufficient to make ſubjects take their laſt reſolutions: For particular men doe ſometimes borrow, and never pay. But the violating of juſtice under the pretence of doing juſtice, was that which turned patience to deſpaire. Seventeene whole Shires had almoſt ſided with the Duke of Gloſter, at leaſt they were ſo ſaid to have done. They were all held (notwithſtanding the laſt generall pardon) guilty of high treaſon: wherewithall being threatned, they were compelled to compound for a great ſumme of money, to take againe the oath of allegeance, and the richeſt amongſt them to ſigne and ſeale unto a blanke, into which the officers appointed for this buſineſſe, might inſert what

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ſumme they pleaſed, a thing able to undoe whole families and Shires. The like was done in London to the great diſtaſte of the Citizens. *Iohn* Duke of Lancaſter, this meane while died, and the King tooke poſſeſſion of his goods, without any pretence of title, hee bereft his exiled ſonne of his inheritance. The which when the Duke of York obſerved, hee thought it was no longer ſafe for him to ſtay in Court; whereupon he retired to his owne home. But the King being reſolved to goe himſelfe in perſon into Ireland, to revenge the death of *Roger Mortimer*, Earle of Marſh, ſlaine there by the rebels (he who in caſe ſucceſſion ſhould want, was the preſumed heire to the Crowne) ſent for the Duke backe, aſſigning over unto him the government of the Kingdome in his abſence. This was the laſt expedition he made: for having left his ſubjects ill affected, and augmented their diſtaſtes by his taking along with him great ſtore of proviſions without paying for them, hee departed with thirty thouſand men, and had ſuch good ſucceſſe, as had hee not been compelled to returne, he would have brought that Iſland to totall obedience. This meane while the Towne of London, the Prelates, Nobles, and People (thoſe eſpecially of the aboveſaid ſeventeen ſhires, who thought themſelves worſt dealt withall) reſolved to call in the new Duke of Lancaſter, not onely to the recovery of his owne inheritance, but of the Crowne and Kingdome. They ſent expreſſe meſſengers to Cullen, to the end that *Thomas Arundel*, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury (who in his baniſhment made his abode there) might goe into France, and perſwade the young Duke thereunto; who though he found it a buſineſſe of difficulty, the dangers conſidered, as likewiſe the peoples changeableneſſe; yet being brought to live by borrowing, deprived of his eſtate, and out of hope of ever recovering it by any other meanes, hee entertained the motion; hee pretended to King *Charles* (who otherwiſe would not have ſuffered him to depart) that he went to ſee his couſin the Duke of Brittanny, and ſo with his approbation, imbarked himſelfe with ſome few followers, amongſt which number, *Thomas* ſonne to the late Earle of Arundel beheaded, who not many daies before was fled from England, was one. When hee was come upon the Engliſh coaſt, hee would not land, but coaſting along the Country, to diſcover the peoples inclinations, hee caſt anchor at Revenſpur in Yorkſhire, where he needed no invitation: for the Lords and Prelates flockt all thither as ſoone as they heard of his arrivall: So as having aſſembled an Army of ſixty thouſand fighting men, and all places, by which he paſſed, yeelding unto him, hee was with great acclamation, and expreſſions of joy, received into London. The Duke of Yorke, governour of the Kingdome, who at his Nephewes firſt appearance, had called the Councell together, was thereby adviſed to leave London, and goe to S. Albans, where they might gather forces to give him battell. An advice aſſuredly dangerous: for the head ought firſt and chiefly to be defended. The forces on the Councels ſide, were no ſooner gathered together, but that they made a proteſtation they would not fight againſt the Duke of Lancaſter: for having from the beginning, declared that he pretended to nothing but to what in right did deſcend unto him from his Father and Mother, every man was of opinion, that ſince his inheritance was unjuſtly taken from him, he did juſtly in taking up of Armes to repoſſeſſe himſelfe thereof.

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thereof. Hereupon thoſe of the Kings more intimate Councell, as *William* Earle of Wilſhire, Lord Treaſurer, Sir *Iohn Buſby*, and Sir *Henry Greene*, leaving the Duke of Yorke, the Biſhop of Exceter, Lord Chancellour, and the reſt, fled to Briſtoll, in the caſtle whereof they thought they might be ſafe. Sir *William Bagot*, one of the ſame fraternity, went more adviſedly over to Ireland. The Duke of Yorke ſeeing that it was dangerous for him, and to no purpoſe to tarry where hee was, went towards Wales; where he thought he ſhould meet the King at his returne from Ireland. Hee ſtayed at Beckly till ſuch time as the Duke of Lancaſter came thither, with whom (ſeeing the Kings affaires went ſo ill) he ſoone accorded. Lancaſter finding by this time his good fortune, went to Briſtoll, took in the Caſtle; and thoſe three which had fled thither, were by the mad multitude ſoon beheaded. This newes was long in comming to Ireland, by reaſon of the horrible tempeſts at Sea, which for ſix weeks ſpace ſuffered not a little veſſell to paſſe over. But when it was knowne, the King did not (as he ſhould have done) make ſuddenly for England, being adviſed by the Duke of Aumerle to tarry till his ſhips, which were ſcattered, might be gathered together, and ſuch proviſions made as were fitting for the Fleet. He cauſed the two young ſons, the one the Duke of Gloſters ſon, who died in his return, and the other the ſonne of this Lancaſter (who was afterwards King *Henry* the fifth) to be kept in ſafe cuſtody in the Caſtle of Tremni. He ſent the Earle of Salisbury for England, with directions to gather together as many people as he could in Cheſhire and Wales (his two beloved Countreyes) to the end that being ready at his arrivall (which ſhould be within ſixe dayes) he might encounter the enemy before his forces grew greater. The Earle departed, came to Wales, and had got together fourty thouſand good and faithfull men; by meanes of whom, if the King had come at his time appointed, hee had either repoſſeſt himſelfe of all againe, or had at leaſt given the enemy enough to doe; but landing in Milford haven in Pembroke ſhire 18 dayes after, hee found, that a falſe report of his death being raiſed, and his party having fifteen dayes expected him, they had disbandoned themſelves, part of them comming over to the young Duke, the reſt retiring to their owne homes. Whereupon aſtoniſhed at ſo unfortunate an encounter, his courage failed him. And though thoſe who were returned with him, promiſed to die at his feet, he, contrary to his dignity and reputation, choſe rather to loſe his Kingdome then hazard his life. A weakneſſe which this nation mightily deteſts: for the inhabitants thereof no wayes fearing death, nor willing to endure the troubles of the minde, choſe rather to die, then live in miſery. As ſoone as Lancaſter underſtood his arrivall, he left the Duke of York at Briſtoll, and took his way towards Conaway, where the King was, without either forces or retinue. All places as he went along ſurrendred themſelves, & the town of Cheſter, formerly ſo faithfull, did the like. The King reſolved, not to make uſe of his ſouldiers, diſmiſſed them, that he with the leſſe incumbrance might goe whither his fears drove him. And for that purpoſe, he gave order to *Thomas Pearcy* Earle of Worceſter, the Lord high Steward of his houſhold, to diſcharge his family, wiſhing they might be reſerved for a better fortune. Others will have it, that Worceſter formerly diſtaſted for that *Richard* had a little before,

before declared the Earle of Northumberland, his brother, to be a traytor, did of himselfe in publicke, breake the staffe of his office, and went unto the Duke of Lancaster, and that upon this occasion the Courtiers did disperse themselves. Those who counselled *Richard*, were of opinion, that he should goe into France, to his wives father, or else returne to Ireland; where (failing of hopes in England) he might furnish himselfe with forraigne souldiers, to make such use of occasions, as time should administer. But that if he would needs tarry in Wales, a countrey yet well affected unto him, be should doe well to passe further into the heart thereof, whilst his presence changing the lookes of fortune, some would follow him out of affection, many out of duty; and others by reason of the usurpers scandalous actions. But all their perswasions were in vaine: for it is the property of cast downe minds patiently to expect the blowes of Fortune. And whilst their honour egges them on unto defence, their pusillanimity is such, as makes them suffer oppression. Hee adhered to those who shewed him that his hopes of France were dangerous: that the assistance he might have from thence, would confirme his subjects in their rebellion, lest they might be by them subdued. That to returne into Ireland, would bee to no end since hee could not promise himselfe much from the particular forces of that countrey. That hee should doe amisse to hope in the repentance of the English. For if they had out of hate abandoned him, they would persist in their contumacie; as despairing of pardon, having so highly offended him; that forraigne forces would bee rather harmfull then of any use, especially the French. So as there being no hope of help from abroad, and despairing of any at home, his best resolution would bee to thinke upon his owne safety; and by giving away what he could not keepe, endeavour a safe and private life. These reasons made him listen unto the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Earle of Northumberland, (the one by him banished, the other proclaimed traytor) with whom he agreed to resigne up his Kingdome, upon condition he might be permitted to live a private life, and have the lives granted him of eight persons, such as hee should nominate. The which being largely promised him by them, & readily approved of by the Duke, they met together, the Duke using all due respects which are requisite from an obedient subject to his naturall Prince. Whilst *Richard* minding nothing but his present condition, did things unworthy of his greatnesse and dignity, hee gave himselfe up into the Dukes hands the 20. of August 1399. together with all his money, horse and furniture, his money amounting to above a million of gold. The manner of this imprisonment is by others diversly related. They say, that the King despairing of his affaires, sent the Dukes of Exeter and of Surrey to treat with Lancaster, who keeping the former with himselfe, who was his cousin, and putting the other into the Castle at Chester, did in their stead send the Earle of Northumberland unto the King: who followed by a thousand Bow-men, and four hundred lances, was (when he should be come nigh to Conaway) to make thereof two Ambuscadoes, and passing forward himself with only foure or five horsemen, hee was under a safe conduct to goe into the Castle. That the propositions he was to make, were, That *Richard* would speake with Lancaster, and satisfie him in two particulars: The one, that

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proceſſe might bee made againſt ſuch as had had a hand in the death of Gloſter, and his companions: The other, that hee would give him an authenticall pardon for whatſoever former offence hee had committed againſt him; that netled at theſe demands made unto him as King, in a condition of not denying any thing, he tooke horſe, and the Duke riding before (under pretence of providing his dinner at Rutland) ſtayed where the ambuſh was, and where the King with his followers (among the which were the Earle of Salisbury, the Biſhop of Salisbury, and the Lord *Scroope*) were by them incloſed. That when hee was come to Flint, the Duke with all his Army came thither likewiſe; That the Archbiſhop Arundel was the firſt with whom hee treated; and that having gathered by what had befallen him, that Lancaſter was not ſo ſimple as hereafter to affie in him, whom he had ſo highly offended. That puniſhments, pardons and reformations were but the ſongs of Syrens; and that his aime was at the Kingdome, hee offered to ſurrender it up unto him. But however it was, he was from Cheſter ſent into the Tower of London. And if in his taking water at Weſtminſter, had he not been waited upon by the Maior and his aſſociates, he was likely to have been ſlain before he could have got unto the Tower. Lancaſter on the contrary, was received by the Citie and all the Companies thereof, as King, with proceſſions, applauſe, and all expreſſions of joy. A Parliament was called in *Richards* name. The Duke took ſerious advice concerning this affair, with his beſt friends, particularly with his Uncle of Yorke, who were all of one opinion, That the reſignation ſhould be ſo done as that it might appeare voluntary; nor that being ſufficient (ſince his impriſonment would argue an inforcement) that his depoſing might bee ſtrengthened by act and authority of Parliament. To effect the firſt of theſe, divers were ſuborned, who having formerly been his friends, ſhewed unto him the danger wherein hee was, if he did not purchaſe his life at the rate of the free reſignation of his Kingdome. The which being obtained, they fell to the effecting it. The chiefe Lords as well Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall, together with the prime Judges and Lawyers, came all to the Tower, to all which *Richard* with his Robes on, his Crowne on head, and Scepter in his hand, preſented himſelfe; and taking his Chaire, after ſome few acknowledgements and excuſes of his own miſgovernment, he himſelfe read his Surrender; affirming it to be freely done, and without compulſion. Hee moreover freed his ſubjects of whatſoever bonds, oathes, fidelity or homage, renouncing all further claime, authority, dignity, or title to the Crowne; leaving it free for the time to come, with all the appurtenances belonging thereunto. This being done, he ſubſcribed it: And then falling upon the praiſe of his couſin, the Duke of Lancaſter, hee deſired them to chuſe him for his ſucceſſor; And made the Archbiſhop Arundell, and Biſhop of Hereford his ſubſtitutes to acquaint the Parliament with this his requeſt and reſignation. And the more to witneſſe his good inclination towards the Duke, he tooke from off his owne finger, a Ring wherein his Armes were ingraven, and put it upon the Dukes finger, giving him therewithall his Enſignes of Regality, whereof he had diſrobed himſelfe. All this he did, as ſeeming deſirous to lead a private life; though in his diſrobing he could not hide his inward griefe, at the which there was no ſo hard

heart,

heart as was not mollified. The Trustees discharged their trust unto the Parliament, which accepted the resignation. And that there might remaine no scruple for such as should come after, many Articles were framed, wherein he was accused of extortion, prodigality, tyranny, of having preferred men of base condition to the highest places, of being cause of the imprisonment and death of the Duke of Gloster, and Earle of Arundell, against the rules of Law and Justice; of having kept about him people to destroy him, permitting unto them all insolences without correction. They omitted not his lasciviousnesse, perjuries, falshood, losse of reputation, rapine: Maximes of State able to ruine a State, Principals contrary to the rights of a Crowne; his cancelling of publicke writings, his injurious proceeding against the Archbishop of Canterbury, nor any thing else that might be objected to an apparant tyrant. And as such a one he was by all the Judges (deputed for this purpose) declared incable, and unworthy: and by the votes of them all, deposed from the dignity and title of a King. Insomuch as not contented to bereave him of his kingdome, they would likewise have him therewithall to lose his reputation. Commissioners were deputed to acquaint him with the Act of Parliament, and to renounce unto him all former tyes, homage, fidelity, subjection or oath. To the which he made no other answer, save, That not regarding these titulary circumstances, he hoped his cousin would be his good friend and Lord. I have heard by some, that the lower House did not give its consent to his deposition, the which may very well be true; but Writers doe not mention it. In the interim of this inter-regnum, the Duke of Lancaster made known his Titles, by which hee laid claime unto the Crowne, and was by generall applause cried up, King; and installed in his Throne by the Archbishops of Canterbury and Yorke. Thus ended the reigne, though not the life of *Richard* the second; a Prince in many respects worthy to have reigned, if he had not reigned. *Richard the 2.*

The end of the first Booke.

THE CIVILL WARRES OF ENGLAND;

In The Life Of HENRY the fourth.

The second Booke.

Henry the 4.

HENRY the 4th a Prince naturally well given, when he knew himself to be King, began to differ in many things from what he formerly was: for the usurpation of Kingdomes (a vice in all times blamed yet pursued) if it do not totally destroy vertue, doth at least infeeble it, or keep it in suspence. It is impossible to contract Matrimony between the Regall Throne and Injustice, unlesse it bee by unjust meanes, and that the Dowry consist of any thing save cruelty and rapine. All things here below have mediums conformable to themselves, and in the order of Nature subordinate to their Genus, the good to good, the bad to bad: So he, while hee was in his prime innocency, did nothing which was not praise worthy; neither did his praise exceed his merit; but being arrived to that where ambition doth its uttermost, hee did more shamefully then miraculously metamorphose himselfe: his nature, though not changed, but some wayes altered, did by fits reduce him to what hee naturally was: in the vehemencie of his forces, revenge or command; he did not out-goe his owne preservation or security: so as though hee might deserve the name of an Usurper, yet did he not deserve to bee tearmed a tyrant: for were it otherwise, since among the Roman Emperours there were few found who were not usurpers, and yet of the number many good men, the good could not have shunned the being reputed Tyrants.

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rants. *Henry* did not ſubvert the fundamentall Lawes: he was ſent for before he did inſinuate himſelf; the Kingdom was offered unto him before he did uſurpe it. He did better make good the office of a Prince to his ſubjects, then did his ſubjects their duties unto him their Prince: neither of them forgetting their peculiar natures, he his innate goodneſſe, nor they their naturall wavering and inconſtancie. This may bee witneſſed to us, by what befell him while he was a private man, hee did with temperance and modeſty receive the praiſes due unto him by the victory he had over the Duke of Ireland, no vaine-glory was therein found in him, his diſcourſe thereof did not exceed the bounds of modeſty, and the relation hee made thereof unto his aſſociats, was void of amplification or boaſting. Aid from Genua being demanded and granted againſt the Pirates which roved up and downe the Mediterranean Sea, and coaſts of Italy, hee was made Commander of them: France joyning in this expedition with England. Being come into Africa, and by meanes of his Archers landed, he returned home; his modeſty added to his reputation while the one and the other equally contending, ſtrove for precedence in his renowne. Thoſe who write, that in ſtead of making this journey, hee went againſt the infidels in Pruſia, did not perhaps equivocate, but the different relation of Writers, makes the undertaking indifferent, ſince they all agree in his praiſe. In the combat with the Duke of Norfolk, he proved himſelf to be both wiſe and valiant: for though ſtrucken as if with lightning, at his unexpected accuſation, he fell into no diſorder: his wiſedome was inflamed, but not by anger conſumed to aſhes, as it is oft-times ſeen in ſuch as are unexpectedly offended: he patiently endured his exile, and with dry eyes left his Countrey, whilſt thoſe who ſaw him goe, moiſtened theirs. He would have gone into Holland, if the Duke his father would have permitted him; but the warre made by *Albertus* of Bavaria, Lord of thoſe Countries, againſt the Friſons, at the inſtigation of his ſon, the Count of Oſtervent, being very dangerous, and but little honour there to be won (for that people did more by deſperateneſſe, then skil in war, defend their liberties) he adviſed him to goe for France. He was there graciouſly received by the King, Princes, and Court. But the King of France would needs of his owne free will allow him five hundred Crownes a weeke, for his petty occaſions, (as it was termed) he thought, not to receive it would argue incivility, and that the receiving of it would faſten upon him too great an obligation; ſo as he reſolved to leave France, and go into Hungary to warre againſt the Turkes: He wrote hereof unto his father, who approving of the cauſe, but not of his reſolution, propounded to him a voyage into Spaine, where having two ſiſters the one Queene of Caſtile, the other Queen of Portugall, hee might with leſſe danger and diſcommodity make the warre which he deſired againſt the Infidels: but being by his friends advertiſed, that the Phyſitions had given his father over, as not likely to live many monthes, he went not. The Duke of Berry, who had a daughter of three and twenty yeares of age, a widow to two husbands: *Henry* being likewiſe a widower, a rich heire, and after his fathers deceaſe the prime man in England next unto the King, thought to give her to him for wife: King *Charles* being therewithall well contented: a match which would have been ſerviceable to the Queene his daughter,

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and of publick good: for thus united, yea peace between the two Kingdomes might the easilier bee maintained. But *Richard* thinking this match might prove disadvantagious to his designes; and that *Henry* being offended, was likely alwayes to be his enemy, sent the Earle of Salisbury to breake it: nor would *Charles* his wives father displease him therein, seeing he tooke it so to heart. When the Archbishop of Canterbury propounded his return to England, offering the Crown unto him, he could not at the first prevaile with him, nor had he prevailed with him at all, had not the King by depriving him of his inheritance, caused him despaire: a bad resolution, but excusable; and which cannot be blamed by the law of Nature, save as it is interdicted by the law of Christianity: so as innocent in the one, and faulty in the other, hee erred in both: such resolutions being prejudiciall to a Kingdome, which ought alwayes to detest all alterations. Let businesses fall out well or ill to malecontents, who are egged on by ambition and revenge (two spurres slightly guilded over with the leafe-gold of publicke good) the people cannot but bee alwayes losers by civill brawles; nay, if the two Registers of humane actions, Profit and Uprightnesse in proceeding, meet not together, (as they seldome doe) and that profit have the precedencie, it ought to be when the conservation of the Common-wealth is in question, and not to satisfie the ambition and private interests of particular men. If love unto his Countrey, or the desolation of the State, had moved *Henry* (*Richard* being deposed) there wanted not lawfull succeeders. But howsoever the malady had been better for the Kingdome then the remedy: for the one was not of long continuance; the King being mortall, and of such yeares as hee might have amended: where as the other for the space of sixe Kings reignes, produced nothing but one ill upon the necke of another; and had it not been for the matrimoniall conjunction of the two Roses in the seventh, the mischiefe had perhaps yet continued: But as it is the losse of what they did possesse in France, their losse of reputation abroad, their desolation at home, the death of hundreds, of thousands, and of fourescore or more of the bloud Royall, approve the remedy to have been more pestilentiall then the disease: and that to have continued *Richard* in his authority, would have been reputed lesse harmfull, then to have substituted another King, how good soever, who in a capacity of growing worse, was cause of those wofull consequences which such substitutions use to draw after them. Wise Phisitions apply only approved medicines to the sicke party, where the case is not desperate; and in case it be, the more discreet sort doe rather suffer them to dye peaceably, then tormented with the violence of medicines. The malady here was not mortall, save as made so by the remedies. So we may conclude, that the good conditions of such as do pretend, are more harmfull then the bad of of such as doe possesse: Vertue not being what she appeares to us to be in her abstract, but what she is in the concrete of her corruptions.

Henry had, though silent, yet conspicuous competitours, by law questionlesse before him: as the sons of *Roger Mortimer*, the eldest son to *Philippa*, the only daughter & heire to *Lionell* Duke of Clarence, not onely by nature, but in the eight yeare of King *Richard* by Parliament declared Heire to the Crowne; she being dead, her right remained in these, so as by

vertue

vèrtue of the Lawes he could not juſtly pretend to that which contrary to the lawes & the prejudice of others he did violently uſurp: But becauſe his ſucceſſion was not truly juſtifiable, it behoved to ſeek out ſome colour for it: his friends propounded divers titles unto him, all of them counterfeit and diſguis'd, whilſt right, rich and ſubſtantiall of it ſelfe, needes no falſe props. *Henry* did by his Mother deſcend from *Edmond* Crook-backe Earle of Lancaſter, they would have this *Edmond* to be eldeſt ſonne to *Henry* the third, *Edward* the firſt his younger brother, got the birth-right by reaſon of his brothers deformity: whence it enſued that all the Kings ſince *Henry* the third were illegitimate: and that for the preſent he was the only lawfull Prince, his Mother *Blanch* being the onely great Neece to *Edmond*: but the buſineſſe being more maturely examined then propounded, they thought it better not to make uſe thereof, then to ground ſo great a building upon ſo weake a foundation. His day of Coronation being come, wherein, according to cuſtome, his titles to the Crowne were proclaimed, three were expreſt. Conqueſt, *Richards* reſignation, and his being the firſt heire male of the blood Royall. *Henry the 4.*

The firſt was falſe, *Henry* made no warre, 'twas conſpiracy, manifeſt rebellion: and the forces whereby he got the Kingdome (for he brought but fifteen Launces along with him from Brittanny) were of the Natives, who in ſuch a caſe would prove both conquering and conquered. Conqueſt doth preſuppoſe a nation or people vanquiſhed by warre; an enemy nation which contends, not a friendly one which favours and calls in. The ſecond title, which was the Reſignation, might by the figure Ironia be termed Conqueſt, for *Richards* reſignation was inforced, bargained for in priſon, and yeelded unto upon hopes of ſaving his life. The third, that he was the next heire male to the Crown, afforded occaſion to *Edmond* Earle of March, the right heire indeed to ſay amongſt his friends in a Latine alluſion, that this was a right title, for that he was indeed *Herus malus*. But howſoever it was, he was crowned, all titles as well juſt as unjuſt admitted of by applauſe and ſilence. 'Twas obſerved that the day of his being proclaimed King was the ſame day twelve month that hee was baniſht, as the day wherein the Duke of Norfolke was together with him baniſhed, was the ſame day twelve month that he the ſaid Duke had cauſed the Duke of Gloſter to be ſtrangled. Things which oftt-imes fall out in Hiſtory, no naturall reaſon being to be given for it: ſo as we muſt believe them to proceed from the hand of God, who in his due time rewards every man according to his workes. The firſt thing this King did after he was crowned, was the making his ſon *Henry* eldeſt of 4 ſonnes, and who was then between twelve and thirteene yeares of age, Prince of Wales, the title wherby the kings eldeſt ſon is at this day called. A decree was there made that all the dominions of the Crowne and pretenſions thereunto, as well on this ſide as on the other ſide the Sea, ſhould be conceived, as individually united in the perſon of King *Henry*, and in his default in the forenamed Prince, and he failing of iſſue, in *Thomas*, from him (in the like default) in *Iohn*, laſtly in *Humphrey*, the daughters not nominated. The ſucceſſion being thought ſufficiently intail'd in the lives of foure. But becauſe *Richards* perſon and his pretenſions might cauſe much alteration, it was ſo carried as that the chaine of his

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his captivity ſhould bee forged by the Parliament, where conſultation was had what ſhould be done with him. The Biſhop of Carleil who alwayes blamed the depoſing of the one, and the others ſubſtitution endeavoured (out of more integrity then wiſedome, to the danger of himſelfe, without hope of publicke good) to undoe what was done: as if a generall errour committed by ſome through malice, by others through feare, were to be diſanulled by bare and naked reaſon: the arguments hee made uſe of were two: whether *Richard* might be depoſed or not, and if ſo, whether it were juſt *Henry* ſhould ſucceed him: For the firſt, hee ſhewed that a legitimate Prince, though a Tyrant, was not ſubordinate to the authority of ſubjects; that *Richard* was no Tyrant, his errours proceeding from youth and bad counſell: that thoſe ſhould have beene provided for by remedies leſſe ſevere, and more juſt: That the Duke of Lancaſter whom they called King had done more miſchiefe ſince his returne from France, then King *Richard* in all his reigne; that ſuppoſe *Richard* had merited to be depoſed, the Duke of Lancaſter had no reaſon to pretend unto the Crowne, ſince the lawfull heires, and thoſe who were ſo declared to bee by Parliament were yet living; That the Law condemnes no man unheard. That they had condemned a King who had raigned two and twenty yeares, without allowing him the hearing, and were about to condemne him againe. The Biſhops reaſons were like the Sunne in Aries, which moves, but doth not diſſolve humours: if the foundation of this affaire on the one ſide was force, it was ridiculous to treat thereof on the other without equall, if not greater forces. The good Biſhop was immediately laid hold on by the Earle Marſhall, and ſent priſoner to the Abbey of S. Albons, decree being made that *Richard* being ſerved at his table, and in all things elſe concerning his perſon, like a Prince, ſhould be impriſoned during life: and in caſe that any others ſhould practiſe to free him out of priſon, that *Richard* ſhould be the firſt who by his death ſhould make amends for ſuch a fault as the occaſion and ground-work of ſuch commotions. Many other things were then determined: ſome for the peoples eaſe, others for the benefit of friends, and depreſſion of enemies. The Acts of Parliament made the eleventh yeate of King *Richard* were confirmed, which were by him abrogated in the Parliament held in the one and twentieth yeare of his Raigne: and thoſe of the twentieth and one yeare repealed to the generall good and ſatisfaction of all men; for while they ſtood in force, no man could thinke himſelfe ſecure: the terme Treaſon being ſo confuſedly and ſo maliciouſly enwrapped in ſo many æquivocations, as that there was no ſo ſlight fault which malice might not bring under that head: ſo as they determined that in that behalfe judgement ſhould hereafter bee given onely according to the Statutes made in *Edward* the thirds time, for the confirmation of the Parliamentary proceedings the eleventh yeare, what ere was done againſt *Richards* officers was declared good: for the anulling of what was done the twenty one yeare, the reſolutions taken againſt the governours were declared unjuſt: thoſe who did therein ſuffer as the Earle of Arundell and the Duke of Gloſter, or baniſhed as the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Earle of Warwicke were reſtored in blood. He gave the Ile of Man forfeited by the death of *William Scroope*, Earle of Wiltſhire

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Wiltſhire, beheaded at Briſtow, to the Earle of Northumberland: with this obligation, that thoſe Earles ſhould carry the ſelfe-ſame ſword which he was girt withall when he entred the kingdome, and which was afterwards called Lancaſters ſword on the Kings left hand at their coronations, a gift which through his owne default (as wee ſhall hereafter ſee) he enjoyed not long. To the Earle of Weſtmerland he gave the County of Richmond. He diſtributed Governments and Offices to divers others, either out of gratitude, deſert, or faction. Hee recalled from baniſhment the Earle of Arundels ſonne, and the Earle of Warwicke, reſtoring them to their dignities and goods which had been taken from them. The Dukes of Aumerle, Surrey, and Exceter, the Marquis Dorſet (his owne brother by the father) and the Earle of Gloceſter (as being thoſe) who had chalenged Arundell and Warwicke, were deprived of ſuch titles as had after that act been conferred upon them, and of all the goods which from that time they enjoyed, given them by *Richard*, by confiſcation or otherwiſe: the Titles and incomes which they formerly enjoyed, remaining onely unto them: ſo as Aumerle from Duke was reduced to be Earle of Rutland; Surrey, of Kent; and Exceter, of Huntington: the Marquis Dorſet, his brother, to be Earle of Somerſet; and the Earle of Gloſter to be Lord Spencer. I call thoſe chalengers, who accuſe others, and offer to prove their accuſations by ſingle combat: as theſe had accuſed the above-named, to gratifie King *Richard*: and as in this Parliament, in hopes of pleaſing King *Henry*; Aumerle, Salisbury, and divers others, were accuſed as traytors to the King, and offered to bee proved ſo by Duell. But the King conſidering the time and humours, knowing that Clemencie and Grace would more redound to his glory, then by giving eare to accuſations, to make himſelfe bee beleeved their on-ſetter, appeaſed them; pardoning all of them, and prohibiting any further diſcourſe, concerning that matter. Hee thought to doe the ſame another way, and to winne the friendſhip of his moſt profeſt enemies, thoſe whom he found to be ſo in the behalfe of the depoſed King. The three degraded Dukes were the chiefe of theſe; Aumerle, *Richards* couſin-german, and he who was moſt intimate with him while hee reigned, hee hoped to win the good will of the other two, though Exceter were King *Richards* brother, and Surrey his nephew, ſonne to his other brother, who died two yeares before: hee feared not Exceter, having ſome intereſt in him, as who had married his ſiſter *Elizabeth*, but beleeved to make good uſe of him concerning Surrey, if need ſhould bee: ſo as if hee would not ſuffer the combates to proceed, nor that the people ſhould triumph in their deaths, as they ſeemed deſirous (all three of them being the cauſers of infinite grievances and extortions) it was out of theſe reſpects which were not in likelihood to deceive him: the preſent good turne which hee did them, being likely to oblige them very much: for though with juſtice he might have ſatisfied the people, and ſecured himſelfe, hee choſe (by pardoning them) to diſpleaſe his ſubjects, and prejudice himſelfe, whilſt he might ſo juſtly have rid his hands of them. An excuſeable fault for a Prince who ſtands upon ſuch tickliſh tearmes. An enemy reſembles glaſſe, which never can be peeced. And though Chriſtian Religion have the ſecret of peecing an enemy, which is for the love of God, yet Chriſtians

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ſtians (though they ſhould) do ſeldome arrive at ſo great perfection: and though Nature may pretend to have the ſame ſecret, yet ought ſhee not therein to be beleeved; unleſſe it proceed from two great extravagancies: either from a dead and ſenſleſſe puſillanimity, or from a generoſitie onely by imagination to be comprehended. The firſt is not to bee truſted: for baſeneſſe and cruelty are teamnes convertible. And of the ſecond, they onely are capable, who like *Iulius-Cæſar*, and King *Henry*, beleeve that benefits are able to blot out injuries: but others, who judge their enemies good conditions by their owne bad ones, beleeve that good turnes are baits to revenge; and abhorring him ſo much the more, for that they are made the Looking-glaſſe wherein his nobleneſſe and glory may be ſeen; they are Diamonds to all other impreſſions, wax to the impreſſion of hatred, as in the three above-named, and divers others, we ſhall ſhortly ſee.

The firſt newes which France heard of theſe alterations in England, was by the Merchaats, and thoſe ſo uncertaine, as they knew not what to thinke thereof; Madame de Couſi had the charge of the young Queene, who being commanded to be gone, without demanding any queſtion, or further troubling of her miſtreſſe, obeyed; and was waited upon to the Sea ſide, where a ſhip ſtayed for her, and conveyed her over to Bullen: ſhe was the firſt that brought any true relation: The which, when *Charles* underſtood, he was thereat ſo much grieved, as that while hee was thinking upon revenge, he relapſed into one of his wonted frenzies, the Councell not knowing what to reſolve upon: they perceived by the generall hatred againſt *Richard*, and the univerſall conſent in *Henry's* election, that in a buſineſſe of this nature, 'twas bootleſſe to uſe force: for England is not to bee undone but by diviſion. The Duke of Burgondy, who had been no leſſe averſe to this match in France, then was the Duke of Gloſter in England, upbraided them with the ſmall account they made of his counſell; and was of opinion, that the buſineſſe was not to bee remedied by a ſudden warre; but that they ſhould doe well to wait for ſuch occaſions as are by diſcontented ſubjects offered unto their neighbours, ſuch as were thoſe of Gaſcoigne, who were the more diſpleaſed at *Richards* being depoſed, for that hee was borne among them, and was alwayes called *Richard* of Burdeaux. A wiſe conſideration if this ill bloud had growne to a rebellion: or if Sir *Robert Knolles*, Lievetenant of Aquitaine, a wiſe and valiant Gentleman, had not hindred them by remonſtrances and reaſons; who likewiſe adverriſed England of the danger. This meane while the French were not wanting to themſelves. The Conſtable de Sanſerres was the firſt who preſented himſelfe upon their confines, endevouring to blow the already glowing Coal. The Duke of Burbon had recourſe thither likewiſe, provoking the Nobility and people, offering all they could deſire; adding withall ſuch promiſes as upon ſuch like occaſions are uſuall, with as much readineſſe of ſpeech as they proved afterwards difficult in performance. Bayon, Burdeaux, and other townes, being required, ſent him their Deputies, who having no further directions then onely to heare, returned laden with offers. But theſe firſt paſſions being calmed, the comparative condition of France and England (the latter free from Burdens, the other ſubject to perpetuall taxes) pointed out unto them the wholeſomeſt reſolve. For the common people love nothing

thing more then to cultivate their owne grounds to their owne proper uſe, and to enjoy the fruits of their owne induſtry, not being forced thereout to feed officers or ſouldiers. While things were thus carried, *Thomas Percy* Earle of Worſter came thither with a freſh ſupply of ſouldiers, upon whoſe arrivall all practiſes ceaſed, while *Richards* friends endeavouring his liberty, did thereby haſten his death, which was the onely meanes to free him of the miſeries wherein he now lived. The Dukes of Aumerle, Exeter and Surrey (as hath beene before ſaid) were friendly embraced by the King, who hoped by his good uſage to win their love; but the latter two not being able to withſtand the power of blood, nor the firſt the like of friendſhip (the which was growne to that height, that *Richard*, in caſe he ſhould dye without iſſue, deſired to leave the Kingdome to him) it was impoſſible for them ſo farre to alter their affections, as that they did not preferre danger before ſecurity. The ſeverall opinions of this conſpiracy are ſo various, as that they may admit of doubt; but for my part, I reſt aſſured, that this variety proceeded from the not knowing of true particularities, and that through the inveloping of ſecrets, the common people have faſhioned their ſtory: whereupon that hath happened which will alwayes happen, that many true caſes have no circumſtances, which are not or falſe or very uncertaine.

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Having tyed up all in a bundle, I will give you the opinion of Writers: King *Henry* when he was young, had let ſome words fall (perhaps out of inconſiderate vivacity of ſpirit, or elſe out of ambition to be thought a States-man) tending to this purpoſe; That Princes in conſideration of their degree and expence had but ſmall revenewes, and that the Clergie in regard of their calling and occaſion, had too great incomes. To which ſpeech *Richard* afterwards alluding, ſaid; That if the Earle of Darby came to the Crowne, he would be no great favourer of the Clergy. Having now obtained it, and the memory remaining of what he had ſaid, and the other had judged, the Clergy had ſome reaſon to ſuſpect; ſince ſuch like words as theſe were not let fall by chance; but at ſuch time when as ſnares being laid for the Clergie, becauſe of their wealth, there were divers who had given ſuch particulars of their eſtates to the Parliament, as that the two Archbiſhops were forced to proteſt againſt any Act which ſhould be made againſt Eccleſiaſticall liberty or immunity: and though I beleeve that theſe ſuſpitions were vaine (mens mindes changing by yeeres and experience, and he not having in all his reign ſhewed any ſuch inclination) yet he who ſhares in a beleeved danger doth not wait the comming of it, but prevents it; which was the onely cauſe that made the Abbot of Weſtminſter doe what he did. This man was religious by profeſſion, but by practice a Courtier; his learning and experience had won him reputation, eſpecially with *Richard*, who tooke him along with him in his laſt journey into Ireland; being then firmely of opinion, that the King who had profeſt himſelfe no friend to the Clergie, would for ever continue the like, he thought the beſt way to prevent this danger, would be by *Henries* death; and becauſe the grounds of this his imagination were either true or likely, he ſuffered himſelfe to be perſwaded to a likelihood of effecting his deſires; wherein hee had not beene deceived, if fortune had not failed him. He conſidered that *Henries* preferment was

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occaſioned rather out of hatred to *Richard*, then any love to him; that ſuch effects change with the change of fortune: that the one being depoſed, the other was no more ſo much deſired, who was onely coveted to exclude the other: this being effected, that his firſt love and applauſe was turned into envie and hatred: that the people were fickle, greedy of what they have not, cloyed with what they have: that his neereſt kin were his enemies; his brother, brother in law and couſin being cenſured in Parliament: that uſurpation is hatefull both to God and man; that a lawfull King was unlawfully depoſed; the lawfull heires, contrary to reaſon diſinherited: that he was favoured by the Nobility, as by the houſe of *Percy* for intereſt, by that of Yorke for feare: that the envy to him ward, and compaſſion towards *Richard* were Rams, able to beat downe whatſoever well built wall. All of them conſiderations of much weight, but counterpois'd by the Kings fortune, light beyond compariſon. Hatred and treaſon are falſe ballances, wiſedome is the onely juſt ſcale, which if the Abbot had uſed, he had ſaved his owne life with the life of *Richard*, and the lives of others, who drawne by a raſh confidence, periſhed in the præcipice of a too bold and heady reſolution; for God doth ſeldome ſuffer, never aſſiſt bad actions. The firſt care in this buſineſſe was to finde perſons fitly appropriated to the buſineſſe; ſince of the welwillers thereunto, theſe were only uſefull, when by birth or retinue were void of exception, faithfull: faith being then moſt to be relyed upon when moſt intereſſed, and intereſt being the chiefeſt cauſer of our affections. Not herewithall contented, he would have them oppoſitely affected with love and hopes towards *Richard*, with hatred and feares towards *Henry*; ſo as without more adoe theſe conſiderations pointed out unto him what choice he was to make. The Dukes of Exeter and Surrey were moſt neerely concerned in *Richard*, and under him their greatneſſe was ſafe; which under *Henry* was doubtfull and ſuppreſt, though Exeter had married his ſiſter, a thred too weakely ſpun to with-hold ſuſpitions, which in what concerned the Kingdome befell his brother in law: meere ſhadowes, indangering him and forcing upon him a neceſſity of impoſſible circumſpection, for the preſervation of the State as it now was, was the onely gaine which was to be aimed at. In the Duke of Aumerle were more weighty conſiderations; none at all for what concern'd his blood: he was in the like relation couſin to both, but it being an ordinary thing to repay unuſeful kindred with diſreſpect, and with hatred ſuch as bereave us of our good fortune, or are a croſſe to us therein; by *Richard* he had beene remunerated, by *Henry* cut ſhort of part of his honours and livelihood: but that, which of all other his diſtaſtes he was moſt ſenſible of, was, that he could not ſuffer the being cut off from the Crowne by his younger brother the Earle of Cambridge, who had married *Anne*, to whom (when *Edmund* Earle of March ſhould dye) the right to the Crowne did belong. *Iohn Montaigue* Earle of Salisbury, who had beene an abuſive medler in the breach of the match betweene *Henry* and the daughter of *Berry*, had reaſon to preſume him his irreconcileable enemy: *Hugh Spencer* Earle of Gloceſter, preferd by *Richard*, ſuppreſt by *Henry*, ally'd moreover to the houſe of Yorke, by his match with *Conſtance* the daughter of *Aumerle*, could not aſpire to higher hopes. *Iohn* Biſhop of Carleil, though (with the height of clemency

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mencie freed from impriſonment at Saint Albons, was notwithſtanding by his perſevering in a prepoſterous zeale, faſt linked to the love of the one, and hatred of the other: *Magdalun*, Chaplaine to King *Richard*, to boot with the common intereſts and obligations of the above-named, did naturally ſo much reſemble *Richard*, as that there was no ſeparating of him from his party. Theſe, and divers others not named, were by the Abbot invited to a great feaſt; which being done, they fell to private conference, wherein having deplored the miſeries of the time, the impriſonment of a King to whom by nature, oath, and particular favours, they were obliged, as likewiſe their owne loſſe in his fall; they reſolved to re-eſtabliſh *Richard* by the death of *Henry*; preſuming that the people would be herewithall contented: for by this meanes they ſhould be freed from the warres wherewith they were threatned from France, Scotland and Wales. The Duke of Exceter propounded a Tilting at Chriſtmas, wherein he with twenty Gentlemen, would chalenge the Earle of Saliſbury with as many more, to the which the King ſhould bee invited, and there, together with his children ſlaine. A buſineſſe likely to ſucceed, they being all armed, and under the pretence of pompe well attended, and he void of ſuſpition unarmed, his ordinary guard being more for ſhew then ſervice. This being done, they reſolved forth-with to re-inthrone *Richard* wherein they expected no oppoſition: for of the houſe of Lancaſter there remained none ſave brothers by another mother; of the which the Earle of Sommerſet, the eldeſt, was diſtaſted, and none of them comprehended within the Act of Parliament, touching the ſucceſſion of the crowne. *Richards* lawfull heires loved him well, and if any alteration ſhould happen, it would not bee of much conſideration, he being once re-eſtabliſhed, and they ſo well provided, as that they might preſerve themſelves free from danger, till the arrivall of aid from France; to doubt whereof would bee ſacriledge, the daughter of France being too pretious a pawne to be by the French abandoned.

This Propoſition being approved, and all of them having vowed fidelity, ſix of the chiefeſt among them, made ſix writings be drawne up, all of the ſame tenure, the which they all ſubſcribed, and ſealed every man keeping one of them; which was the break-necke of the buſineſſe: for if any one of them ſhould prove falſe, to what Tribunall could the others cite him? And if it ſhould happen, that through treachery, or want of good take-heed, any one of the Copies ſhould come to light, there was no way left to ſave themſelves. Exceter having acquainted the King with the appointed titling between him and Salisbury, beſought him to honour them with his preſence, and that he would be pleaſed to bee their Judge in caſe any difference ſhould ariſe: The which hee graciouſly accepted of, and promiſed to doe. This meane while every man providing himſelfe of what number of men he could get, under the pretence of magnificencie, they came at the time appointed to Oxford, where the King and Court was the next day expected. The Duke of Aumerle was onely wanting, hee having ſent his men before, went to viſit his father, who lived in a Countrey houſe, upon that road, and ſtayed dinner with him. Fortune would ſo have it, as that the old man ſpied a peece of paper in his ſonnes boſome; and, not imagining what it might be, ſnatcht it from

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him. When he had ſeen the contents, the ſix ſeales, and among the reſt, his ſonnes for one, he grew ſo incenſed, as riſing immediately from the Table, hee gave order for his horſes to bee made ready; reproaching his ſonne for that having been falſe to *Richard*, he would now be a traytor to *Henry*; that he was witty in finding out inventions to undoe his father, but that now his father would undoe him; That he ſhould remember how the laſt Parliament he was bound for him, body for body, and goods for goods; That therefore, ſince hee made ſo little account of his fathers head, his father would make as little account of his. This being ſaid, hee went to Windſor. Aumerle conſidering, that the old man was not to bee with-drawne from his reſolution, that the buſineſſe was diſcovered, and his life in queſtion: having none with whom to adviſe, reſolved to prevent his father, hee got on horſe-backe, and riding as faſt as he could drive, he got to Windſor before him; where, as ſoone as he was come, he clapt to the doore behinde him, telling him that looked to the door, that ſo it behooved for the Kings ſervice. Hee threw himſelfe downe at the Kings feet, and craved his pardon. the King aſtoniſhed at ſuch a novelty, demanded his offence; which when hee underſtood (being ſomewhat amazed at the firſt) he promiſed him mercy, ſo as the buſineſſe were as he had related it; but if otherwiſe, woe bee to him. This meane time the Duke of Yorke came to the Caſtle doore, and finding it ſhut, bade it bee opened. He entred, and without further circumſtances, put the conſpirators contract into the Kings hand; who finding thereby all to be true that Aumerle had ſaid, put off his journey to Oxford, reſolving to expect at Windſor the conſpirators new reſolutions; hee ſent newes hereof by expreſſe Carriers, to *Henry Pearcy*, Earle of Northumberland, Lord high Conſtable of England; to *Ralph Nevill*, Earle of Weſtmerland, Lord Marſhall, who had married *Jane* his ſiſter by the fathers ſide, and to all his other friends, to the end that they might make what haſte they could to the Court, and bring with them what forces they could raiſe. Exceter was one of the firſt that came to Oxford, more ſet upon the reſolution taken, then were the reſt: but he could not ſo order affaires, but that by the extraordinary proviſion of Armes & Souldiers, his wife, the Kings ſiſter, perceived that all this was done to undoe and kill her brother; whereat, in height of Agonie, ſhe was much diſtracted between the love to her brother, and affection to her husband: the ruine of one of them being certain, & whether the one or the other equally to her grievous: whereat her husband (who loved her as much as he hated her brother) being moved, ſaid unto her, that fortune might make both her and him equally content, one onely thing excepted, That their intereſts were in all things elſe common and individuall, in this alone divers and particular. For as ſhee could not but rejoyce at her brothers preferment to the crowne: ſo hee could not but grieve to ſee his brother depoſed, that now in the change of fortune, which by the preparations that were made, ſhe was towards: if ſhee found cauſe of affliction, ſhe ſhould doe well to conſider, that he had juſt cauſe of joy: for if ſhe, being *Henry's* ſiſter, eſteemed her greatneſſe the more in reſpect of his, he being brother to *Richard*, had reaſon to hope the like in the Riſe of *Richard*; without the which, (whilſt her brother reigned) hee was like to live in perpetuall miſery, and daily to expect death:

death: That ſhe was not to ſuffer in the fates of either of them. For if *Henry* ſhould reigne, ſhee was to continue the ſame ſhee was, though having loſt her husband; and if *Richard* reigned, both of them were to preſerve their lives, honours, and fortunes, ſo that come what would come, ſhe had cauſe to rejoyce, but not he: For that hee might not, through ſo many dangers, dye daily, it behoved him to expoſe himſelfe to all danger, that hee might once dye, or for ever be free of feare. *Henry the 4.*

Hereupon giving her his laſt kiſſe, he left her weeping and went to Oxford, where all the reſt were come ſaving only Aumerle, where having expected him to the very laſt houre, his not appearing, the not preparing for the King, and the no newes thereof, were manifeſt ſignes that their plot was diſcovered; they had no hopes of pardon, having beene formerly condemned and pardon'd, ſo that in a deſperate caſe deſperate reſolutions were to be taken: they endeavoured to doe that by open force, which they could not effect by treachery, and for their ſafeties ſake, to uſe deceipt. They cloathed *Magdalun* with Princely roabes, who much reſembling *Richard*, cozened the more ignorant. They gave forth that aſſiſted by his Keepers, he had eſcaped priſon, thereupon they aſſembled together 40000. men, the leaſt part whereof came for good will, the moſt inconſiderable for hopes, and the moſt unuſefull for feare: all of them conſequently, changeable and inconſtant: for infidelity produceth feare: incertitude hopes, and popular inclination, weakneſſe and confuſion: there was no counſell to be had, nor foundation to ground it upon, ſo unexpectedly were they ſurprized. They reſolved to ſeize upon the King at Windſor, but he hearing of their coming, had with ſome few horſe, withdrawne himſelfe from thence, ſo as not finding him there, they intended to purſue him to London, and ſo take him unproviding, which perchance was the beſt courſe they could have taken; but feare put a period thereunto, when wiſedome was more dangerous then raſh attempts. The King when he was come to London fortified himſelfe there; the City furniſhing him with ſouldiers, and he providing himſelfe of ſufficient guard: when he heard that they were coming, he came forth to meet them with 20000. men, and made his ſtand where they were to paſſe by, not diffident in the ſmall number of his men, nor affrighted at the multitude of the enemy. They, on the other ſide, miſtruſting themſelves, ſhun'd the encounter, and went towards Reading, where the Queene was: making her beleeve that King *Richard* was at Pomfret with 100000. fighting men, and that *Henry* of Lancaſter together with his children and friends, had ſhut himſelfe up in the Tower, not daring to come forth; and the better to colour their falſe report, they threw down *Henrie*'s armes, and took his Cognizances from ſuch of the Queens ſervants as wore them, as if *Richard* did already rule. They made no further uſe of *Magdaluns* pageant, for fearing leſt they ſhould be diſcovered, they when they were at Reading, gave out that *Richard* was at Pomfret, and elſewhere, when they were elſewhere; for it is uſuall with ſuch as are upon the point of periſhing, to make uſe of falſe rumours. When they left Reading, they went to Ciceſter; Surrey and Salisbury taking up their lodging in a ſmall village; Exceter and Gloceſter theirs in another, leaving their army in the field. The Townes-men thereabouts, who were informed that things were otherwiſe

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therwiſe then they gave out, did about midnight beſet the houſe wherein the former two were lodged; who withſtood their fury for the ſpace of fifteene houres. Exceter, who was advertiſed thereof, could not poſſibly ſuccour them, for all his men through a ſudden feare were fled away. A certaine Prieſt of Surreys ſide, ſet divers houſes of that Village on fire; hoping thereby to divert them from their aſſault; which cauſed Exceters men to take their heeles, beleeving that *Henry* was come, and that it was he who had given battaile and fired the houſes. The Townes-folkes, on the contrary, hereby doubly inraged, reſolved to quench the fire with the blood of thoſe that fought againſt them: ſo as unfortunate Surrey and Salisbury, forſaken by their friends, and taken by their enemies (likely by their many mortall wounds to live but a while) were beheaded, and their heads ſent to London; twenty nine of their company, what Barons, what Gentlemen were taken priſoners, who being brought to Oxford, where the King was, had publique juſtice paſſed upon them. Gloceſter thinking to eſcape, was taken priſoner in Wales, and beheaded at Briſtow. *Magdalen* fled into Scotland, where he was taken and ſent to London, where he died the death of a traytour. Exceter, who had oft times endeavoured to get over into France, and was alwayes by contrary windes beaten backe; whileſt he wandered up and downe unknowne, was taken as he was at ſupper in a friends houſe, brought into the late Duke of Gloceſters hands, where his head was ſtrucken off. Divine juſtice repaying him according to his deſerts, in his territories whoſe death he had beene the cauſer of; the ſufferings of his owne death were augmented by *Richards* foreſeene death, he being doubly the cauſe thereof, by being at firſt too forward, afterward too ſlow. In all other reſpects he was a man of praiſe-worthy conditions: but he ſtained his reputation in ſeconding his brothers humours, and in endeavouring to ruine his brother in law, he loſt his life: infinite was the number of the reſt that dyed; the high wayes were filled with men hang'd, and quarter'd, with heads ſet upon poles; among which number did many innocent people ſuffer: who under pretence of rebellion, were for particular revenge by ſome about the King, put to death. The Abbot of Weſtminſter underſtanding what miſerable effects his counſell had taken: fled from the Monaſtery: but overtaken by a ſudden Apoplexie, he eſcaped the halter, dying leſſe unfortunately. The like happened to the Biſhop of Carlile, who dyed of a violent feaver, thereby mocking his worſer deſtiny, which had he lived a little longer, he could not have eſcaped. Some will have it that he was againe taken and condemned, but his puniſhment by the King remitted, which if it were true, proceeded either from *Henries* innate humanity, or elſe to ſhew unto the world, that they erred in thinking him averſe to the Clergie: but the Biſhop enjoyed not this favour long; for through the labour he had taken, he ſoone after dyed. If the Conſpiratours had knowne that the ſafety of men in deſpaire conſiſts in deſpairing of ſafety: they either would not have periſhed (yet that had beene a difficult affaire) or at leaſt not ſo ſoone, and unrevenged: but wanting reſolution in times of extremity, ſtill hoping for ſafety; and temporizing when it was no longer time to doe ſo; bereaving them of courage which followed them, and thoſe who were to follow them both of courage and time; they by their

example

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example taught ſuch to flye away, who were already prepared for flight, and ſuch to temporize as were ready to declare themſelves. Innocent *Richard* was ignorant of all theſe paſſages, reſerved for the laſt Scene of this ſad Tragedy. For *Henry* was reſolved to ſee his end. He was carried from the Tower to a Caſtle in Kent, from thence to Pomfret; toſt from poſt to pillar, to the end that the true cauſe of his death might not bee knowne. Three were the ſeverall opinions of his death, and none of them in my opinion true, or like truth: The firſt, that when he underſtood of the conſpiracie, and death of the conſpirators, thinking that it would no longer availe him to keep him alive, hee voluntarily famiſht himſelfe to death. The ſecond, that being ſerved according to his cuſtome, with choyce Cates, hee was not ſuffered to taſte thereof; and that cold being added to the reſt of his ſufferings, he died within the ſpace of fifteen dayes. The third, that *Henry* ſitting at the table, and complaining of his preſent condition, he ſhould ſay, hee ſaw he had no friends, ſince his life and *Richards* being incompatible, there was none that would free him of this anxiety. Whereupon one Sir *Peter* Eſton, accompanied by eight others, went ſtraight wayes to Pomfret, where meeting with *Richards* Sewer, he ſaid unto him; That it was in vaine any longer to take aſſay of his meat, for he was not long to taſte any; and that the Sewer taking this in another ſenſe, waited at the Table, but did not his uſuall ſervice: at the which *Richard* being offended, when he underſtood that hee was willed ſo to doe by Eſton, who was newly come from Court, hee grew ſo incenſed, as that he cut him over the face with a knife, ſaying: The Divel take *Henry* of Lancaſter, & thee too: at the which *Peter*, with the other eight, entring the roome, with Halberts in their hands, he threw the Table from him (beleeving that they came to kill him) and that flying fiercely upon one of them, hee wreſted his weapon from him; with the which he ſlew foure of them: but being over-borne by the reſt, hee went backwards toward the place where Eſton was ſet in *Richards* chaire, almoſt ready to ſwound, through the remorſe of conſcience: that there Eſton with a great blow fell him to the ground: which when hee had done, he inſtantly cried out, that he had killed a Prince who had been his King two and twenty yeares: that he ſhould live hereafter abhorred and pointed at by all men, as a traytor, and murtherer of a King. One Hiſtorian allowes *Richard* ſo much life after the receiving of this blow, as to ſuffer him ſay, that *Edward* the ſecond his great-grand-father, was in like manner as he, depoſed and killed: that his grand-father *Edward* the third, having by ſuch meanes obtained and enjoyed the Crowne, hee being his ſucceſſor, did beare the puniſhment, that the like would happen to ſuch as ſhould ſucceed *Henry*: and though his death (his owne demerits conſidered) was juſt, yet was it not ſuch as would juſtifie his murtherers. But I cannot ſee how the blow hee received from Eſton, and the deſire that Eſton had to ſee him dead, could allow him ſo much time for diſcourſe. That he voluntarily ſtarved himſelfe to death, is not likely, hee loved his life too well, and rather then loſe it, he choſe to loſe both liberty and kingdome: nor would knives have been wanting, had hee had any ſuch reſolution. And certainly *Henry* is much injured in the report that he ſhould act that which is but fained of *Tantalus*: for of his owne nature

he

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he was no wayes wicked; and though it was a great fault to bereave his lawfull King both of Kingdome and life, yet seeing he had put on a resolution of reigning, (*Pandora's* box, from which all mischiefe issued) he must or not be King, or make himselfe secure of his kingdome: the one was the sinne of ambition, which many are subject to; but the other (not to alledge other examples) would have been the Idea of the most unheard of cruelties that ever were committed. Respect unto himselfe inforced a riddance of him, but not in so cruell a manner: such an act had been able to alienate all other people from him: his vaine-glory in affecting the first seat among the damned, would have been more then diabolicall; neither is it likely that Elston slew him: for *Henry* needed not in so blameable an action, publickly at the Table, to begge the helpes of others. It may suffice that *Richard* did dye, and after what manner best pleased *Henry*; but no man knew how: otherwise in this case there would have been but one relation: and not able to free himselfe from the suspition of having caused him to bee put to death, hee could not finde any meanes whereby to bee the lesse hated for the doing of it, then the uncertainty thereof; which occasioned this diversity of opinions. Hee caused his corps to bee brought up to London bare-faced, and gave order that it should stop for some convenient time in divers publicke places (particularly in *Pauls*) to the end that it might be taken notice of. Hee caused his funerall to bee celebrated, at which hee himselfe, together with all his Court, and Magistracie of the Citie was present. This being done, hee sent the body to Langley, lest the sight of his Tombe in London might recall into mens memories, an action, which howsoever it was done, was unjust and inhumane: He was there privatly buried, none of any quality being present, save one Bishop and two Abbots.

Henry the fifth, sonne to this man, when he came to be King, caused his body to be brought to Westminster, and placed it there by the side of *Anne* his wife, amongst the other Kings. Some Scotch writers are of a fourth opinion: That as soone as *Henry* was crowned, an Hermit of reverend aspect presented himselfe before him, who admonished him to restore the Kingdome to whom of right it did belong, threatning the ruine of the house of Lancaster, if he would not doe it; and that *Henry* fearing if this novelty should be scattered abroad amongst the people, it might cause some revolt, made the Hermit privately be put to death. That *Richard* having escaped prison by the connivency of those who were his Keepers, got into Ireland, and from thence to Scotland, where he placed himselfe in service with a Lord of the family of Machdougell; and that after a while being knowne, he was brought to the Court, where he was with much civility received by *Robert* the third, and entertained as a King: but that weary of the world, he retired himselfe to the service of God, and being dead, was buried in the Dominicans Church, as the inscription upon his Sepulchre did witnesse. But if this had beene true, the English writers would have had some little light thereof, some whispering or tradition of it would have beene among the common people: Scotland would have made some advantage thereby; France would not have beene quiet; *Henry* would not have demanded *Richards* widow for his Sonne, nor would *Charles* have married her into the house of Orleans: *Richard*

would

would either have retired himſelfe to France to his wife and father in law, or having a minde to become one of the Religious in Scotland, he would have procured by diſpenſation from Rome, a nullifying of his contracted though not conſummated marriage. *George Buchanan* writes that the old Earle of Northumberland being fled into Scotland (as we ſhall hereafter ſee) that he there found an Engliſh man who had falſly taken upon him the name of *Richard* the ſecond: that he endevoured to get a ſight of him, but that the other could by no meanes be perſwaded thereunto; that if he had not been an Impoſtor, he would not have ſhunned the ſight of one that knew him; and that the ſame man afterwards dying, was buried at Sterling in the Church of the Dominicans with the title of King of England. *Henry the 4.*

Henry had great good fortune ſo happily to acquit himſelf of this conſpiracy, otherwiſe in likelihood hee might have beene oppreſſed by evills which on three ſides hung over him: for during all his life his fortune was through dangers to arrive at happineſſe, and at ſafety by the Rockes of precipice. France had made great preparations of man and ſhipping to ſuccour *Richard*, with intention to come for England; relying upon his partakers, upon the envy contracted by the new King, and upon the inconſtancy of popular affection; their former hatred was changed into compaſſion. They were all in Picardy under the command of Count St. *Paul* ready to take ſhipping, when together with advertiſement of the conſpiracy, came newes of the unhappy ſucceſſe thereof, which amazed them all. To proceed farther under colour of revenge, which brought along with it ſuſpicion of invaſion, had now beene raſhneſſe; ſince they were dead in whom they did moſt affie. Greater preparations were to be made for the invaſion of England, theſe not being ſufficient without ſome correſpondency from within the Land. And as the home conſpiracy gave the laſt blow to *Richards* life, ſo did the forraigne preparations, confirme *Henry* in that reſolution; which he would not have willingly taken without theſe ſharpe provocations, ſo as that which was intended for his liberty cauſed his death. The forces in France were all disbanded; *Charles* upon good advice deſired onely the reſtitution of his daughter; a juſt requeſt and not to be had but by civill meanes: the which hee obtained, ſending over Embaſſadours to that purpoſe, who were graciouſly received; but the King referred his anſwer to certain commiſſioners who were to go to Callis to treat together with this, of other affairs which neerely concerned both the Crownes. *Charles* ſent thither the Duke of *Bourbon*, and *Henry*, *Edward* Duke of Aumerle, who by the late death of his father, did now ſucceed in the title and inheritance of the Duke of Yorke, together with whom hee ſent *Henry* Earle of Northumberland. *Bourbon* required the reſtitution of the Queene, which they denyed not, but deſired that by the approbation of France, ſhe might yet remaine in England, ſince by birth and yeares ſhe was a fit match for the Prince of Wales, as wife for whom they did deſire her. But *Charles* not willing to conſent to this (having conceived an opinion that the aliance with England would prove unfortunate for France) a perpetuall peace was propounded by Yorke. This being likewiſe found a difficult buſineſſe (France being reſolved not to quit what it was poſſeſt of) the Engliſh

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Hiſtorians doe not determine, whether the former league which King *Richard* of thirty yeares, were confirmed, elſe another more ſhort, but *Iohn Tillet* reads this riddle, who writes that *Charles* his Councell, cauſed the continuation of the truce made with *Richard* to be proclaimed, not making any mention of the name of *Henry*, to the end that he (not being named in the truce) might at the beſt opportunity make warre upon him. From whence may bee gathered that the violation thereof came from France, and that it had beene lawfull to warre againſt King *Henry* (ſuch a caution being admitted of) it was not lawfull to war againſt the Kingdome, which was not to bee ſevered from the King, whether by them acknowledged or not acknowledged to be ſo. The Queene was by the Earle of Worceſter conducted to Calais, and conſigned over into the hands of Count St. *Paul*; ſhe carried backe with her all of value that ſhe brought with her when ſhe was married, to boote with what the preſent King did preſent her with in rich Jewells. Her joynture was onely excepted: for it was thought unfit that the fruits of Matrimoniall contract ſhould there be injoyed, where no Matrimony was conſummated. This the French were at length contented with, and ſealed acquittances, though it ſuffered a long diſpute. This affaire being ſetled, the dangers which were threatned by Wales and Scotland, did yet remaine. France was like a mighty Engine, which not eaſie to be moved, gave time for oppoſition, for if they had intended to have juſtled upon England, they would have had need of a preparation as great again, as well by land as ſea: ſo as being once quieted it was not eaſie to be moved a ſecond time, but the other two leſſer Engines, free from this inconvenience, allowed no time for prevention: for being eaſie of motion, they moved when they beſt liked; and therefore though they were not of ſo important danger, yet were they of more continuall diſturbance then was France.

Wales, called Cambria by the Latines, and by the French Gaules, is the Weſterne part of England, which in its greateſt extent is bounded by the River Severne, and where the extent is not ſo large by the River Dee, it containeth twelve ſhires; the Iſle of Angleſey being therein comprehended, the ancient ſeat of the Druides; if I be not deceived, it makes little leſſe then the eighth part of England; it is divided into South, Weſt, and North Wales, the people which inhabit South Wales, were by the Romanes called Seluri; thoſe who inhabit Weſt-Wales, Dimeti; and thoſe who did inhabit North-Wales, Ordevici: they are all of them equally fierce, deſirous of liberty, and head-ſtrong in the preſervation thereof; but they are not all alike ſeated for ſtrength; for though England were long before conquered by the Romans, South and Weſt Wales were not ſubdued till *Veſpatians* time, nor North-Wales till the dayes of *Domitian*. When afterwards the Roman Empire fell, they recoverd their liberty, and the Engliſh their Countrey; nor were they again ſubdued, till by *Edward* the firſt, *Llueline*, the laſt Prince of the Britiſh Progeny, being ſlaine. They did not forbeare to make often rebellions, when they met with any legall ſucceſſion, as was this of *Henry*, and as many as followed after till *Henry* the ſevenths Reigne, at which time the title was made good by the marriage with *Elizabeth* daughter to *Edward* the fourth; ſince when, till this preſent time, they have continued faithful and loyall:

they

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they boaſt themſelves to be (and indeed are) the ancienteſt inhabitants of the Kingdome, for the Engliſh are deſcended from the Saxons. They did preſerve their owne language not underſtood by the reſt, and till *Henry* the ſevenths time, they continued their ancient hatred to the new language which they underſtood not: but growing more quiet through peace; being ingrafted into a tree which watered with the ſame Lawes and Priviledges, they ſince then have lived happily, and ſtill doe ſo: having no cauſe now to call backe to minde their differing originall; for mingled in blood, and alike in Countrey, intereſt and name, they are accounted Engliſh.

Owen Glendor was this Countrey-man, deſcended from the youngeſt ſonne of Baron *Bromfield*, his inclinations were not common; whileſt he was young hee came to London, with intention to ſtudy the Law: but ſoone weary thereof, he betooke himſelfe to the ſervice of King *Richard*, and was one of his houſhold ſervants. As quickly weary of this ſort of life, as he was of the former, hee retired himſelfe to ſome poſſeſſions of his owne in Wales; the which confining upon the Lands of *Reignald Gray*, Lord Ruthen, after having upon ſome diſpute of lands, burnt houſes, villages, and ſlaine his ſervants, hee met with *Reignald*, and in fight took him priſoner. The Welſhmen much affected *Richard*, and he them; he truſted himſelfe onely with them: When he came from Ireland, hee came to Wales, and in Wales he ſurrendred himſelfe to *Henry*: Whereupon having alwayes governed himſelfe ill, and worſt at laſt, the Welſh would not raſhly and ſolely oppoſe themſelves to the whole Kingdome. But being vexed at his depoſing, and more incenſed at his death, they reſolved to rebell before the new King ſhould be eſtabliſhed. To this purpoſe they choſe *Glendor* for their Prince and Leader, who having proved victorious in the aforeſaid bickering, ran like lightning through all the neighbouring Frontiers, ſacking, firing and ſlaying what and whom ere he met withall. But his new condition requiring new ſupports, he offered to the impriſoned Baron the choyce of two things, either that hee would marry his daughter, or elſe reſolve never to enjoy liberty under a vaſte ranſome; both of them hard conditions, and not eaſily to be reſolved upon: the marriage was unequall, and wholly contrary to his intereſts: to ranſome himſelfe impoſſible, his fortune being much inferiour to his birth, and to the enemies avarice. But thirſty after liberty, hee choſe (as ſome ſay) to accept the wife, hoping that his marriage might be the thred which might lead him forth of ſo intricate a labyrinth: and ſo it had ſucceeded, if tyrants had any thing more obſervable in them thē their breach of faith; but having married he remained during life, as before her in the hands of his fraudulent father-in-law impriſoned. The King this meane while budg'd not, not through careleſneſſe, but want of meanes: for he had his hands full elſewhere. Hereupon *Glendor* (who knew how to make uſe of all advantages) grew more inſolent, and entred Hereford ſhire: In this Countrey did *Edmond Mortimer*, Earle of March, then live in private condition; that ſo by keeping aloofe from the Court, and without ſplendour, he might ſhunne thoſe dangers which in the preſent conjuncture of times, hung over him, as next lawfull heire to *Richard Glendor*, uſing his accuſtomed cruelties, awakened the County, which under the conduct of

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Edmund, endevoured to bridle his insolency: The battell was on both sides manfully fought; *Glendor* had two advantages, the number of men, and his being their Captaine: By these meanes hee proved victor, obedience and good order having wonne him the Lawrell. The Herefordshire men, on the other side, fewer in number, and led by the Earle onely, in regard unto his quality obeyed; many, and sometimes none, doing what they listed; so as distracted, and not resolved what to do, they made good the field till night; rather out of an obstinate resolution, then any reason or order. At last they yeelded, but fled not: for none did pursue them. *Glendor* was contented that he had overcome: for finding himselfe in an enemies Countrey, the night being darke, many of his men slaine, and the rest or weary or wounded, hee forbare to pursue the victory. Two thousand were left dead in the field; the Earle was taken prisoner, and kept in the bottome of a Tower, no respect being had to his person, neither did the King (though by many much importuned) indevour his liberty: for he thought this his imprisonment to bee one of the happiest things that ever befell him.

Let me here bee permitted to relate a Story of the Welsh Women, the like to which I have not met withall in any other history. They ran like so many Bacchanals to the place of battell, they cut off the noses and privities from as many as there they found dead, they put the privie members which they had cut off, into the mouthes of the dead, with the testicles hanging out, and the noses into their posteriors; nor would they suffer their bodies to be taken away without ransome. An action wherein eagernesse, dishonesty, cruelty, and avarice were equally seene, and were it to bee disputed which of these foure were most abusive, whosoever should give his opinion in favour of any of them, might lawfully feare the being thought unjust, each of them having arguments to plead for the priority of mischiefe; but if I were to be Judge herein, I should beleeve, that avarice were not to bee pleaded: For though it bee a vice naturall to that Sex, yet in what belongs to their houshold government, it may bee accounted a vertue. I should absolve them of cruelty, as not an absolute cause, but an effect of the fierceneſſe of their nature. And I would free them from dishonesty, because no dishonesty being without delight, this action was thereof incapable: so as fierceneſſe would win the plea, were it not that the inveterate hatred which they bare unto the English, had been the onely thing which made them fierce, dishonest, avaritious and cruell. *Glendor* kept on his course, sacking and spoyling the confines. These two victories had made him bee esteemed by his owne men, and feared by his enemies: there was none, (the King being busied about more weighty affaires) who withstood him: but good fortune is like the flowing of the Sea, which ebbes againe: for a full sea is alwayes followed by an ebbe.

The Scots had at this very time taken their best advantage of the alterations in England: they readily made use thereof, and Northumberland was the place wherein they laid their first Scene. The truce continued of force betweene the two kingdomes; and because warre was not publickly proclaimed, the truce was not esteemed broken: for disorderly incursions are pardoned between nations at continuall enmity. Nor was King *Robert*

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bert to be blamed herein, unleſſe it were for conniving. The Scots having ranſacked the countrey, betooke themſelves to doe miſchiefe at ſea, and to endammage the fiſhing buſineſſe. But the Engliſh were not wanting unto themſelves: for having ſacked the Ilands of the Orcades, they met with the enemies Fleet, who under the command of *Robert Logon*, went to encounter them; in fight they tooke many of them: An action of ſmall conſequence, and onely worthy of the name of Repriſall; but occaſions of open hoſtility enſuing hereupon, *Henry* was unwillingly enforced to undertake a warre. The King of Scotland had contracted a match between the daughter of *George Dumbar*, Earle of the Marches, and Prince *David* his eldeſt ſonne, the Earle having readily paid in a great ſumme of money by the way of portion: *Archibald* Earle *Douglas*, a high ſpirited man, not able to endure this addition of power in any one, much leſſe in *Dumbar*, who was of himſelfe great, and greatly follow'd, wrought ſo by the favour of the Duke, the Governour of the Kingdome, that this contract was declared void, as agreed upon without the Councels knowledge; and that his daughter *Mary* for a greater ſumme of money was received in the others place: and that this marriage might be paſt all annulling, hee cauſed it ſpeedily to bee effected, and authoriſed by all the accuſtomed Church rites. The Earle of the Marches was very ſenſible of this affront, and reſolving upon revenge, would not haſten it, till hee might make it juſtifiable to all the world. Hee required the repaiment of his monyes; but the King paying him with delayes, intending indeed never to pay him, he ſeemed to beleeve the contrary, till ſuch time as every one might perceive how he was abuſed. Hereupon threatning revenge, he withdrew himſelfe, and his whole family into England, where hee was by the Earle of Northumberland received: having gathered ſome forces together, he entred Scotland, and did there ſome miſchiefe, which though not ſufficient wholly to repaire, was notwithſtanding enough to content him for the firſt bout. King *Robert* having degraded him, and confiſcated all he had, ſent a Herauld to denounce unto *Henry*, that it was contrary to the tenure of Truce, to receive ſuch as were Traytors and Rebels to his Crowne, and to favour and countenance them: that if he would have the truce continue he ſhould deliver *Dumbar* up into his hands, or baniſh him his dominions. To the which King *Henry* (were it either that hee eſteemed it an unworthy thing to revoke the protection hee had given him, or that he was ſo generally beloved as to have reſolved the contrary, would have beene to little purpoſe) anſwered, That he was ſorry he could not ſatisfie the King of Scotland; for that hee could not in honour recall the ſafe conduct which hee had by his great Seale granted unto *Dumbar*. That for what concerned Truce or Warre, hee left the choyce to him: for, for his part hee was ready to continue the one if it pleaſed him; and if it pleaſed him not, they were both of them equally indifferent to him. The Herald had no ſooner brought backe this anſwer, but warre was proclaimed: And *Henry* willing rather to incounter it abroad, then meet with it at home, paſt ſuddenly into Scotland: hee burnt and ruin'd what ere he met withall. He ſpared no places but ſuch as were holy, and ſuch as had harboured his father the Duke of Lancaſter, when hee withdrew himſelfe into that Kingdom. A gratitude ſo well interpreted by the Scotch

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Scotch Writers, as that *Hector Boëtius* ſaith, That never did enemy make more friendly warre then did he. Hee came to Edinburgh, and tooke it: he laid ſiege to the Caſtle, which was defended by Prince *David* and his father-in-law Earle *Douglas*. By the condition of theſe two, the importance of the place may be conjectured: for Edinburgh was not to be held but by thoſe who were maſters of that Fort; whole Scotland depended upon this ſiege. It was now September, and in thoſe Northerne parts Winters fore-runners were already felt. The Duke of Albany was not farre off, deſiring that people might thinke he would doe what he was reſolved not to doe. His deſignes (which were the uſurpation of the Kingdome) ſuffered him not to bee charitable to his countrey, to performe the duty of his charge, nor to have reſpect unto his reputation. Hee would willingly have ſeen the Caſtle battered downe, and Prince *David* (who was his prime and chiefeſt obſtacle) buried in the ruines thereof. Notwithſtanding his inward malice, it behoved him to make ſhew of good intentions: he by a Herald ſent word to King *Henry*, that if hee would expect him but ſix dayes, he would give him battell; with reſolution either to make him raiſe the ſiege, or dye in the enterpriſe: hee could not have ſent a more welcome meſſage to the King: for the ſeaſon of the yeare, and his want of victuals would not permit him to tarry there long. He rewarded the Herald, and bade him aſſure the Duke that he would expect him, and fight with him. Six and ſixteene dayes paſſed, and yet no governour appeared: ſo as the flux in the Camp, joyned to ſo many other incommodities, forced the King to raiſe the ſige, and returne home: Hee brought back with him all his military affaires, as likewiſe ſuch Commanders as were wont to keep upon the Frontiers; which gave the Scots meanes, in ſome ſort, to repaire themſelves: they made two incurſions without oppoſition, into the two confining Countries of Northumberland and Banborough-ſhire; for the adverſe party arrived late after they were retired: encouraged by their happy ſucceſſe, they adventured upon the third on-ſet, being led by *Patricke Heborne*, a gentleman more adventrous then was requiſite: for whereas hee was able to have aſſembled a great number of men, he (having more regard to the booty then danger) made onely choyce of the beſt: wherewithall he entred Northumberland and by prey and priſoners inriched himſelfe and them: but in their returne, through heedleſneſſe cauſed by too much confidence in themſelves, or contempt of the enemy, being purſued by the Earle of Northumberland, they were routed at Nesbyt, where the greateſt part of them were ſlaine, though not without revenge: for they fought to their laſt gaſpe valiantly, as is uſuall to that warlike Nation. *Heborne*, more couragious now then cautious before (having done all that belonged to a diſcreet Commander) thruſt himſelfe into the thickeſt of the battell, where manfully fighting he loſt his life: together with him were ſlaine the chiefeſt of Loughdeane, beſides many Gentlemen and Knights that were taken priſoners, but as this defeat did rather irritate then quell the Scots, ſo Fortune which had ſmiled upon them in their firſt two expeditions, turned her backe upon them in the third, and quite abandoned them in the fourth: perhaps ſhe was offended they ſhould ſo often make tryall of her. The old *Archibald* Earle Douglaſſe was dead, the firſt occaſioner of

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of this warre: he left behinde him a ſonne which ſucceeded him in name and title, but ſurpaſſed him in worth and vertue. This man reſolved upon publicke revenge, for the publicke loſſewhich had beene ſuffered. He raiſed an Army of 20000. fighting men: The governour aſſented thereunto, and gave him for his aſſociates, his owne ſonne the Earle of Fife, the Earle of Angus, Murrey, and Atholl, together with many Barons and Gentlemen of the chiefe Nobility of Scotland. They came into Northumberland with flying colours, where not finding forces able to reſiſt them, they returned laden with prey, when about Hamilton they might ſee the Lord *Percy* iſſue out from forth a Valley: he who for his valour and forwardneſſe was by them called Hot-ſpur. He had with him Dumbar the enemy of the Douglaſſes, all the Gentry of Northumberland, and 8000. men, what horſe, what foote, and though it cannot bee denyed but that the hatred was great which was betweene theſe two warlike Nations, yet who will marke it well, may ſee that their vying for maſtery was the cauſe of all the miſchiefe which was by either of them given or received, rather then hatred or avarice. *Percy* was famous for what hee had already done, and now more then ever deſirous of glory. Douglaſſe was big with fame, and that he might bring it to light, was deſirous to adde thereunto the fame of his enemy: theſe two reſpects were the whetſtone whereon the valour of both parties was ſharpned. Exhortations and warlike noiſes were needleſſe, every man was by himſelfe encouraged, and ready for what he had to doe, each ſide equally thirſting for the others bloud. The conflict endured a long time with like affect, as is ſeene in a ſheete of corne, which when driven with violent windes, bends now on the one ſide, and then on the other alternately, till at laſt Fortune taking ſtand under Saint *George* his Croſſe, thought it not ſacriledge to beare to ground that of Saint *Andrew*. *Dowglaſſe* (who in the battell had loſt an eye) was taken priſoner; with him Fife, Murrey, Angus, Atholl and five hundred more: the greateſt part of the Gentry of Scotland dyed manfully fighting; of which number were twenty ſeven Knights, and of common ſouldiers (as the Engliſh writers ſay, for the others ſay nothing herein) 10000. *Percie*, as ſoone as he had made the priſoners ſafe in ſundry forts, paſſed forward in Loughdeane, and the Marches of Scotland, making uſe of the preſent occaſion, as having ſlaine and tane priſoners all that were to defend thoſe parts: which when hee had ſacked and utterly ruinated, hee beſieged Coclaven, a place neither to bee long kept, nor ſoone loſt; it was agreed upon that it ſhould be ſurrendred, if not ſuccoured within three months. The Governour was adviſed not to ſuccour it, for that the loſſe of it would be of leſſe moment then the hazarding of a ſecond battell. The defeat at Hamilton had ſo allayed the courage of the Gentry, as that not being confident of any good intention in the Governour, they could not bee perſwaded to a new conflict: but hee (his miſchievous deſignes not being now the thing in queſtion, but the honour of the Kingdome, on the preſervation whereof much of his hidden hopes depended) ſwore hee would ſuccour it, though not ſeconded by any; but the firſt two months being paſt, and nothing done, the caſtle was freed the third, for which no thanks was due to him: for *Percy* was forced to raiſe the ſiege, that hee might follow the King in his warres in Wales.

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Whilſt England was thus beſet on both ſides, new troubles aroſe unto her out of France, which though at firſt ſight of no conſideration, were yet the occaſion of incenſing mens mindes, and of the more eaſie breach of truce. The Duke of Orleans, brother to King *Charles*, a Prince of an unquiet ſpirit, borne to be the ruine of himſelfe and Kingdome, tooke a fancie, out of a meere capriciouſneſſe, to ſend a letter to King *Henry* by a Herald, the contents whereof were to this purpoſe: That having conſidered how the ruſt of idleneſſe in youth, had been the loſſe of many Princes ſprung from Royall bloud, he was reſolved to ſhake it off, and to win renowne and honour by the way of Armes: to effect the which, he could think of no readier means, then that they two ſhould meet at a certain place to be by them agreed upon, where each of them accompanied by a hundred Gentlemen of name & valour, and void of blemiſh, they might make triall of themſelves, till the one of them ſhould yeeld: and that ſuch priſoners as ſhould be taken, ſhould be liable to ranſome, and their ranſomes to be paid to ſuch as tooke them. That to this purpoſe he went with his hundred to Angoleſme, and that if hee would come with his hundred to Burdeaux, they might chuſe ſome neighbouring place for the combat. The Duke had been the Kings great friend whileſt he was in France, inſomuch as in ſigne of their more reall friendſhip, they ſealed a writing between them wherein they bound themſelves to the defence of one another, againſt all the world, except ſome whom the Duke excepted; but this chalenge being directly oppoſite thereunto, and *Henry* having not been long in his kingdome, and by reaſon of his affaires, free from that idleneſſe which the other deſired to ſhun, he anſwered, that he would never have beleeved, that the letter which was delivered him by his Herald, had been directed to him, had not the circumſtances aſſured him that it was. That the publick truce between the two Kingdomes, and the private confederacie between them two, ought to have diſſwaded him from making ſuch a requeſt: but that ſince he was pleaſed ſo to reſolve, hee for for his part was likewiſe reſolved to breake their former confederacie: That Kings ought to bee chalenged by Kings, not by inferiours: That Kings ought not to uſe their weapons for vain-glory, but for the glory of God, and good of Chriſtianity, and when by their ſtate neceſſitated thereunto: That hee would come to Burdeaux with as many men as hee pleaſed when it might ought availe him: And that in ſuch a caſe occaſions would not bee wanting to the Duke to finde him out, nor ſhould will be wanting in him to be found out by him. To this anſwer the Duke by new letters replyed, that he avouched the writing of the former letters to be to him, & to him onely, and that if he did not therein give him the title which now he aſſumed, 'twas becauſe he did not approve thereof, that hee would have had due reſpect to their confederacy, if it had not firſt been violated by him, that he would never have made any confederacy with him, if he had thought he would have ſo behaved himſelfe towards King *Richard*, God knowes how, and by whom ſlaine: for what concerned his preſent dignity that God never gave it him, but did onely permit it in him: and that God did oftentimes ſuffer Princes to reigne for their greater confuſion: ſo as the compariſon he made between them two, was to no purpoſe; ſince his reputation was void of blemiſh, as was not

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the Kings: that for the duty and office of a King, hee could not ſay better and doe worſe: that Queen *Iſabel* his Neece might ſerve to prove this, who was ſent backe into France, her husband being ſlaine, her jonyture denied, the goods ſhee brought with her into England, deteined: That hee would maintaine all this to bee true in ſingle combat hand to hand, to the end, that (as hee had ſaid) the deaths of ſo many might bee ſpared: that hee thanked him for having more charity to the blood of France, then hee had to his owne Lord and King. This reply was too ſharpe, not to bee anſwered. The King wrote backe: That having communicated his deſignes to him, when hee parted from France, which he (the Duke) did then approve of, and promiſed his aſſiſtance, hee wondred why he ſhould now blame them, as it they were new unto him: that if by his words of *God knowes how, and by whom King Richard was ſlaine*, hee did believe that his death was occaſioned by any command or approbation of his, he did believe falſly; and that he would make this good unto him body to body. Hee did not deny, but that in the confederacie made between them, the King of France, and *Iſabel*, Queen of England, were on his ſide excepted; but that he (the Duke) could not likewiſe deny, that though the Duke of Burgondy was by name excepted, yet that in private he told him, he held him as not excepted, for the confederacie was onely grounded upon the hatred he bare unto him, ſo as the objection which hee made againſt him (the King) was the ſame which the Duke, from the very beginning was maliciouſly guilty of. For that part of his reply, where he ſaid, that *He would never have made any confederacie with him, if he had thought hee would have behaved himſelfe ſo to King Richard*; why then did he, after *Richards* death, ſend a Gentleman to him, to aſſure him of the continuation of his friendſhip, and to tell him, that next the King his brother, he deſired to ſerve no Prince alive more then him. That *God had permitted him, but not promoted him to reigne*, hee did not beleeve it; yet he confeſſed, that Gods abounding favours to him, proceeded onely from grace and mercie, the which was able to effect more then all the art and malice of the Divell, (by theſe words hee alluded to what was commonly beleeved, that the Duke, and *Valentia* his wife, had bewitched King *Charles*, and plotced the death of his children, to the end that they might come to the Crown) that if he had read the Articles of agreement, hee would there have found, that England was not obliged to make any joynture: that he had not onely reſtored unto her what ever ſhe brought with her, but preſented her to boot: that the Acquittance ſealed in Councell, he himſelfe being preſent, might convince him of his falſhood: ſo as what he ſaid in this point, was not for that he did not know the contrary, but that being of himſelfe falſe and wicked, to ſpeake truth was contrary to his nature: that hee did not deny his deſire of ſparing to ſhed the bloud of France, as it well became a King to bee ſparing of his ſubjects bloud: for ſuch (his juſt claime conſidered) were the French to him: that where he ſaid, *He had more reſpect to the bloud of France then the life of Richard*, hee lied; and that it were to bee wiſht, hee had not done worſe to the King his brother: for what remained that hee would paſſe the ſea, when it might conduce to the honour of God, his owne good, and the good of his kindome, to anſwer him in what manner hee ſhould chuſe.

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This defiance was accompanied by another from *Valerian* of Luxenburgh, Count Saint *Paul*, who not calling him King, but Duke of Lancaſter, denounced to him, That his friendſhip and affinity to King *Richard*, (for he had married *Magd:len Holland*, ſiſter by the mothers ſide to *Richard*) and *Henry's* being notoriouſly guilty of his death, obliged him to doe him all the evill and miſchiefe which by the forces of himſelfe and ſubjects he was able. But the King made him no anſwer, as one he made no account of. In the Duke of Orleans his buſineſſe, nothing paſſed further then the defiances by writing: but the Count St. *Paul* began to take his revenge to little purpoſe, making triviall attempts moſt harmfull to himſelfe: for beleeving that the new Duke of Yorke was cauſer of *Richards* death (the conſpiracie at Oxford being by his heedleſneſſe diſcovered) hee cauſed his Statue to bee made, and giving it in charge unto ſome of his men of warre, he made it to be hung up by the heeles upon a gallowes, which for that purpoſe was carried by night neere to Callais walles, the which at the opening of the gates being ſeen, did ſo exaſperate the Garriſon of the Towne, that the Count and his territories fared not the better for it: all his other attempts after this, had ill ſucceſſe, as wee ſhall hereafter ſee more at large.

This mean while the King of France being advertiſed of King *Henry's* preparations againſt Wales, he ſet himſelf to ſuccour *Glendor*, judging that it might redound to his advantage, to annoy England under anothers pretext, and to make it pine away by nouriſhing the feaver of an inteſtine war. To this effect he cauſed many Ships to be put in good equipage in Breſt, a haven in Bretaigne, and put therein two thouſand fighting men, under the command of *Iames* of Burbon, Count of March, who putting to Sea with his two brothers, *Lewis* and *Iohn*, found the winds ſo contrary to his paſſage into Wales, as that he was forced to anchor at Plimmouth in Devonſhire, where landing his people by night, hee burnt and ſacked all the neighbouring villages, not ſparing the Abodes nor Boats of poore Fiſher-men. But herein Fortune ſmiled upon him but a while: for the confining people gathering together at the firing of the Beacons, and newes being brought him that the violence of Winde and Sea had ſplit twelve of the beſt Ships of his Fleet, indangering all the reſt: Hee, with difficulty, did re-imbarke himſelfe, and with much adoe got to Saint Maloes, having runne divers times danger of being ſwallowed up by Sea.

This ill ſucceſſe did no waies aſſwage the French mens heat, for aſſembling together a fleet of eighty ſhips, under the command of Marſhall *Moemerancy*, and the Generall of the Croſſe-bow-men, wherein they imbarked 12000. fighting men, they came to Milford haven, in Pembrokeſhire, where finding Pembroke Caſtle ſtrong and well defended, they ſat downe before Erfordnueſt, which being likewiſe ſecured by the Earle of Arundell; they paſſed forward to Denbigh, doing all thoſe out-rages as they went by fire and ſword, as are uſually done in an enemies Countrey; there they found *Glendor*, who ſtaied expecting them with ten thouſand of his owne men: thus met together, they travailed toward Worſter, but not having time to try the towne, by reaſon of the Kings approach, they fired the ſuburbs, and retyred into Wales, fortifying themſelves upon the hanging of a hill, betwixt the which and the oppo-

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site hill (where the King had pitched himselfe) there was a Valley disadvantagious for those who should first passe over it; they tarried eight daies in sight of one another, both sides resolute not to assaile, and though daily divers skirmishes were made, yet were they not of much importance, some of both sides being slaine; amongst which the bastard of *Burbone* the Marshalls brother was one. The King this meane while had stopped the passage of their victualls, thereby inforcing them either to passe the Valley and fight, or else to retire: the latter being thought the better course, they raised their campe at midnight, marching through Woods, and over Mountaines, still pursued by the King; but this pursute lasted but a while, for the King having lost certaine provision of victualls, which the enemy well acquainted with the waies, had intercepted, was brought himselfe to the like danger of suffering for lacke of victualls, and winter now comming on, hee quitted the enterprise for that time, resolving to reassume it in the spring, being hereunto inforced, through *Glenders* daring, and the molestations of the French: but the French weary of the Countrey, and more weary of a warre wherein nothing of advantage was to be had, withdrew themselves to Brittanny, not intending to returne. The Count St. *Pauls* attempts had no better successe, who willing to act his threats, had gathered together in Abeville betweene voluntiers and men in pay 1600. fighting men; from whence hee went to Normandy, and imbarked himselfe at Arflore, intending to set upon the Ile of Wight, upon the coast whereof he was sooner then hee imagined, being favoured by the windes, which assisted him in his landing. The Ilanders, who expected not so sudden a surprise, retired themselves together with the best things they had from the more open places to places of more defence; and if they suffered some losse, twas nothing in respect of what the Count intended; for England being nigh at hand, succours in few houres to be had, the parts thereof strong, and not to bee won but by length of time, he having but a small number of men, the inhabitants once met together stronger then he, he lost all hope of victory or booty. This Island was by the Romans called Vecta: It is seated in the South of England, so neere to Hampshire, that from Hurst, the chiefe Castle thereof, seated on the outmost part of a narrow ridge of land, which thrusts it selfe forth into the sea, the distance is but two miles. It is rich in pasture and graine, abounding in birds, particularly in Partridge and Phesant, full of Hares and Connies; it yeeldeth great store of Woole of the third best sort of England; it is twenty miles in length, in bredth where broadest twelve; so well inhabited as that there is therein thirty sixe townes, boroughes and villages, it hath divers strong Castles seated in the most appropriate places for the defence thereof; it armeth 4000. men exercised by their Captains: from Hampshire in time of need 3000 men are assigned unto it, and from Wiltshire 2000. but without their assistance it was able to defend it selfe against so few enemies: when posts flew up and downe with newes of the Counts landing, those who were nearest unto him thought it best to entertaine him with treaties, as well that he might forbeare doing mischiefe, as likewise that being allured by hopes and gaine, hee might not prepare to be gone; they sent unto him a well spoken and well advised Priest, who made divers

A description of the Ile of Wight.

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propoſitions to him; but being advertiſed of the ſtrength of the Iſland, and of what danger hung over him, hee reimbarked himſelfe contrary to the good will of the adventurers, who had laid out much upon vaine hopes, and had never any reparation made them, though they expected ſatisfaction from the Generall. All ſides were ſo heated with theſe commotions, as that warre was already kindled in Guaſcony, not now contented with inrodes, they betooke themſelves to more evident and reall injuries; but Fortune having favoured the Engliſh in theſe laſt expeditions on this ſide the ſea, would now be gracious to the French in the two next on the other ſide the ſea. The one made by Count *Claremont*, ſonne to the Duke of Burbone, the other by the Conſtable *Albert*, both which ſtrove who ſhould moſt indamage the Dutchy. The firſt accompanied by Count *Chaſtearebone* ſonne to the Count *de Foix*, reduced three ſtrong Caſtles to the obedience of King *Charles*, St. *Peter*, St. *Mary*, and *Chaſteaunenſe*. The ſecond incenſed at the damages done by the Gariſon which lay at Carlefine (which had forced contribution upon all the neighbouring places) ſate downe before the towne, accompanied by *Arpadan*, a Gentleman of note, and much followed in thoſe parts; after ſixe weekes ſiege the Gariſon diſpairing of ſuccour, yeelded themſelves, their goods being ſafe, and the townſmen redeeming their goods with money.

1403 But theſe external adventures merit not the being recounted, ſave as apparent intermediums of the tragicall acts which were internally done; men who do good turns, uſe to meaſure merit by a common meaſure which agrees ill with the meaſure of Princes. For ſubjects are born to ſerve their Princes, & are bound to their ſervice, which they are not to other men; ſo as private men are more obliged by good turnes then Princes, not but that Princes ought to reward worth in thoſe that ſerve them; but if this bemade in them a coactive duty, vertue will not be its owne end in ſubjects, & will eclips the ſplendor of liberality, and gratitude in Princes, and not being able to ſatisfie every one with current money (their eſtates how rich ſoever not able to ſuply them) they muſt reward ſome with the Alchymy of honour, a ſort of money coined for the chiefeſt and moſt noble, amongſt whom it is ofteneſt diſperſed. *Tacitus* brings in *Armenius* laughing at his brother *Flavius*, who rather deſired to bee a private ſouldier amongſt the Romans, then a Prince in Germany: and that having in thoſe warres loſt an eye, and had his face diſfigured, he termed the increaſe of his pay, and certaine other little gifts which children would diſprize, a reward. But *Armenius* did not well underſtand this myſtery; for take away the opinion of honour (which of the two principall columes which ſuſtaine civill life, is the ſecond) who will expoſe himſelfe to danger, who will defend his Country, if to die for it be not eſteemed glorious? The two *Percies* both brothers, the one Earle of Northumberland, the other of Worſter, together with *Henry*, ſonne to the former, fell into this error, they meaſured their ſervice done to the King according to the common meaſure, ſo as if the miſchief which inſued, was not anſwerable to the honour of their familie, and their owne particular worths, it was notwithſtanding moſt anſwerable to their ill adviſed reſolutions. In the two battels at Hamelton and Nesbit (as hath beene formerly

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formerly ſaid) they had taken ſome of the chiefe Nobility of Scotland; the which being demanded by the King (who would have them in his power) and by them denied, they thought to ſatisfie him by ſending unto him *Mordachy* Earle of Fife, the chiefeſt of them, ſonne to the Duke of Albeny, alledging that this man together with the other priſoners, did of right belong to them, as a prey wonne by the hazard of their perſons, and effuſion of their bloud, ſo as the King had no pretence unto them. Juſt reaſons if the Prince were not to ſhare in the booty, Artillery, munition, or victualls, priſoners of quality, or otherwiſe redonable, doe properly belong to them, not ſo much in reſpect of ranſome, as to facilitate, or ſecure the victory, by peace, exchange, and other contingencies which times and occaſions, in the manifold intereſts of States doe produce. I ſpeake not of the impriſonment of the two Kings of France, of *Iohn* in England, and *Francis* the firſt in Spaine. The ranſome of the two brothers ſonnes to *Charles* of Blois, were reſerved for *Richard* the ſecond; and though it were afterwards by act of Parliament granted to *Vere*, Duke of Ireland, it was not done to prejudicate the right we ſpeake of, but to the end that by his being abſent from the court, the King might the better governe himſelfe. And for what concernes priſoners of leſſer condition yet re-donable, the example of the victory at Lepanto, which happened in our fathers times, may ſuffice; in the which the confederates divided the Turkiſh priſoners, and made them tug at one Oare in their fleet. The King perſiſting in his reſolution of having them, they thought to make him deſiſt therein, by demanding of him things of greater conſequence.

The Earle of Worſter, a wicked and turbulent man, was hee who did forward this reſolution, an advice worſt to the adviſer, and mortall to thoſe who did embrace it. The King was then at Windſor, whither the Earle of Worſter being come, hee repreſented unto him the miſerable impriſonment of *Edmund* Earle of Marſh, their kinſman, kept in fetters by *Glendor*, and fallen into this misfortune for doing ſervice unto his Majeſty and the State. He deſired him to be the means of his freedome, either by ranſome or otherwiſe: the King finding whither this requeſt tended, after having a-while bethought himſelfe, made anſwer, that the Earle of Marſh was not taken priſoner in his ſervice, but by his owne conſent, as not willing to bee inforced to profeſſe himſelfe an enemy to *Glendor*; and this anſwer he willed to be publiſhed to the terror of all ſuch as had any inclination to him-ward. Worſter being returned, and having acquainted his brother & nephew with what had paſt; the Nephew would not endure it, who being a violent young man, did wrongfully exaggerate the injuſtice, ſaying: That *Henry* not contented to bereave *Edmund* of the Kingdome, did now deny him that ſuccour which his ſervice done unto him, did chalenge: That if he ſhould have ranſomed him, it ſhould not be done by his owne moneyes, but by the inheritance which he uſurped from *Edmund*; and that in ſtead of praiſe, through too much ingratitude, he loaded him with undeſerved calumnies: wherein hee ſaid truth; for *Edmunds* wit was not proper for ſuch inventions; and if it had been true, *Glendor* would not have treated him as he did. But the King who had by evill meanes uſurped the State from him, could not by good meanes maintaine it; not onely the loſſe of his liberty, but the loſſe of his life would have redounded

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dounded to the Kings advantage, if it mought handſomly have beene wrought. 'Tis certaine truth, that if *Henry* did faile in his behalfe, the *Percies* were no leſſe faulty in what belonged to them. Charity, which they made a Cloke of, was inveloped with hypocriſie and illuſions. *Edmunds* pretences unto the Crowne were now no more then they were formerly: nor were they leſſe when *Henry* uſurped the Kingdome. The *Percies* were the chiefe who aſſiſted him to the Crowne, who were recompenced with the Iſle of Man, the father was honoured with the high dignity of Lord high Conſtable; favours which they ſhould not have accepted, unleſſe they did allow and grant him to bee King. And ſince they were not moved thereunto by conſequence, and that ſelfe intereſt did onely prevaile, that intereſt ought chiefly to be had in conſideration, which for conſequence was moſt uſefull, and for act leaſt unhoneſt. For uſefulneſſe conſiſts in the not alteration of affairs; and honeſty in the not diſapproving thoſe evils which were formerly willingly committed under the ſpecious pretence of good. Having by their former actions purchaſed an ill report, they made it worſe by this their preſent action: for none but themſelves ſhared in the former, they in the ſecond did intereſt God Almighty; as if he were not the ſearcher of hearts, or to be ſuborned as a falſe witneſſe to their evill actions: but immoderate ambition doth not only ſubvert judgement, but all other rules, even what concernes ſelfe ſafety. The *Percies* being thus farre intereſſed in this affaire, they reſolved to doe what in them lay to depoſe *Henry*, beginning with what was moſt eaſie, they ranſomed *Edmund*, and grew confederates with *Glendor*, (according to the proverbe) counting their chickens before they were hatcht. They aſſigned unto *Glendor* the principality of Wales, within the ancient limits of Severne, to *Mortimer*, that part which from Severne and Trent, extends it ſelfe towards the South, to Northumberland, from Trent Northward: theſe their agreements they put in writing, and ſealed in Bangor, in the Archdeacons houſe: ſome were of opinion that *Glendors* daughter was not contracted to the Lord *Grey*, but to *Edmund*, upon this occaſion; how ever it was, men uſually doe not deſire to be the authors of evill, but to lay the invention of it upon the Divell; who if he were to juſtifie himſelfe, would peradventure plead not guilty. *Merlin* an old falſe Prophet of Wales, of whom many things are told, or elſe ſome other in his name, left behind him divers vain Prophecies, amongſt which, one of the Moale, the Lyon, the Dragon, and the Wolfe. The Welchmen did interprete *Henry* to bee the Moale, and the other three, the three confederates which ſhould take from him his Kingdome. Upon this falſe beliefe they grounded their certaine ruine, whilſt *Merlin* nor the Divell nere dream'd upon any ſuch interpretation. Upon ſuch foundations did the *Percies* build their ruinous fabrique, who being advertiſed by Woſter (when as being the Princes Governour was returned to Court) that the King had levied a great army, and that he made all poſſible diligence to draw into the field, gathered all the ſtrength they could together, adding thereunto the Scottiſh priſoners, who brought others along with them. They promiſed to Earle *Douglas* to boote with his liberty the towne of Barwicke, with part of Northumberland; to the reſt great Lordſhips elſewhere. They framed a miſchievous writing againſt the

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King dictated by *Richard Scroope* Archbiſhop of Yorke, and brother to the Earle of Wiltſhire, beheaded the yeare before at Briſtoll, whereby they drew unto their faction (though they reaped no benefit therby) many Prelats and Lords, who either prevented in time, or miſtruſting the ſucceſſe, performed nothing promiſed, leaving the authors in the lurch: their deſignes by ſo many circumſtances, and preparations were already ſufficiently divulged; whilſt the reaſons thereof were altogether unknowne, eſpecially to the vulgar: it was requiſite to publiſh them; the applauſe or connivance of the people (though to ſmall purpoſe) being of great moment in ſuch matters, they writ letters by way of remonſtrance, ſhewing that they had tane armes for their owne ſecurity, and to reduce the governement to a better forme, for that the Kingdome was oppreſſed with unſupportable grievances, and they by the falſe information of enemies, in a condition of not being able to juſtifie their actions, without having ſafe exceſſe to the perſon of his Majeſty, by meanes of the Prelates and Peeres. The King did not imagine their intentions to be ſo dangerous, he purpoſed to go for Wales; but upon better advice he changed his minde; he anſwered to their remonſtrance, that the *Percies* did cloke their endeavours by two falſe pretences: for what concerned grievances, that they were impoſed by their ſuggeſtions, who had themſelves ſhared the greateſt part of monies, for the defence of the confines, as ſhould bee ſhowne. For the other, that they ſhould have no excuſe, for he would offer them what ſecurity they could deſire, under his great ſeale for their ſafe acceſſe and receſſe. But this was not that which they deſired; they would be judges, not guilty men to be judged. Notwithſtanding theſe offers, young *Percy* drew into the field accompanied by Earle *Douglas* and other Scots, leaving his Father ſicke, who promiſed to follow him as ſoone as he ſhould recover health. When Worſter heard thereof, hee left the charge of the Prince, and met him at Stafford; from thence they marched toward Shrewsbury, giving out that King *Richard* was yet alive, and that he was at Cheſter to be ſeene by whoſoever would, that they came armed to reinveſt him in his kingdome, which was injuriouſly injoyed by another. A peece of art which troubled many, but excited none, for though thoſe who had taſted of his good, and who envied *Henries* greatneſſe, could have wiſhed him alive; the falſhood thereof was ſo poorely maſqued, as that the truth appeared. The King this meane while fearing leſt they might joyne with *Glendor*, made haſte to hinder them, ſo adviſed by the Scottiſh Earle of Marſh, whoſe wiſe perſwaſions did afterwards ſave the Kings life, when in the heat of the inſuing battel, forgetting the duty of a chiefe Commander, he ſhewed more valor then wiſedome. This Earle had forſooke the *Percies* formerly his friends, either for that he approved not of their deſignes, or that for being joyned with *Douglas* he abhorred their ſight, or rather for that having offended his naturall King, even to the point of enmity, hee thought it not expedient to make the King of England his enemy likewiſe, and ſo have no place of refuge. The King came to Shrewsbury neere upon night, nor was hee ſooner come thither, then that he underſtood of the enemies approach in battell array; upon this advertiſement he drew into the field, and after upon ſome ſlight skirmiſhes of the light horſes, encamped himſelfe. The

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Lord *Percy* who came with intention to win the City, failing in his intentions, and the aids hee expected not appearing, reſolved to give battell of himſelfe, incouraged in that his ſouldiers were reſolved to dye for their liberty, and for the good of the Kingdome, governed (as he gave out) by a Tyrant. He ſent the forenamed writing to the King by two Squires, the which acquainted him with the reaſons of his revolt, and did likewiſe denounce the battell. The King was there only named Duke of Lancaſter, it was written, ſubcrib'd, and ſeal'd by the names, hands, and ſeales of *Henry* Percy Earle of Northumberland, Lord high Conſtable of England, Lord Warden of the Weſt Marches, of *Henry* Percy Warden of the Eaſt Marches, and of *Thomas* Percy Earle of Woſter. The contents thereof was, that having ſworne at his returne from France, that he did pretend to nothing but the inheritance due unto him by his father, and wife, and that he would ſuffer the King peacefully to enjoy his Crowne, he had done otherwiſe; for after having through famine, thirſt, and could, cauſed King *Richards* death, hee had uſurped the Kingdome, which did of right belong to *Edmond Mortimer*, the lawfull heire; cauſing the Burgeſſes of Parliament to bee choſen contrary to the forme of Law, and priviledge of the ſubject, ſo to ſuborn votes for his own advantage; that he had denied to ranſome *Mortimer*, who being by them ſet at liberty, hee had proclaimed them traytors; that therefore they did defie him as a perjured and falſe man, as an uſurper of the crowne which did properly appertaine to the true heire: and together with him they defied all his complices, and ſuch as ſided with him, as traytors, acd deſtroyers of the State. If true faults objected but in jeſt, doe ſting, much more did theſe doe ſo, accompanied with ſuch upbraidings and threats.

But the King, not woonted to diſcompoſe himſelfe, when hee had read the letter, ſaid merrily to the meſſengers, that his ſword ſhould anſwer that ſcandalous writing, and that he was confident, God would aſſiſt his juſt quarrell againſt ſuch forſworne diſloyall traytors as were the *Percies*. But his moderation in theſe occurrances, is worthy a particular obſervation: for lacking neither generoſity nor courage (if his uſurpation and injuſtice did not bereave him thernof, which did not appeare) hee received all theſe injuries not onely untranſported, but with a ſetled judgement, weighed that as to hazard his eſtate, life and honour, upon the fortune of one day, would be an act of raſhneſſe: if he could avoid it, ſo to preferre his ſafetie before their offences, would bee a point of wiſedome. For that injuries were paſſions of the minde, which might breathe away in a ſtanding fortune; but the ruinous effects of a loſt battell, were irrepairable in a falling fortune: ſo as caſhiering all punctualities, not caring what others would ſay of him, he reſolved to ſee whether he could in ſome ſort fairly accommodate this buſineſſe, rather then truſt to the inconſtancy of fortune; which was not to be tried till the laſt puſh. And that in ſuch a caſe he would ſhew that manlihood which men haſty and void of judgement might now tax in him. He appeared the next day, and ordering his troopes as the others did, he ſent the Abbot of Shrewesbury unto them, accompanied with one of the officers of his privie Seale, with an offer of pardon, if they would yeeld to reaſonable conditions. The Lord *Percie*, though naturally violent, examining the buſineſſe in the ſame ſort as the

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King had done, accepted the propoſition. Hee ſent unto him his Uncle, the Earle of Worſter, to require of him an effectuall reformation of thoſe things which had cauſed them take Armes. But the Earle (though fully ſatisfied by the King in all his demands, and in a more ſubmiſſe ſort then did become his degree) made a cleane contrary relation to his Nephew: envie and confidence (for he judged the Kings humility to be cowardize and feare) leading him by meanes of this deadly lye, to his fatall end. The young *Percie* thinking himſelfe under-valued, cauſed the ſigne of battell immediately to be given by ſound of Trumpet: the two Armies were about fourty thouſand fighting men, the rebels Vantguard was led by the Scots, who after a great ſhowre of Darts, which ſlew many of both ſides, advanced themſelves againſt the Vantguard Royall, which rigorouſly withſtood the firſt ſhocke; but the Welſhmen comming at the ſame time to the rebels aſſiſtance, the Kings Vantguard began to give ground, and had been routed, if the King with his battalion had not put forwards. Young *Percie* aſpiring after victory, advanced his likewiſe, having formerly agreed with *Douglas* to kill the King, in whoſe death did conſiſt the victory, and end of the warre. *Dumbar* perceived their ends by their violent comming on; and with much adoe, got the King to with-draw himſelfe to another place; which if he had not done, hee had run apparant danger: for the violence of the bickering was all made upon the Standard Royall, the which was beaten downe, and Sir *Walter Blunt*, who had the charge thereof, ſlaine; together with as many more as did defend it. Amongſt which (according to *Walſingham* and *Hollenſhead*) the Earle of Stafford, made that very day Lord high Conſtable, was one; though *Halle* reckons him amongſt the rebels. The King who (as hath been ſaid) was gone elſewhere, whilſt fighting and commanding, he performed the office both of a Captaine and ſtout Souldier, was by *Douglas*, who ſought after him, with a Lance borne downe to the ground; but getting on horſe-backe againe, hee did acts of ſuch fame, as that forraine, Writers doe agree, that he ſlew with his owne hands that day ſix and thirty of the enemies. *Douglas* beleeving that he had done what he deſired, gave on ſtill, and met with a ſecond, then a third, cloathed with upper garments like the King, which both being over-throwne, or ſlaine, hee knew not what to thinke of ſo many Kings in one battell incountred. I name them not, for I meet not with their names in any Authour. *Henry*, Prince of Wales, a youth not fully ſixteen yeares old, wounded in the face by a Dart, and deafe to their perſwaſions who would have withdrawne him from the battell to have dreſſed him, gave proofe that in his due time hee would bee that brave King hee was. The enemy gave on no where, nor did his men give any where backe, where hee opened not the enemies rankes, and cloſed his owne. By his example inſtructing, and by his valour cauſing ſhame, where none was. So as the Kings party hartned by the valiant carriage of the Father and Sonne, the Father followed by the moſt valiant of his men, ſeeing the face of Fortune changed, gave on where the enemy was thickeſt. Young *Percie*, who according to his cuſtome, had fought bravely, was by I know not whom, ſlaine, whoſe loſſe was the loſſe of the Battell on his ſide. The Kings ſide began already to cry out victory; and the name of Saint *George* was

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ecchoed through all the Campe; when *Douglas* not longer able to withstand fortune, the Scots being almoſt all ſlaine, the Engliſh and Welſh fled) began to think how he might likewiſe ſcape, he ſet ſpurs to his horſe, which ſtumbling on the top of a hill, he fel down, and in the fall broke one of his genitories, and was tane priſoner. The Earle of Worſter (the execrable cauſe of ſo great miſchiefe) the Lord *Chinderton*, Sir *Richard Varnon*, & divers others were likewiſe tane, but in a diverſe manner. The battel laſted three houres: on the Kings ſide (beſides ten Gentlemen who were that morning knighted) 1600. ſouldiers were ſlaine, and foure thouſand more dangerouſly hurt: there was ſlaine of the Rebels 5000. not numbring the Gentlemen, the Scots, nor thoſe of Cheſter, who as the Welſh had alwayes beene faithfully devoted to *Richard*. This defeat fell upon the Saterday, ſo as the Earle of Worſter and the other two had leaſure on Sunday to thinke upon their ſoules, for on Munday the law paſſed upon them at Shrewsbury. The Earles head was ſent and ſet upon London bridge; the Lord *Percies* body, which was by the Kings permittance buried, was by command of the ſame taken up, beheaded and quartered. The puniſhment of offendors is one of the foundations of State, and to teach great men their duties by their equalls infamy, is numbered amongſt the ſecrets of government.

This was the end of *Percy* the Hotſpurre, one of the valianteſt warriers that age produced, he died armed amongſt armed troopes, covered with his owne blood, and the blood of others; his end had beene glorious had he died in a more juſtifiable cauſe, he mought well have preſerved himſelfe (his high ſpirit being allayed by the Kings laſt proffer) but the malice of a wicked Uncle hindred him, cauſing by his falſe report this his death and infamy. Earle *Douglas* no ſubject, but a profeſt enemy, was by the King commended and admired, and ſet at liberty. For vertue by men generouſly minded, is applauded even in enemies. *Owen Glendor* and the Earle of Northumberland remained yet enemies, not to be diſpiſed. The King ſent the Prince his ſonne to Wales, who finding the people in thoſe parts poſſeſt with feare, by reaſon of the laſt overthrow, chaſed them like ſo many wilde beaſts, over mountaines and through woods. *Glendor* forſaken by all men, died within a few dayes of meere hunger; his hopes and life, his principalitie and propheſies ending all at once: ſo as having appeaſed the countrey, and left governours there, the Prince returned home in triumph. But that *Glendor* did dye in this ſort, is only written by *Edward Halle*, other writers keep him longer alive. The King tooke a journey towards Yorke, to reduce the Earle of Northumberland to his duty, and found that if he had not beene withſtood by the Earle of Weſtmerland and Sir *Robert Waterton*, hee would have drawne his forces into the field, and have joyned with his ſonne; but that fearing to encounter them, he had retired himſelfe into his ſtrong Caſtle. The King writ unto him to disbandon his forces, willing him to come in a peaceable faſhion. Hee obeyed, not knowing how to doe otherwiſe after ſo great a ruine: he came accompanied onely with a few of his owne followers: he uſed not many words, concerning his nakedneſſe with excuſes, and laying thoſe faults upon ſuch as were dead, which lived yet in him. The King diſſembling his diſpleaſure (for Barwicke and other ſtrengths were yet in his hands

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hands furniſhed with Scottiſh Garriſons) ſuffered him to returne, that hee might not againe indanger thoſe confines, he gave him friendly and holy admonitions, which had he had the fortune to imbrace, hee had not heaped up deſolation upon his family by his owne death. Some will have it that the King pardoned his life, but did confiſcate his goods, leaving him onely ſufficient for maintenance, and tis not unlikely, for in the next Parliament he was reſtored to all except the Iſle of man, a ſuperfluous favour if he had not bene formerly puniſhed.

This meane while *Valerian* Count St. *Paul*, netled by his no honorable retreat from the Iſle of Wight, levied 2000. fighting men, part French, part Genoveſes, part Dutch, with the which he unexpectedly ſat down before Merc Caſtle, little more then a league diſtant from Callis, hoping by their valor & excellency of his Engines, to win it: the place was defended by ſoldiers more remarkable for their valor then number, ſo as deſpairing of taking it by aſſault, he lodged his troops in the ſuburbs, which being invironed by a ditch, defended him from ſuch as from Callis, or the other Garriſons might at unawares ſet upon him, he forbare not though to aſſay their firſt work with a fierce aſſault; the which being weakly defended (the defenders not much valuing it) he made himſelfe maſter of, and made a great booty of cattell and horſes; his comming being this meane while underſtood at Callis, the towne ſent out a hundred horſemen to diſcover his ſituation, who returned without, or giving, or taking offence; but they ſent him word that if hee would expect them, they would come and dine with him the next morning, to which he anſwered, that their dinner ſhould be ready for them: upon breake of day 200 horſe, two hundred archers, and three hundred footmen, followed by ten or twelve carts with victuall and artillery, came forth of Callis. They thought to have met the enemy in the field, or ready to come forth, but finding them in their rampiers, it was neceſſary to ſtirre them with their arrowes; a cloud whereof falling thicke upon them who were cloſed up together betweene the Caſtle and the ditch, they were ſorely gauled, not able to make defence. The Dutch foot being diſordered, were the firſt who run away, and were followed by the greateſt part of the horſe, and the Genoveſe Croſſebowmen, who in the taking in of the firſt workes had ſpent all their arrowes, were ſoone defeated. The Count got ſafe to Terrovan, leaving eighty Noblemen and Gentlemen priſoners beſides thoſe that were ſlain. Of which number was *Angeſtes*, Captaine of Bullen, *Dampiere*, and *Ramburres*. The Engliſh wonne Artillery, munition, and other pillage, not herewith contented they undertooke to take in Ardres. They brought thither three dayes after, about breake of day 500. men; but the chance at dice is not alwayes alike fortunate, for beyond their expectation, finding the ſentinels awake, and the defendants ready to fight, after a long redoubled aſſault they loſt betweene forty and fifty ſouldiers, ſo as taking away their ladders, they carried the dead bodies into a houſe hard by, which they ſet on fire, to the end that the bodies being burnt, the loſſe they had ſuffered might not bee knowne. The Count St. *Paul* doubly wounded in his reputation (for every man ſpoke ill of him) reſolved to ſet upon the confines, & do there what miſchiefe he could, but this his intention being knowne at Court, hee was commanded to forbeare ſo doing:

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his fortune not correſponding to the rancor of his minde: and in his ſtead foure hundred horſe, and five hundred foot, were ſent to Bullen for the ſafety of thoſe Frontiers, conducted by the Marquis *Dupont*, ſonne to the Duke *de Bar*, by the Count *Dammartin*, and Count *Darpadan*, that by their wiſedome and valour they might abate the audacity of the Engliſh.

Philip, ſurnamed the *Bold*, Duke of Burgondy, was dead, to whom *Iohn* his eldeſt ſonne, ſucceeded in the inheritance of his eſtate, in the haughtineſſe of his minde, and in his hatred to the Duke of Orleans, the firſt originall of their deſtruction, as likewiſe of the ruine of France. He having heard of the Count Saint *Pauls* misfortune, did thereat take much apprehenſion; for his territories in Flanders were next expoſed to the enemies impreſſions; King *Henry* had aſſembled a Fleet of tall ſhips, wherein were five thouſand fighting men, to force Sleuce. The Duke prepared to ſuccour it. The Engliſh having, with bad ſucceſſe, fought againſt the Caſtle, upon the advice of this ſuccour, were inforced to quit their deſigne, having loſt in the action threeſcore men; amongſt whom the Earle of Pembroke, as *Monſtrelet* reports. But herein he is deceived: for the Earledome of Pembroke was then in the Crowne, by the death of *Iohn Haſtings*, who in *Richard* the ſeconds time, was at a tilting ſlaine, leaving no heires behinde him: nor was that honour confer'd on any one many yeares after, till by *Henry* the fifth it was confer'd upon his brother *Humphrey*, who was afterward Duke of Gloſter.

But the Duke of Burgondy not affying in this retreat, put munition into Graveling, cauſing a good number of armed men to fall downe upon the frontiers, under the conduct of Signior *de Croi*: and becauſe to ſtand onely upon defence, was not conformable to the greatneſſe of his ſpirit, hee reſolved to beſiege Callis, the neereſt and likelieſt thorne wherewith hee might bee pricked. Hee beganne to make extraordinary preparations; and that nothing might be wanting, hee ſent to require aid from France, which certainly would have been granted him, had not the Duke of Orleans jealouſies hindred him. Whereupon he was ſo much incenſed, as that he reſolved to goe to the Court of France himſelfe, and to ſtop two maine gaps with one buſh: to obtaine aid, and to beat down, at leaſt abate his enemies power. When he was come to Paris, accompanied by eight hundred men, who under their Caſſackes were all well armed: he underſtood that the Duke of Orleans was ſome few houres before gone from the Citie; and that under pretence of hunting, he had carried the Dolphin along with him, with intention of carrying him to Germany: (the firſt was true, but the ſecond much unlikely) whereupon he beleeved, that Orleans had done this, to breake off the match which was formerly concluded between the Dolphin and his owne daughter. The Dolphin went from Paris, accompanied by the Duke, his mother and *Lewis* of Bavaria, Uncle by his mothers ſide, with purpoſe to goe to Mellune. They were to dine at Corviole, whither the Queen and Orleans were already come: the Dolphin and *Lewis* ſtayed a little behinde, where the Duke of Burgondy came up unto them, who not liſtning to what ever reaſons *Lewis* could alledge, cauſed the litter to turne about, and brought the Dolphin back to Paris. Great inconveniences would hereupon have inſued, had

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not the other Princes interpoſed themſelves. But buſineſſes being every day more and more exaſperated, Burgondy multiplying injuries, propounding reformations in the government, and therein in bad tearmes, taxing the others ill adminiſtration; the King was counſelled to imploy them both in places apart; two ſuch working braines as theirs, not like to reſt in quiet in the Court. An excellent expedience it might have been of continuance, or at a further diſtance; But being in a point of time terminable in it ſelf, & at a diſtance to be meaſured with one pace, it deferred, but did not take away the miſchiefe; delay cauſing thoſe miſerable and bloudy effects which enſued. To the Duke of Burgondy the government of Picardy was given, to the end that the forces of that Province joyned to his owne in Flanders, might in the common cauſe facilitate his owne ſecurity, & the ſecurity of the Kingdome. To the Duke of Orleans ſix thouſand men were aſſigned, and defrayed, for Guaſcony; whither he went accompanied by many great Monſieurs, and laid ſiege to Blay: This place could not hold out long, whereupon the defendants bethought themſelves of a wiſe caution: If the enemy ſhould take Blay, they could not keep it, unleſſe they were likewiſe maſters of Burgos. The towne of Blay did therefore promiſe to ſurrender it ſelfe as ſoone as Burgos ſhould be taken or ſurrendred. Orleans well pleaſed with the bargaine, as appearing advantagious unto him, accepted of it, gaining thereby as much time to take in Burgos, as he muſt have ſpent in the winning of Blay. But having loſt many of his men in three months ſiege under Burgos (having quitted a certainty for an uncertainty, and loſt both) hee was inforced to returne to Paris, whilſt the Duke of Burgondy, wary and well adviſed, proceeded though more ſlowly, yet more ſecurely in his deſignes. Hee was fully bent upon the enterpriſe of Callis: but that Fort being difficult to winne, defended by a gallant garriſon, and eaſie to be ſuccoured by reaſon of the ſea, and the neighbourhood of England, he could not hope the conqueſt therof without great forces, & very many ſouldiers: ſo as having aſſembled together at Saint *Omers*, ſix thouſand horſe, and fifteen hundred Croſſe-bow men, and twelve thouſand foot, with proportionable munition and artillery, the enterpriſe was the ſecond time forbidden him, though he had obtained *Charles* his conſent. Of ſuch prevalence is the rage of a bewitching envie, that ſuch a conqueſt being to bee had in poſſibility, without the hazarding of France, they would rather have it remaine in the hand of an enemy, then in the power of Burgondy: a powerfull reaſon to make him take that reſolution which he did.

Henry's reigne this meane while was like a craggy mountaine, from which there is no deſcent but by a thouſand crooked waies, full of rocky ſtones and out jetting cliffes. The firſt eſcaped, others are met withall of more danger and anxiety, in ſuch like pathes he walked all the time of his life, nor did hee till his end arrive at a wiſhed for plaine, one danger, was a ſtep unto another, and the event alwaies doubtfull, for the ſubjects former deſire of him being now extinguiſhed; his friends failing and his enemies encreaſing, hee had no other helpe, nor leaning-ſtocke in ſo painefull a deſcent, but the eye of vigilance and the ſtaffe of chaſtiſement, helpes and aſſiſtances, which though they might cauſe him keepe on his way, yet were they not ſufficient to free him from wearineſſe: beſides, he

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was not certaine of overcomming all difficulties at laſt, a condition fitter for compaſſion then envy in a Prince in his caſe, and yet it was election that brought him to the kingdome, having alwaies beene of that opinion, which is held generous by moſt men, to hazard himſelfe to very extreams, & to be *aut Cæſar aut nihil:* yet I cannot find that there is any worth or nobleneſſe in aſpiring to great matters by unlawfull waies, & that magnanimity, a vertue in its owne nature ſo nice and tender, can walke in ſuch pathes without galling her feet, unleſſe it be that as things here below are compoſed of contrary elements, ſo are our mindes compoſed of contradictory affections: he was before ſubject to many conſpiracies, now more then ever: and thoſe who durſt not aſpire to bereave him of his life by their ſword, endevoured to bereave him of his honour by their pen. A revenge common enough amongſt poore ſpirited people, and ſuch as are not worth the conſidering.

A Prieſt caſting about how he might ſlay *Henry*, made a catalogue of all ſuch as had been rewarded by *Richard*; giving it for granted, that they would undergoe the buſineſſe; ſetting downe their names in paper, as if they had already conſented to the conſpiracie. This liſt being found about him (whilſt they endeavoured to lay hold of ſuch whoſe names were there written) he confeſſed he had never dealt with any of them, but that it was a meere Idea of his owne, imagining that ſome of them having been obliged by *Richard*, other ſome injured by *Henry*, they would all have been willing to have contributed to his deſtruction. A confeſſion which ſaved the lives of many, & condemned his own. A Franciſcan Frier together with eight more of the ſame order, being accuſed as authours of certaine ſcandalous libels againſt the King, and demanded what he would have done if *Richard* had been alive? anſwered, Hee would have fought for him againſt whoſoever elſe, as long as he could ſtand. Sir *Roger Clarindon*, Baſtard brother to King *Richard*, accuſed of the like fault, was, together with another Gentleman, and a ſervant, ignominiouſly hanged.

1404 *Richard* had divers times beene ſaid to bee alive after his death: more particularly this yeare, by the means of one *Sherley* his letters, who was one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber. This man, after his Maſters fall, withdrew himſelfe into France, where being confidently informed, that *Richard* yet lived, he went to Scotland to know the truth. But after hee had ſpoken with the Impoſtor, whom hee knew to bee ſuch, hee forbare not to make uſe of the occaſion; and (through the hatred hee bore *Henry*) to doe his beſt to deprive him of his Kingdome, hee cauſed a ſeale to be made, like unto that which *Richard* was wont to uſe: he writ divers letters to ſundry friends, ſigned with the ſame, as if they had been written by *Richard*; inſomuch that he diſtracted the mindes of many, it being already vndoubtedly beleeved, that *Richard* lived. The old Counteſſe of Oxford, mother to the Duke of Ireland, did not only publiſh the certainty hereof, but did likewiſe cauſe a great many Stagges to be made in gold and ſilver (which was *Richards* cognizance) and beſtowed them on ſuch as depended on her, to the end that they might ſtitch them on their ſleeves, as ſoone as he ſhould be entred England. But the little adviſednesſe uſed in this affaire, and her too much ſecurity herein, who ſent a Secretary of hers to ſundry people through all Eſſex, was the cauſe of the

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diſcovery: ſo as ſhe conſumed her dayes in a cloſe priſon, her goods being by Law confiſcated, and the Secretary ended his journey in a Halter under a Gallowes. *Sherley* finding that his plots could not take effect, and not able to returne for France for lack of money, came to Barwicke, hoping that Sir *William Clifford*, a friend of *Richards*, would have furniſhed him. Sir *William* kept this place againſt the Kings good will, having refuſed to reſigne it over to ſuch as were by the King ſent to him for that end: ſo as being guilty of high treaſon, hee looked to bee beſiged, taken, and put to death. Wherefore giving over his uſeleſſe reſpect to *Richard*, he detained *Sherley*, and ſent him to the King, and was rewarded with forgiveneſſe of his former diſobedience. *Sherley* was executed, who confeſſed (to boot with his former fault) that he was one of them who ſtrangled the Duke of Glòſter; ſo as though he died very penitently, and much compaſſionated by many, yet the greateſt part did no wayes pitty him, the popular memory of the popular Duke, prevailing over the reſpect of the King now living. All the above-named were like ſo many paunes at Cheſſe, which advancing too raſhly, were loſt; whilſt the great men, alike inconſiderately, endeavouring to mate the King, met with the like fortune. There was not one in the whole Nobility, who did not now deſire a change of government, but few that did reſolve to endevour it. For events founded upon the uncertainty of fortune, are for the moſt part of certaine & inevitable ruine. Hatred, as all things elſe, hath its degrees: he who is in the laſt degrees, cares not much to hazard himſelfe till ſuch time, as happy ſucceſſe is of little uſe, and unhappy ſucceſſe of inevitable danger. But who is in the firſt degrees of hatred, and therein bathed in his own bloud, hath bolder: reſolves revenge, being an intenſe paſſion, and an indefatigable egger on of the ſpirits in offended veines.

The Earle of Northumberland who had loſt his brother and his ſon; the Archbiſhop of Yorke who had loſt his brother, and *Maubery* Earle Marſhall, who had loſt his father an exiled man in Venice; all enemies to the King in higheſt degree, conſpired his ruine, taking for their colour the ordinary pretence of reformation, and eaſe of the people, oppreſſed with ſtrange taxes, as if to repreſſe the attempts of France, Scotland and Wales (in which ſervice they were imployed) had not beene neceſſary, as indeed it was not according to their tenets, for ſuch repreſſion did preſerve authority, and did eſtabliſh, together with the common good, the reputation and awe of a Prince, which they would have oppreſſed and undone, though to the undoing of the kingdome. The Lord *Haſtings*, *Falconbridge*, *Bardolf*, and many others did joyne in this conſpiracy; the order they therein tooke, was to meet all at an appointed time with their forces at Yorke, under the command of the Earle of Northumberland, but the Archbiſhops impatiency broke this deſigne, for being returned to Yorke together with the Earle Marſhall, hee thought to facilitate the enterpriſe by honeſting it, ſo as having framed certaine articles, and ſent copies of them into other countries, he cauſed them be ſet upon the Church doores, thereby inviting the people to take armes to reforme abuſes introduced by the ill adminiſtration of the preſent government. The Archbiſhop was of a pleaſing countenance, well read, and indued with much vertue, ſo as having till this preſent led a blameleſſe life, he was free from being thought

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thought to have any evil intentions(but tis usual for man to fall back from well doing)and hereupon at his first becke, 20000. men came flocking to him:an unseasonable diligence for his confederates,as likewise for himself. The King was informed of all that had past,and not failing in diligence in his owne affaires, he had at the first noyse of this rebellion levied 30000. fighting men,giving order to the Earle of Westmerland(to whom he joyned a sonne of his owne very young) to goe before him into these parts, and to governe himselfe as occasion should require.Being come to Yorke he found that the Archbishop had placed his campe forth of the city, and perceiving that it was not his best to give him battell(for he was much inferiour in forces) he encamped himselfe over against him. And changing the Lyons skin into the Foxes,he sent him word that he wondred to find a man of his profession in the posture hee found him, since hee could not finde any reason, why he should arme the Kings people contrary to the Kings peace : to the which the Archbishop answered, that he so was far from infringing the Kings peace, as that all that he did tended to the preservation thereof. Whereupon entring upon the occasions of discontent with him that was sent unto him,he shewed him the Articles ; and for the Earles better satisfaction, hee sent them unto him by a Gentleman of his own.He who had determined to do what hee did,seemed to rest satisfied: but that a businesse of this high nature being in question, it was requisite they should meet together to treat thereof ; which might easily be done, each of them bringing a like number of men betwixt the two campes. There is no net so secure as that which is spread in the commendations of him who is to be deceived : for the Archbishop hearing his actions applauded by him who was sent to oppose him,confident to bring him over to his side,made no difficulty to give him meeting.And which is more brought the Earle Marshall along with him, though with much adoe, and contrary to his will, who had in vaine used all the meanes hee could to disswade him from it. Being met together with equall numbers betweene the two campes, Westmerland after some short discourse, seemed to bee perswaded, professing that in so just a quarrell he would fight to the utmost of his life ; whereupon shaking hands in the sight of both armies, wine was called for, and given about in token of friendship, and agreement ; a ceremony which not soone to bee ended, the Earle said to the Archbishop, that their differences being ended in a joynt consent, it was not expedient to detain any longer so many people with such incõmodity from their houses and shops:but that suddenly disbandoned,it was reason they should together with them, enjoy the fruits of the established reconciliation;the Archbishop believed the Earle,and his people him, who returned to the City aboundantly content: the cups went this while merily about,whilst those of the Kings party gathering one by one together, grew to such a multitude, as that there being now no more cause of feare, the Earle did at the same time arest the Archbishop, and Earle Marshall, plighting his faith unto them (the same as hee had formerly done) that they should not suffer in their lives: and meeting the King at Pomfret, who made what haste hee could to Yorke ; hee brought along with him the prisoners, who much commiserated and bemoaned, were adjuged to dye, and were forthwith beheaded : Some doe report that the Archbi-

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ſhop obtained of the headſman to cut off his head at five blowes, in the honour of our Saviours five wounds, and that the King being at dinner, was at the ſame time by an inviſible hand ſtrucke as often in the necke, remaining afterwards a Leper: A thing poſſible to him whom all things are poſſible; but God doth not alwaies worke according to his omnipotency, for the King did neither receive theſe blowes, neither did hee remaine a Leper; to prove the falſhood whereof, the Archbiſhops tombe being devoutly flocked unto, as to the tombe of a Martyr, hee by publique prohibition forbad the recourſe thereunto; the which hee would not have done, if he had beene miraculouſly ſtrucke in manner aforeſaid; and for what concerns the name of Martyr, his cauſe did not deſerve it, for he being a Paſtor miſled his flocke from ſpirituall paſtorage to rebellion, and to the ſhambles; and ſince the judgements of the Almighty touching the falling of the juſt, is not to bee ſought into, the reaſons of his former life conclude not for him. The King having by fines puniſhed the City, went towards Northumberland, at Durham he cauſed the two Barons, together with the two Knights of the confederacy, to be executed. The Earle underſtanding his aſſociates miſfortune, withdrew himſelfe to Barwicke, where not thinking himſelfe ſtrong enough, hee fled to Scotland together with the Lord *Bardolf*, and was friendly received by the Lord Fleming. The King finding Barwick reſolute not to yeeld, ſevelled a peece of Canon againſt the Caſtle thereof (an inſtrument in thoſe dayes new and not knowne) with the which at the very firſt ſhot he battered it almoſt downe to the ground; whereat the defendants being amazed, without capitulation, yeelded themſelves to the Kings pleaſure, who hanging ſome and impriſoning the reſt, made himſelfe maſter of all the Earle of Northumberlands ſeats; where taking order for all things requiſite, he paſſed into Wales, leaving the Prince his ſonne and the Duke of Yorke with a great army in thoſe parts; but he found ſuch deluges of water amongſt thoſe mountaines, as he was forced to quit the enterpriſe; he had carried along with him many carts and wagons loaded with the moſt pretious things he had, which were all born away by the violence of the torrents, no one peece of them remaining. Some believe that this was done by the Divell, *Owen Glendor* being held to be a great Negromancer; but I am of opinion that if he had had any ſuch power he would have made uſe thereof againſt the King himſelfe, for the loſſe of the Kings perſon did more availe him, then the loſſe of his carriages. The Scotch men on the other ſide ſhould have come into England to aide the conſpirators, but hearing what had happened, they budged not, but endeavoured to defend themſelves by land from the Prince, and by ſea from Sir *Robert Vmfrevill*, Vice Admirall of the Navy, but nothing happened of much importance. The one had only time to ſpoile the Country, and the other to ſacke the coaſts of Fife, and Lugdiana, all miſchiefes ceaſing in a truce agreed upon for one yeare, which made them returne to their owne homes.

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The plague did now grow hot in London and thereabouts; ſo as the King not being ſafe in Kent, the infection much ſpred in all places, was glad to take ſhipping to goe to Pleſſis in Eſſex, the Lord Camois was his guide; they were already well advanced in the ſea, when certaine French Pirates (who lay in the Thames mouth for pilladge) underſtanding of

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this paſſage, purſued them, and intended to take the ſhip wherein the King was; tooke 4 ſhips that were next unto him, one of the which was loaded with furniture of his chamber, and things belonging to his owne perſon. The Baron, who together with the other veſſels, were a good way from the King, came not in time enough to aſſiſt his Majeſty, nor yet to recover what was loſt; ſo as if the Kings ſhip had not been a ſwift ſayler, and ſo made voide the Pirates hopes, hee had run danger of going for France in ſtead of Eſſex. *Camois* was ſtrictly queſtioned, and in danger of loſing his life, as thought to have held intelligence with theſe Pirates; but better defending his own innocency, then hee ſuccoured the King, he was by the Judges acquitted. The plague being ceaſed, the King returned to London: He made the match between *Philleppa* the younger of his two daughters, and *Henry* King of Denmarke; and this was the third marriage that was celebrated in his family after his comming to the Crowne, for before this hee had married *Blanch* to *William* Duke of Bavaria, Prince Elector, and hee himſelfe had tane to wife *Ione* the daughter of *Charles* the ſecond, King of Navarre, the widdow of *Iohn Montfort*, Duke of Brittany, which I have not mentioned, as not belonging to the thred of my diſcourſe. But what befell Prince *Iames* the only ſonne and heire of Scotland, who did at this time fall into the power of England, is not to be paſſed by, as worthy of ample relation.

1407 *Robert* the third who now reigned in Scotland, and who in his baptiſme was named *Iohn*, changed the name of *Iohn* for *Robert*; either for that the *Roberts* of Scotland had beene fortunate, or for that the *Iohns* of England and of France had been unfortunate; as if the name were of force enough to make thoſe effects good, which fortune (God permitting) had preordained bad. Tis true, that amongſt the Kings named *Iohn* few are found who either have not been very bad, or very unfortunate. Caſtile, Portugall, and Arragon, afford us examples hereof, of three hereditary Queene *Ioanes*, the two of Naples were unfortunate, and unchaſt; the third of Caſtile was chaſt, but moſt unfortunate. This notwithſtanding *Iohn* of Scotland did not by change of name, change the maligne aſpect of his deſtiny, for thoſe evills befell him, having tane upon him the name of *Robert*, which would have befalne him, had he kept the name of *Iohn*; the divine providence not being to bee changed by ſuch alterations. This King was by divers penſils painted forth in the ſame colours: *Hector Boëtius* deſcribes him affable, mercifull, an enemy to extortions, charitable and pious. *Buchanan* a ſevere writer, doth in one place give him to us, rather as voide of vice, then famous for vertue: and another ſpeaking of his innocency, inriches him with all the worth that is to bee deſired in a private man, but judges him rather to be an honeſt man, then a good King. Tis very true, he had nothing of King in him, ſave the name, the whole authority remaining in *Robert* Duke of Aubeney, his younger brother, in his fathers time created governour of the Kingdome; a manifeſt proofe of his incapacity to governe it alone. But this Duke did not content himſelfe with the bare government, he aſpired to the Crowne; which though he attained not, yet left he no wickednesſe unattempted to effect it, and the life of the Prince *David* being a great rub in his way, the death of the Queene his mother, and of Earle *Douglas* his father in law,

afforded

afforded him meanes of bereaving him of it, as hee desired.

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This Prince was very lewdly inclined, and so given to his unbridled lust, as that he was not to be endured. Whilst his mother lived, (who kept him in some awe) he lived in some order; but shee being dead, letting the reines loose to his naturall inclination, no maidenhood was undeflowred, nor marriage bed unviolated. When trickes and flatteries could not prevaile, hee made use of force: Daily complaints were made unto the King, of injuries done by his sonne. The father (by reason of his weakenesse contemned) not able to amend him, determined to transferre the care thereof to his brother, thinking that onely hee was able to tame him; an error ordinary enough in persons of his condition. For the good man suspects not what he doth not imagine, and what he himselfe would not doe, were he to gaine the world thereby. The sheep being thus delivered over to the Wolfe, the Duke, at the very first, shut him up in Saint *Andrewes* Castle, a jurisdiction of that Archbishopricke, the which after the death of the last Archbishop, hee had unduly usurped under pretence of keeping it, during the vacancie of that Metropolitan See: but thinking him to be there too nigh the Kings eare, and the Courts eye (desiring rather his death then his amendment) he carried him to the strong hold of Faukland, a jurisdiction of his owne, where he caused him to be put into a dungeon, with direction that he should there dye of hunger; a commission, though given in secret, yet by the effect sufficiently published, no preparation being made in so little a place (where all that was done, was seene) neither for the person, nor nourishment of such a prisoner. He had died in a few dayes (and it had been better for him, since die he must) had he not been kept in life by the daughter of the Keeper of the Castle, and a countrey Nurse, who commiserated his condition, and had accesse through an Orchard to the Castle. The former nourished him with oaten Cakes, which by little peeces shee conveyed unto him through a chinke; the other gave him sucke through a small Cane, the one end whereof he tooke into his mouth, whilst she squiezed her milke in at the other end. His keepers marvelled to see him still alive; but the meanes being discovered, the two charitable women were cruelly put to death, the father accusing his owne daughter, to prove himselfe faithfull to him that was unfaithfull, and a tyrannous Governour. At last, when he had torne his flesh, and eaten his fingers through rage, by death hee put an end to his vices, miseries and life. This bitter accident was generally knowne every where, before the King had any notice of it, every one fearing to be slaine for recompence of doing so good an office. Having at last heard some whispering thereof, hee could not believe otherwise then as it was. Great were the complaints, but the brother excused himselfe, deluding justice by laying the fault upon divers who were in the castle for faults deserving death, whom he accused for having murdered the Prince, for which they suffered death. The King not herewithall satisfied, but unable to revenge himselfe, he publickly besought God by some miraculous judgement to punish the author of so great a wickednesse. He had yet a second sonne living, named *James*, he was advised to send him abroad, since it was not likely he who had committed so horrid a treason, would stick at the murthering of him also; without the which, his former mis-

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chiefe would nothing availe. France was thought the safeſt place to ſend him to. The young Prince was with much ſecrecie imbarked: *Henry Sincleer*, Earle of the Orchades, being given unto him for governour, but having ſhunned Scylla, hee fell (as the Proverbe ſayes) upon Carybdis: for the Marriners having caſt anchor before Flemburgh in England (either driven by the windes, or to refreſh the Prince much afflicted with ſeaſickeneſſe) they were known to be Scots, & the Prince known to be there, ſo as he was detained and brought to Court: it was long diſputed at the Councell Table whether he ſhould be ſuffered to depart or no, but the negative prevailed. His Father fearing ſuch an incounter, had given him a letter for *Henry*, which though full of compaſſion and pitty, did not alter the reſolution taken. So as hee being old, deprived of his ſonnes, and feebly hearted, gave himſelfe over to griefe, would take no more meate, and in three daies died for meere ſorrow. Scotland confirmed the government of that Kingdome upon the Duke of Auboney, till ſuch time as their new King *Iames* ſhould regaine his liberty. *Buchanan* accuſes King *Henry* for that action: his chiefe reaſon being that he detained him whileſt there was yet a truce of eight yeares betweene the two Crownes: but I finde no other truce then that of the preceding yeare already expired. *Edward Aſkew* treates at large upon this, you may peruſe him. This impriſonment by conſent of all Scottiſh writers, was more happy to him then whatſoever liberty; for the King gave him ſuch education as belonged to his birth. The Scotchmen are naturally given to all diſcipline, as well ſpeculative as active; ingenious at ſciences; ſtout and valiant in warre: but this Prince out did them all in aptneſſe to all theſe, for he ſurpaſſed his teachers, aſwell in horſemanſhip, as in Theologie, Philoſophy, and other liberall ſciences; eſpecially in muſicke, and poetry, wherein he proved moſt expert: ſo as that fortune which was thought unhappy, crowned him with glory: for beſides the advantage of ſo good education, he was free from feare of his Uncle, and was in his due time an introducer of learning, politeneſſe, and ſuch arts as were not before known in Scotland: it is to be obſerved in him, that evill fortune is the beſt Academy for a man to profit in. A rule which ſuffered exception in the Earle of Northumberland (whoſe laſt actions we muſt now treate of) for though an old man, he died a ſchollar in that Academy, before he had learnt the maxime of good government; not uſing patience, but in his vaſt thoughts (plauſible but pernitious counſellors) reſolving rather to dye, then live declined; a noble reſolution in a better cauſe or upon more mature occaſion.

1408 He had made many journeyes into France, Flanders, and Wales, to raiſe up warre, and get helpe againſt his King; all which proved of no uſe to him: at laſt he returned to Scotland, from whence accompanied by *Bardolf*, he fell with great troopes of men upon Northumberland; he there recovered divers Caſtles, his army much encreaſing by divers, who from thoſe parts came to aſſiſt him; from thence he paſſed into Yorkeſhire, where by proclamation he invited all thoſe to ſide with him who loved liberty: The King at the firſt noiſe hereof went to meet him; but hardly was he come to Nottingham, when he underſtood that Sir *Thomas Rookesby* Shirife of that Shire, had given him battell, ſlayne him,

and

and taken *Bardolf* priſoner, who afterwards dyed of his wounds. The King did not though forbeare to purſue his journey, that hee might quench the yet hot aſhes of that rebellion: he mulcted many, and put many to death, anſwerable to the condition of their faults. The Biſhop of Bangor, and Abbot of Ailes (who were taken priſoners in the conflict) met with different fortunes according to the diverſity of their habits. The Abbot being taken in armour, was hanged; the Biſhop who was clothed in the habits of his profeſſion was pardoned; the heads of the two Peers were cut off, put upon the top of two ſpeares, and ſent to be ſet upon London bridge: This was the miſerable end of the father, ſonne, and brother; deſcended from one of the nobleſt races that came from Normandie, into England: all this ruine being occaſioned out of a meer capritchio of wraſtling with the King, and detaining in his deſpite the Scottiſh priſoners, which had not happened had they not beleeved to have ſo well deſerved at his hands as that they might make him doe what they liſted: a preſumption which hath and will deceive many: for Princes will not be thought capable of ſuch obligation, as that they muſt acknowledge their being from another; and much leſſe to have their ſubjects their benefactors: the very thought thereof hath beene and ever will be with them mortall. *Henry the 4.*

Here all King *Henries* adverſe fortune had a period; and in this calme he likewiſe calmed all home ſuſpitions and jealouſies, having in the ſhort time he afterwards lived ſome ſmall forraine armies not to weary him, but to keep him in breath: he had (as wiſe Princes ought) his eyes every where, he tooke order for the very leaſt affaires: for negligence in a new and not beloved Prince, is no leſſe the mother of contempt, then is diligence the mother of reverence and reſpect: many ſhips appertaining to particular men, were come upon the coaſt of the Kingdome upon this occaſion of warre, to lie in waite for pillage, which hindred the Merchants ſhips from traffiquing abroad; he gave order for a ſufficient fleet commanded by *Edmond Holland* Earle of Kent, formerly created Admirall, who having ſcoured the coaſts of England, and France, and met with no enemy, he underſtood they had retired themſelves into Britany, whither he ſteered his courſe; he aſſaulted Briache a place upon the ſea ſide: The inhabitants did couragiouſly defend the place, wounded many of the Engliſh, in particular the Admirall himſelfe with a ſtone in the head, of the which he died five daies after; a fatall blow to him, and unfortunate to them; for the aſſaliants growing more obſtinate through this loſſe, tooke the Towne by force, burnt all the houſes, and put all to the ſword that they found in poſture of defence. This Earle was brother to *Thomas Holland* Duke of Surrey, who in the conſpiracy at Oxford, was ſlaine by the Townesmen of Cheſter; he was in ſuch favour with the King, as beſides the reſtoring of him to his bloud, inheritance, and honour, he with much labour and expence, procured him to marry with *Lucia Viſconte*: This Lady was the tenth daughter of *Barnaby Viſconte*, Lord not onely of Millaine, but almoſt of all Lumbardy; the other nine were matched to great Princes; as to *Leopald* Duke of Auſtria, the two Dukes of Bavaria, and to the King of Ciprus: ſo as if the King had not extraordinarily favoured him, it was not a match befitting his fortune: ſhe brought him

100000.

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100000. Crownes in gold; an unuſuall portion in thoſe dayes, and to the laſt of ſo many daughters. *Corius* calls him Earle of Kent, and ſonne to *Henry* the fourth; beleeving that any inferior quality was unfit to match with ſo great a Princeſſe; ſhe being now a widow, and without children, the King purpoſed to marry her to Marquis Dorſet, his brother; but ſhe not liking thereof (he being a man in yeares and of no pleaſing aſpect) did ſecretly marry herſelfe (with hazard of loſing for ever all ſhee had) to *Henry Mortimer*, to whom ſhe bore three daughters, which being all honorably married, left a noble and continued ſucceſſion.

1409 The affaires in France this mean while (the which hereafter muſt be interlaced with this our ſtory) were come to the period of ruine, ſo to bring England to the period of greatneſſe, which had not happened for whatſoever worth or fortune, had not the way beene chalked out unto them by the enmity between the houſe of Burgundy and Orleance: Let me bee permitted to make a large relation thereof, ſince they were the rice of all the diſorders that ſucceeded betwixt theſe two warlike Nations: we have heard how the Duke of Burgundy having the ſecond time reſolved upon the enterpriſe of Callis, was commanded to the contrary; & that thinking that this affront proceeded from the ill will that Orleans bore him, hee was mightily incenſed; this anger afterwards increaſing, and not able to ſuffer him his ſuperior, nor the other him his equall, he reſolved to bereave him of his life; with this reſolution he went to Paris, where he got together eighteene men, the very ſcum of all the raſcality of France, making one *Rolletto Antoneville*, a Norman, their chiefe, who having by the favour of the late Duke of Burgundy, father to this preſent Duke, obtained an office of great moment, had it tane from him by the Duke of Orleans; ſo as the obligation he had to the one, and the loſſe he received by the other, made him more covet this murther, then did Burgundy; the Queene had bought a houſe without the gate Barbet, for her recreation, where ſhee was at this time brought to bed, the child being dead, ſo as ſhe keeping her bed they were ſure Orleans would not faile to viſite her; they tooke a houſe neere the ſaid gate, for that he returning by night as of neceſſity he muſt doe by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of the dayes, the ſeaſon being November, they might have opportunity to doe that wicked action: the Duke went to make this viſit, and they fearing leſt in his returne he might come ſome other way, ſent unto him a footman of the Kings, one of their number, to will him from the King to come preſently to him, for that he had a buſineſſe to conſer with him in, which concerned them both: The Duke who knew the meſſenger, took leave of the Queene and got on horſebacke, waited upon onely by five footmen with torches, by two gentlemen which rid before him both of one horſe, and by a Dutchman, who being come out of pagery, and not having whereon to ride, followed him on foot; the aſſaſſinates ſtood waiting for him in a corner, as the torch light appeared, they came forth upon him, and at the firſt ſtroke ſtrucke off one of his hands; he cried out I am Orleans, t'is Orleans that we would have, replied they; wherwithall loading him with wounds, he fell from his horſe with his head ſo cloven, as that his braines fell out upon the ſtones; the faithfull Dutchman deſirous to be his ſhield, threw himſelfe before him, and was ſoone

ſlaine;

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ſlaine; the horſe which was gone before, did ſo ſtart, when hee came neer theſe men, as that huffing and pricking up his eares, he runne ſo hard away, as the two men could not in a long time take him up; having ſtayed him, and returning backe to meet their Maſter, they might ſee the Dukes horſe with no body on his backe, which they led backe by the bridle, thinking that the Duke lighting upon ſuch like accident as they had done, might be fallen; but being come unto the place, and by the murtherers threatned to be ſerved with the ſame ſauce; they run to the Queens houſe, crying out murther, murther; the murtherers this meane while having ſet the houſe on fire wherein they lay, to the end that their neighbours fright might make their eſcape more ſecure, got to the Pallace of Artois a houſe of the Duke of Burgundies. This newes being knowne through all the City, and firſt in Orleans houſe, his friends, and ſervants, runne to the place, where they found his body lying in a ſea of bloud horribly maſſacred; they carried the body into the next Church, whither the King of Cicily, and the chiefeſt of the Court came, ſorily lamenting; the next morning his hand and brains being found lying in the ſtreet all durty, they were put together with the body into a leaden coffin, and buried in a Chappell which he himſelf had cauſed to be built. At his funerall, three corners of the cloth which covered the Bieare, were held up by the Princes of Sicily, Berry, and Burbony, Burgundy held up the fourth; this fained charity not correſponding with his unfained cruelty; for what ever inquiſition could be made, no newes could be heard of the aſſaſſinates. The Provoſt being called to the Councell table, ſaid it was impoſſible for him to finde out any thing touching this affaire, unleſſe hee might be permitted to ſearch the houſes of the greateſt Lords, and eſpecially the Pallaces of the Princes: The King of Sicily, Duke of Berry, and Duke Burbon, were content, but not Burgundy, who not knowing what to ſay, tooke the three Princes aſide, and confeſſed that he had bin the author of that homicide: whereupon filled with horror and amazement (Berry exclaming that in one day he had loſt two nephewes) they left him, keeping the ſecret to themſelves, not knowing without mature deliberation how to publiſh it: The next day after, Burgundy being come to goe to the Councell table, Berry in whoſe houſe the meeting was, met him at the chamber doore, and told him this was no place for him; wherewithall he ſhut the doore upon him, leaving him much confuſed, a uſage he had not beene accuſtomed unto, and what he beleeved would not now have beene uſed, without reſolutions of further conſequence, ſo as fearing to be clapt up in priſon, hee forthwith returned to his owne houſe, and getting on horſeback, & being waited on only by five men, he rid to Bapomus, upon the confines of Artois, the place of his command, and went 42. leagues not taking any reſt but what was neceſſary either to bate or change his horſes; from thence having ſlept a while, he went to Lillo in Flanders; this his unexpected departure, was no ſooner divulged, but the occaſion thereof was knowne, the dead Duke had 600. what Gentlemen what Knights defraied by him in Paris, all which were of no uſe to him, who truſted more in his quality then he ought to have done, he imagined the Duke of Burgundy would have exerciſed his ill will in publicke againſt his power, not by treachery againſt his perſon; a hundred

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hundred of theſe well horſt, and led by *Clegnet* of Brabant Admirall of France, would have followed Burgundy: but the King of Sicily, fearing greater inconveniences, hindred their deſigne, not ſuffering them to goe. He who formerly was thought the chiefe author of this murther, was *Albertus* of Canni (injured by the Duke who had taken from him his wife, and had by her a ſonne; who proved afterwards one of the braveſt Cavalliers in all France) but the knowne truth freed him of ſuſpition: all men except the Pariſians, deteſted this fact, but their rejoycing laſted but a while: for the evills they received through the oppreſſions, and miſgovernment of Orleans, were not the hundreth part ſo bad as thoſe they ſuffered after by the oppreſſion and miſgovernment of the Duke of Burgundy. The Aſſaſſinates having changed their apparrell, left Paris likewiſe, and went to Artois, according to the order they had formerly received from their Maſter. When *Valentina* Duches of Orleans, heard this ſad newes, ſhe haſted to Paris, and kneeled downe before the King, demanding juſtice, which was likely to bee granted, for he did tenderly love his brother; but his weakneſſe was ſuch as ſuffered him to give her no other comfort, ſave hopes and promiſes. The Duke of Burgundy having repreſented the buſineſſe to the common people after his manner, he publiſhed a manifeſtation thereof; wherein having made knowne the reaſons which had inforced him to this reſolution, he pretended to merit thankes and praiſe, rather then blame or puniſhment. The two Uncles Sicily, and Berry, fearing leſt he might joyne with the Engliſh, invited him to give them a meeting at Amiens, he came thither and cauſed two launces to be ſet a croſſe upon his lodging doore, in this manner X which faſhioned forth the Burgundy croſſe; the one of them had a bur uſed in war, the other ſuch a one as is uſed at tilting; as if he would by this Hyroglifique ſay, it ſhould be in their choice to chuſe peace or war: Their meeting was to no purpoſe; for (contrary to the Kings expreſſe inhibition) he went with 4000. men to Paris (where he was with great expreſſions of joy received by the Pariſians) where (to juſtifie his horrid fault) hee by the mouth of one *Iohn Petit*, accuſed the Duke of Orleans, for having aſpired unto the Kingdome, bewitched the King, plotted treachery againſt his children, and for having made confederacy with the King of England, to make himſelfe maſter of the Crowne of France by the death of his brother, as the other had got the Crowne of England by his Coſens death; for having ſowed diſcord betwixt the King and Queene, to the end that having loſt her matrimoniall love, her perſon might bee the more at his command; that he had made himſelfe Maſter of the moſt conſiderable places of the Kingdome, putting out the former governours, and placing others of his owne depending in their roomes, that he might make uſe of them againſt his brother; that he had procured Pope *Benedict* to declare the King incapable of the Crowne (as *Childericus* formerly was) that he himſelfe might obtaine it: his concluſion was, that being for ſo many faults guilty of treaſon, both divine and humane, he was to be declared lawfully ſlaine; and the King out of meere feare, declared him as was urged juſtly put to death. The Duke having obtained what he deſired, returned to Flanders, from thence he went in aſſiſtance of the Biſhop, and Prince of Leidge againſt the Leigois, who had rebelled

led against him, he overcame them, and gave them what Lawes he pleased, whereby he wonne such renowne, as France had reason to fear him now more then before: for though in his absence the King had permitted the Dowager Duches to answer unto his accusations, and revoked his pardon, with an intention to punish him; yet understanding of this victory, and that his brothers, and cosens, had declared themselves for him; he disabandoned the people who were gathered together to have forced him, and those who had appeared his enemies, repented themselves for having been so forward. Together with this examining the continuancy of the Parisians (strangely passionate for the Duke) the King resolved to retire himselfe to Towres; not so much to free himselfe from their danger, as to revenge himselfe of them: for the absence of the Court redounds much to their losse, by reason of the profit they receive by its residency with them: at the which being lesse satisfied, and more offended then ever, they sent for Burgundy, who came to them well accompanied; but his conscience pointing out unto him his injustice, and keeping him in perpetuall agitation; he sent his cosen *William* Duke of Baviers, to Towres, to make him some agreement for him; not out of any acknowledgement of repentance, but out of a desire which guilty people have to bury their shame: and because a warre (in such a case alwaies blameable and unjust) brings ruine if it be lost; and if wonne, it doth but erect Trophies of shame and infamy, the King sent *Lodovick* Duke of Baviers the Queens brother to meet him, and *Montaigne* Lord high Steward of the houshold with the articles of agreement. The Duke hated *Montaigne*, as a maine Orleanist, and gave him bitter words which he took patiently: but the articles not being according to his liking, he regulated them; and though they were not afterwards agreed upon according to his corrections; they were yet so handled as that he was contented; for his adversaries having lost all their defence by the death of their mother *Valentina*, (who died of griefe not long before) there was none to oppose him: They being all yong orphans, unexperienced, and for want of direction, abandoned by all. Peace being concluded, the parties met at Shartres, where in the presence of the King, Queene, and Dolphin, and Princes, they swore the peace though the yong Duke of Orleans, and the Count Vertu, (the Count of Anguleine the third brother not being present, by reason of his infancy) were observed to weepe in the doing of it, being inforced by the King, and of yeares, and power not fit to make refusall. The Duke of Burgundy being together with the Court returned to Paris, and knowing that what was done was not likely long to continue, he resolved to work his own establishment by the ruine of such as favoured the house of Orleans: but being to guild over his unjust intention with the title of justice, directly opposite to the sworne peace, and resolute not to suffer *Montaigne* live, as one of the chiefe of them, he caused him to be questioned before the Magistracy, for the administration of the Kings monies, where in his account between figures and cyphers, his head was struck off, and his life was made a cypher. The Duke of Berry who was a Courtier born, & well verst in Court policies, guest at his designes; and not able to indure affronts, as one who had formerly lived with as much or more authority in the government

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ment, then any other Prince; withdrew himſelfe to Angeires; whither unſent for, all the malecontents did preſently flock: this unexpected aſſembly cauſed a ſpeedy confederacy between the Duke of Berry, the Duke of Orleans, and his brother; the Count Cleremont, (now Duke of Burbony by his fathers deceaſe) the Count Alanſon, and Count Armiacke; ſo as the peace of Shartres proved a ſhort lived Ephemera which died the day it was borne, and indeed it was never thought other by the wiſeſt ſort: the newes of this conjunction did more and more exaſperate the Duke of Burgundy: he willed the Lord Albret, conſtable of France, to raiſe as many men as poſſibly he could, making uſe of the name of the Kings ſafety, to ſave himſelfe, ſince he, not the King, was the marke that was aimed at. Albret obeyed, as not able to doe otherwiſe; hee was no friend to Burgundy, and a great friend to his enemies, as the ſucceſſe demonſtrated. France like a firebrand newly extinguiſhed, tooke fire againe at the approaching of this ſudaine blaze. Count Richmonte hearing that the colleagues were retired to Shartres, came thither likewiſe with a great number of men. They firſt demanded audience of the King: but they wiſhed him to come armed with patience, whileſt they pretended to appeare before him armed with iron. The Queen who did both hate, and feare Burgundy, did what in her lay to appeaſe them, having to this purpoſe made two journeyes her ſelfe in perſon: but it was not in her power to keep them from comming to Paris: of ſo much force is deſperation, when it hath uſurped the place of reaſon, and advice. They came to the very Suburbes of Marcelles: ſtrange were the diſorders which were every where committed by the ſouldiers aſwell of one ſide, as of the other.

1410 But the incommodities and difficulties equally divided, after many too's and fro's, cauſed a ſecond peace, called the peace of Wincheſter, wherein was concluded, that both Berry, and Burgundy, were to withdraw themſelves from the Court; that when the one ſhould be ſent for, the other ſhould bee ſent for likewiſe; and that the meane while they ſhould all withdraw themſelves, which gave but ſmall ſatisfaction to the three brothers: for Berry made uſe of them for his own particular ends, which when he had compaſſed, he cared no longer for them, and it being a thing uſuall for the parties offended not to forgive, unleſſe ſome ſatisfaction be made; they pretended not to be included in this peace, ſince in their particular they had received no manner of ſatisfaction: ſo as if they ſwore unto the peace of Shartres it was to obey the King: and if they conſented unto this, it was for that they could not doe otherwiſe, being abandoned by all. The Duke of Berry was returned to Burges: and the Duke of Burgundy deſirous to calme all the former diſtaſtes, ſent unto him three Embaſſadors, of which the Lord of Croy was chiefe. They went on their intended way, when met by certaine of the Duke of Orleans his people, betweene Orleans, and Burges, the Signeur de Croy was ſtayed by them, and all the reſt ſuffered to paſſe: the next day being queſtioned concerning the Duke of Orleans death, hee confeſſed nothing of prejudice, though he ſuffered terrible torment.

The other two complaining hereof to the Duke of Berry, (to whom the affront appertained) required his freedome, wherein though the King joyned

ned with him, neither proteſtation, threats nor reaſon could prevaile with the brothers. They pretended the peace of Shartres to be invalid, as purſued contrary to the order of Law and Juſtice: and that the King was compelled thereunto; that the Duke of Burgundy had violated the ſame, by purſuing, undoing, and putting to death as many of their friends as he could; that the peace of Wincheſter had been likewiſe by him in many points broken; that thoſe who had murthered their father, though condemned and baniſhed, did live ſecurely in his territories, and did likewiſe come at their pleaſure into France, no notice being taken of them; and that they were penſioned by him; and that no Councellors nor Officers, depending upon either of the parties, being to tarry near the Kings perſon, his Majeſty was not only waited upon by ſuch as had dependency upon Burgundy. *Henry the 4.*

The Queene and Duke of Berry did what they could to make a new accord betweene them: But Burgundy reſolute not to recede from any thing agreed upon at Shartres, the brothers ſent a Herald with an opprobrious defiance, wherein they intimated warre unto him; and he in another, altogether as bad, did freely accept the chalenge: not many yeares before, hee had contracted a friendſhip with the Duke of Burbony, whilſt (his father being alive) he was onely Count Cleremont. This preſent occaſion ſerving for ballance to weigh friends, and no friends; he ſent a meſſenger to him of purpoſe, to put him in mind how they were reciprocally obliged one to another by their former contract of friendſhip. Burbony having conſiderately thought upon an anſwer, deteſting his ambition, and being by bloud allied unto the three brothers (their father being ſonne to a ſiſter of his) thought it better became him to faile him then them, ſo as renouncing the pretended confederacy, he declared himſelfe for the brothers: on the contrary ſide, the two chiefe Cities Amiens, and Paris, declared themſelves for Burgundy: whereupon he poſſeſſing the perſons of King, Queen, and Dolphin, who were wholly governed by ſuch as had dependance on them, did not doubt utterly to defeat his enemies. Thoſe of Orleans did the firſt hoſtile act: They held many places in Picardy, kept by their garriſons, as moſt expoſed to the frontiers of the enemy: but not being thereby ſo ſtrong as was requiſite, they endeavoured by the meanes of *Clignet* of Brabant to ſurpriſe Retell, and Bapomus; an enterpriſe of great conſequence if it had ſucceded. Berry this meane while pretended, at leaſt ſeemed to be a neuter; the Queen being at Melune, he went thither to come along with her to Paris: but the Pariſians thinking him to be no friend to Burgundy, forewarned him not to come, and the more to witneſſe their diſlike of him, they broke all the windowes and doores of his houſe, making it unfit for him to come into. The which being done, they recalled the Queene, they likewiſe broke the bridges which were upon the Scene, to hinder the paſſage of the Orleaniſts; and brought the King from Saint Pauls to the Louvre, keeping a good guard about him, to the end he might not be by them ſurpriſed, and taken away: ſo as this infirme afflicted Prince was made a very image by thoſe that kept him and the regall authority, was made a cloake to cover the paſſions of ſuch as did poſſeſſe him. All which things doe cleerely ſhew us, that nature hath not indued the common people with the vertue 1411

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of mediocrity, ſo as they terrifie where they are not kept in awe; pretend to governe if not governed, and where the ſcepter keeps them not within their bounds, they will uſe their free will. But it being no time now to temporiſe, and the King not able of himſelfe to end the differences or inforce obedience upon two ſtrong factions; it behoved him to doe amiſſe, to ſhunne doing worſe, to joine with one of them; and not able for want of forces to chuſe whether, to accept of that ſide which he could not refuſe: for it much availed him to keepe ſoveraignty ſtill on foote (though but permitted) by the helpe of one of the factions: for it might fall out, that the one faction being defeated might ſo weaken the other, that the regall forces might prove the maſter ſtrength. All fit conſiderations, but in this caſe deceitfull. Factions which are favoured by the people (as was this of Burgundy) not being eaſily ſuppreſſed, the Nobility were by the King commanded to ſide againſt the three brothers; ſo as their affaires being by regall favour abandoned, their hopes were very ſmall: and the Duke of Burgundy being ſent for by the Dolphin, his ſonne in law, came into France with 50000. fighting men, drawne out of his commons in Flanders; who freer then becomes a free Prince to ſuffer, would not ſerve him unleſſe conditionally; as, that their time of ſervice might be limited, and that all ſuch prey as they ſhould make, ſhould be their own; an evident proofe that they went rather to pillage then do ſervice: with theſe ſort of people (after he had taken all the Townes that were upon the Soame, from whence all their garriſons fled, having made experience of their cruelty by the example of thoſe of Ham) he encamped, himſelfe under Mondedier, where the enemy was encamped, with intention of giving him battell, and whileſt he thought to order his troopes (being aſſured of the victory by reaſon of his advantages) the Dutchmen having fired their huts, and being loaded with prey and priſoners, returned home; alledging that their time of ſervice was expired; nor was it in his power, by intreaties or faire promiſes, to detaine them one day longer. Hee was moreover inforced to give them his brother for their guide, till ſuch time as they ſhould come into a ſafe abode, whilſt hee himſelfe, with thoſe few which remained with him, retired to Perona.

The Orleaniſts who were reſolved to fight, ſeeing him gone, went towards Paris to endeavour an entrance into the Towne, that they might poſſeſſe themſelves of the Kings perſon, without which all their actions (though never ſo juſt) were ſubject to perpetuall blame, for the Princes preſence in civill diſſentions, is onely able to juſtifie injuſtice, and make a fault meritorious; but it was impoſſile for them to enter the Towne, for the hatred the inhabitants bore unto their father was not buried with him. They had better ſucceſſe in Saint Denis, a Towne not above two little leagues diſtant; where getting leave to come in, they fortified themſelves; receiving thereby much commodity to fight with the Pariſians. The Duke of Burgundy being during this time gone to Arras, found there *Thomas* Earle of Arundell, together with Sir *Gilbert* and Sir *Robert Umfreville*, and Sir *John Gray*, who had brought unto him 1200. Archers, ſent unto him by King *Henry*. They had made a confederacy upon hopes of a marriage betweene a daughter of the Dukes, and the Prince of Wales: with theſe and ſome 6000. more of his owne men, he went to

Pontoiſe,

Pontoiſe, where he ſtayed, to augment his army; which he eaſily might doe: for the King having a few dayes before proclaimed the Dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Burbon, the Counts of Vertu, Angoleſme, Alanſon, and Arminiack, all to bee traytors, *Charles Albret* likewiſe and all adherents, the ſouldiers forſooke them; of thoſe that fled unto him the Count Pontiure brother to the Duke of Britany his ſonne in law, was one: having aſſembled ſuch people as he deſired, he came with 15000. horſe to Paris, and was met by his brother the Count de Nevers, by the City, by the Councell, and at his entrance into the Louvre by the Dolphin his ſon in law. Having allowed his ſouldiers a little reſt, he ſallied forth one night, and recovered Saint Claude, which had beene taken by the Orleaniſts: in which enterpriſe they uſed ſo much ſlaughter, as that the Orleaniſts were likewiſe forced to quit Saint Denis; going away by night with intention to returne when they ſhould bee reinforced. All that were taken priſoners were put to death; and the dead were left for food to the fowles of the aire, for no man offered to bury them, they being by Pope *Vrbans* Bull excommunicated. *Henry the 4.*

The Duke now thinking he had no more enemies to moleſt him, and that conſequently he ſtood in no more need of the Engliſh, he diſcharged them, to the much amazement of King *Henry*, who beleeved him to be a man of greater judgement then this action ſhewed him to be: for he ought to have detained them, had it onely been to have obliged *Henry* unto him, and to have diverted him from joining with his enemies, as he afterwards did; which he had not done, had he not beene free of him. The Orleaniſts had loſt many ſtrengths, ſo as being reduced to extremities, not able to ſubſiſt of themſelves, they threw themſelves into the protection of the King of England, who willingly embraced their offers, which very advantagious to him, the articles of what they offered and of his protection were theſe. 1412

The Dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Burbon, the Counts of Alanſon, and Arminiacke', the Lord *Albret* and their adherents, did offer for ever hereafter to expoſe their perſons, goods, and forces, to the ſervice of their King of England, of his heires, and ſucceſſors, in all his juſt clames, as oft as they ſhould be required; by thoſe words his juſt claimes they intended, his claime unto the Dutchie of Guenne, and the appertenances thereof; and that the ſaid Dutchy did by right of inheritance, and naturall ſucceſſion belong unto him, declaring that they did not ſtaine their loyalty by aſſiſting of him in that affaire.

They offered their ſonnes, and daughters, nephewes, and neeces, parents, allies, and ſubjects, to bee married according to the good will and pleaſure of the forenamed King.

They offered their Cities, Caſtles and Treaſures, and all their goods, in the aide of him, his heires and ſucceſſors, in his pretentions and claimes; their loyalty alwaies preſerved; as was afterwards declared in letters written, and ſigned apart.

They offered to ſerve him with all their friends, kindred, and adherents in his pretentions unto, aud in the reſtitution of the ſaid Dutchy of Guenne.

They did acknowledge that the ſaid Dutchy did belong unto the King of

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of England: and that he ought to enjoy it with the ſame prerogatives, as any of his predeceſſors had done.

They acknowledge that as many Cities, Caſtles and Strengths as they were maſters of in the ſaid Dutchy, they held them all of the King of England, as being the true Duke of Guienne, offering to doe him homage in moſt obſequious manner.

They promiſed to give and ſurrender up into the hands of the King of England, as much as in them lay, all the Cities and Caſtles which belonged to the Crowne, to the number of twenty, as in other letters drawn to this purpoſe was declared.

For the other Cities and Forts which were not in their hands, they promiſed to buy them out at their owne proper coſt and charges, and to aſſiſt the King of England, and his heires with a ſufficient number of men.

It was declared to be the King of Englands pleaſure (as in other letters ſigned apart) that the Duke of Berry, his loyall Uncle, ſubject, and vaſſall, the Duke of Orleans his ſubject and vaſſall, and Count Arminiacke ſhould hold of him in fee and homage the underwritten Townes and Lordſhips. The Duke, of Berry the County of Poictou, during his life: The Duke of Orleans, the County of Angoleſme during his life, and Perigord for ever: Count Arminiacke, the foure Caſtles named in the aforeſaid letters, upon condition and ſecurity therein declared.

That moreover the King of England and Duke of Guienne ſhould ſuccour and defend them all, againſt all, as their true Soveraigne Lord; and in particular, that he ſhould helpe them to get due juſtice done upon the Duke of Burgundy.

That he ſhould not make any confederacy or accord with the Duke of Burgundy, his ſonnes, brothers, kindred and confederates, without the conſent of the ſaid Lords.

That he ſhould aſſiſt them as his vaſſalls in any juſt quarrells, eſpecially in receiving ſatisfaction for the loſſe and injuries received by the Duke of Burgundy, and his confederates.

That for the preſent hee ſhould ſend 8000. men to aſſiſt them againſt the ſaid Duke, who did all he could to incite the King of France, and his forces againſt them.

Theſe Articles were ſigned with a caution that they were to pay the ſouldiers which the King ſhould ſend; the which being taken into pay he gave the charge of them to *Thomas* his ſecond ſonne, who was formerly created Duke, together with his other two ſonnes, and his brother the Earle of Dorſet. *Thomas* was made Duke of Clarence, *Iohn* of Bedford, *Humfrey* of Gloſter, and Dorſet of Exceter. He gave likewiſe order to thoſe who governed under him in Picardy, to wage warre there, the which they did. Whereupon the King of France, (who was then at Sens, ready to paſſe into the Dutchy of Berry with an army) gave order to the Count Saint Paul to make thitherward, with as many people as he could get; the which he did, not more out of obedience, then out of the mortall hatred he bore to *Henry*: but little good came hereof, fortune being alwaies averſe unto him in thoſe expeditions. At his firſt arrivall, the Engliſh retired to Bullin. The Count reſolved to ſet upon Guines, and to free himſelfe from further troubles: the Towne was onely ſtrong

by

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by reaſon of the Caſtle. Its greateſt ſtrength was the Paliſſadoe and the ditch: he hoped to take it by keeping it from being relieved from Caleis. He planted himſelfe by night betweene the two Forts with 600. horſe, giving an aſſault upon breake of day: the battell was very ſharpe, neither ſide failing in their duties; but their forces not ſufficing the aſſaliants, thought to helpe themſelves by fire; in one inſtant 40. houſes were ſeene to blaze. The defendants ſet upon both by ſword and fire, got into the Caſtle, from whence they powred downe darts and ſtones: ſo as the winning of the Towne not ſufficient to compleat the victory, and the Caſtle not being to be wonne by aſſault, they retired, many of them being hurt, but few ſlaine, as ſaith *Monſtrelet*. The King in this interim was gone from Sens, and having taken ſome Townes which lay in his way, went to encampe himſelfe under Burges, where the confederates were. In his campe of all ſorts, and for all ſervices, were 100000. horſe. The Duke of Berry, the more to incommodate the aſſaliants, had cauſed all houſes and Churches which were neere the wall, to be beaten down; and if ſome few remained unpulled downe, they were not priviledged: for the inſolences of ſouldiers, ſervants, and freebooters is not to be termed military, but rather voide of humanity and religion; a lamentable thing to any one who is not blinded with paſſion, as was the Duke of Burgony. The Dolphin duly conſidered all theſe diſcords, it greeved him that a City of ſuch conſequence, the Metropolitan of two Provinces, Auvergne, and Berry, ſhould bee ruinated out of private humours; and that it ſhould be defaced and deſtroied, ſince it was one day to be his; ſo as remooving the campe, after a months ſiege, he commanded the cannoniers upon paine of life not to ſhoote one ſhot more without his command. At which the Duke of Burgony being troubled, beleeving that he had compaſſion on his enemies, did what he could to perſwade him, that violence was the onely meanes to reduce rebells to obedience: But being ſeverely anſwered, that too much had already beene done, and that it was time to forbeare, thoſe who deſired an agreement, were much encouraged, and concluded an agreement upon theſe conditions; That the peace at Shartres ſhould remaine in its vigour and force; that the Count Vertu ſhould marry the daughter of the Duke of Burgony; that the Duke of Berry and his confederates ſhould ſurrender up all ſuch Cities, and other places as the King ſhould deſire; that he ſhould renounce all confederacies, as well at home as forreiny, made againſt the Duke of Burgony; that the King ſhould reſtore all their Cities and ſtrong holds, not obliged to repaire what was demoliſhed; that their officers and ſervants ſhould be readmitted into their offices and poſſeſſions. And becauſe the brothers of Orleans were not preſent, their Agents promiſed for them. The peace being ſworne and proclaimed, command under paine of great puniſhment was made, that the two factious names of Burgonians and Arminiackes ſhould be no more uſed. The Orleaniſts were ſo called: for when Count Arminiack joyned with them, his people and all that faction were by the common people called by this name. This buſineſſe being for this time thus ſtill'd, the King went to Auxerres, whither the Duke of Orleans and his brother the Count Vertu came. They then ſwore the peace; they renounced all confederacy with England; they accepted of the

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the above ſaid marriage, and ſhewed tokens of reciprocall good will, inſomuch that the two enemy Dukes were ſeen to ride upon one & the ſelf ſame horſe: Their former charges were to ſome reſtored. But Count Saint Paul would not ſurrender up the Conſtables place. Whereupon the Lord Albret withdrew himſelfe ill ſatisfied from the Court. This peace was agreed upon before the Engliſh landed in France, which was wiſely foreſeene by the Dolphin: for agreement would not ſo eaſily have beene made, if both the Nations joyned together had taſted the ſweetes of any fortunate ſucceſſe. Their arrivall was firſt heard of in Normandy; next in the parts neere Conſtantina, from thence in du Mayne, and from thence in Touraine: all which places ſuffered ſuch inconveniences as are uſually cauſed by enemies. Souldiers were every where raiſed, whilſt they onely deſired to be payed, the onely meanes to make them returne home. But the Dukes of Berry and Orleans were ſo exhauſted, as they knew not how nor where to raiſe 200000. Crowns which they ought them. The King of Sicily left the Court, and went to defend his Countrey of Aniou from their incurſions. The Earles of Warwicke & of Kent, arrived at the ſame time with 2000. men at Caleis; who taking the garriſons of that Towne to them, ſcoured over all the Countrey of Bullen, and the parts adjacent; and although the Counts Saint Pauls, Ramburres, and others, came thither with great numbers of men, they were rather a greevance, then a helpe to the poore people of thoſe parts, who ſuffered ſuch harme by them, as they could not doe by the enemy. The King being come to Paris, the Dukes of Berry, and of Orleans, remained with the Queen at the Bois de Saint Vincennes: from whence waiting upon her to Paris, Orleans (not entring into the Towne) paſſed into the Country of Beaumont to raiſe monies. And though all other places were reſtored to him, yet could he by no meanes get repoſſeſſion of Pereſont and Couſie, the which were held by the Count Saint Paul, who denied to ſurrender them without a great ſumme of money, due (as he ſaid) to the garriſons there. Pretences are never wanting where men proceede not with cleare intentions: but being neceſſitated to acquit himſelfe of the Duke of Clarence, he ſet aſide all other affaires; and not able to pay unto him the whole debt, he aſſigned over unto him in pawne for 209000. francks which remained due to him, his brother the Count of Angoleſme, (who was great grandfather to *Francis* the firſt) and ſome other Lords, who being brought into England remained there divers yeares for lacke of ranſome. This being done, he ſent unto the King for the reſtitution of the aforeſaid places; and obtained letters and directions to that purpoſe; yet were they not delivered up unto him: moreover fire breaking forth in Pereſont it was almoſt burnt to the ground. To this diſtaſte others were added. The Duke of Burgundy cauſed *Bordinus* of Saligni, formerly his favourite, to be carried priſoner into Flanders, ſuſpecting that he had revealed ſome of his ſecrets. The baſtard of Burbon ran a danger in Paris, the City riſing up againſt him in favour of certaine inſolences committed by a butcher. Offices which were to be reſtored, were not, ſo as the conditions of peace thus ill obſerved, men rather inclined to breake it againe, then to ſee it thus unworthily peeced. The Dolphin who well weighed theſe alterations,

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grew ſomewhat coole towards his father in law, the rather for that hee was continually ſollicited by the Dukes of Bar, and Bavieres, and by the Count Vertu, to take the government wholly upon himſelfe, and free himſelfe from the ſervitude of being directed by others. *Henry the 4.*

Theſe broiles grew to no ripeneſſe during *Henries* life, and had they ripened, he perchance would not have delighted in them, for hee had changed his thoughts, and was returned to the ſame inclinations of nature wherewith he was borne: for having reduced his Kingdome to quiet condition, having no more occaſion of being bloudy or deteſted, his actions were growne to that degree of temperance, as there remained nothing more to be deſired in him. Juſtice was adminiſtred without diſtinction of perſons: He was affable, liberall, courteous and pious, ſo as the Nobility and Commonalty did now as much love, as they had formerly hated him, and having ſet his thoughts wholly upon God, he reſolved to ſpend the remainder of his life in his ſervice, in the recovery of the holy land: judging all other warfare misbecomming a Chriſtian Prince: He had no impediments likely to diſturbe him from his reſolution: hee was free from the affaires of France, which he eſteemed quieted by reaſon of the laſt peace, a peace not likely to prejudice him: that Kingdome being ſo divided within it ſelfe, as it could not hurt him; his owne Kingdome was ſo well united as hee had no reaſon of feare there. The occaſions of former ſeditions were ceaſed, by the loſſe of their lives who were the chiefe occaſioners thereof: all ill humours were appeaſed by the death of ſuch as were the raiſers of them. He had foure ſonnes all of them of great hopes. Scotland had no King. The Duke of Aubenge to maintaine himſelfe in the government was forced to peacefull reſolutions. Wales was exhauſted, and *Glendor* dead: ſo as having made great preparation of Ships, Gallies, and Treaſure, he thought ſuddenly to embarke himſelfe, when ſtrucke with a ſudden Apoplexy, he was forced to take a further journey. I beleeve that this his devotion touching Jeruſalem was occaſioned by a preceding propheſie, (if it be true that is ſaid) that hee ſhould die in Jeruſalem: for being taken with this ſickneſſe in the Abbey at Weſtminſter, and carried into the Abbots next houſe, as ſoone as hee was come unto himſelfe, he enquired where he was, and if that chamber wherein he was had any particular name: Anſwer was made that he was in the Abbots houſe, and that the chamber wherein he was, was called Jeruſalem: Here ſaid he muſt I die: he was put to bed, and his Crowne ſet upon a little table by the bed ſide: His ſickneſſe continuing, and ſezed by a violent ſyncope, all men thought he had been dead. The Prince thinking ſo likewiſe, tooke the Crowne and withdrew himſelfe into another chamber: but ſhortly after he came to himſelfe againe, when miſſing his Crowne, and being told that the Prince had taken it away, he cauſed him be ſent for, and asked him how he durſt bee ſo bold as to take that which did not belong unto him? Sir (replied the Prince forthwith) I know the Crowne is none of mine ſo long as you live, and may your Majeſty live long to weare it: but all wee who are here did thinke verily you were dead, and I being your eldeſt ſonne, and conſequently your heire, took it as the chiefe thing of mine inheritance. To the which words, the King (fetching a deepe ſigh) replied, you ſay well my ſonne: but 1413

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but for what concernes the Crowne, God knowes, with what right I have enjoyed it. Be it as it will (replied the Prince) you got it by the ſword, and by the ſword will I maintaine it. The King more ſatisfied with his ſonnes noble reſolution, then with his reaſon, recommended him to the protection of the Almighty, and having given him good exhortations how to live well, he died the 20. of March, *Anno Domini*, 1413. He reigned 13. yeares and a halfe wanting five dayes. He was not borne a King, but did deſerve to die one.

The end of the Second Booke.

THE

THE CIVILL WARRES OF ENGLAND;

In The Life Of HENRY the Fifth.

The third Booke.

NO Prince was ever borne who did better deceive the common opinion held of him, then did *Henry* the fifth. For being in his youth given to much deboychery, it was thought that when hee ſhould come unto the Crowne, hee would have proved one of the moſt wicked Kings that ever ruled in England. In his valour and daring hee deceived none, but was therein alwayes the ſame: But ſuch qualities, the more they doe increaſe the hopes of good in a Prince of hopefull expectation, the more doe they increaſe the feares of evill in a Prince from whom nothing of good is expected. What is vertue in the one, is vice in the other; from which, as if illegitimate, cruelty, neglect and tyranny do proceed. *Henry* was born the yeare 1388. *Mary* the daughter of *Humfrey Bohun*, Earle of Hereford and Northampton, high Conſtable of England, was his mother: the King his father being then but Earle of Derby. Hee was firſt brought up at Oxford, where under the tuition of his uncle *Henry Bewfort*, Chancellor of that Univerſity, and afterwards Biſhop and Cardinall: he grew up in learning, wherein he gave ſignes of a good diſpoſition, by putting an eſteeme upon learned men; inſomuch as when he came to be King, he made *Thomas Rodban*, a famous Aſtronomer in thoſe dayes, Biſhop of Saint *Davids*, and *John Carpenter* a learned

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learned Divine, Biſhop of Worceſter, having knowne them both, whilſt he lived in the Univerſity. In the twelfth yeare of his age, when his father came to the Crowne, hee called him from his ſtudies, giving the Earle of Worceſter to him for Governour: who rebelling foure yeares after, together with his brother and nephew, affoorded him occaſion of ſhewing his valour in battell againſt them: Where hee ſo bravely behaved himſelfe, as being hurt, hee would not quit the field, though hee was much importuned ſo to do by thoſe that had the charge of him. After commanded by his father to purſue *Owen Glendor* in Wales, hee forced him (as ſome ſay) to dye of meere hunger. By which actions having prematurely obtained the priviledge of being man, and freed himſelfe from the ſuperintendencie of others, he was at his owne diſpoſall, guided by paſſions which ſprung from the heat of bloud; the which in a valiant daring Prince (as was he) produced in the ſubjects, feare; and in the father jealouſie: although the relation between father and ſonne, ought to bee compoſed of leſſer jealouſie then any other relation of friendſhip. But this is not to be wondred at: for being borne to egregious acts, and his naturall inclinations accordingly framed, erring, hee could not erre in a meane degree, or medium: mediocrity being an equall enemy to great wits, as well in good as bad. Whence it happens, that changing humours, from beſt, they become worſt; and from extraordinarily bad, exceeding good. His deboyſtneſſe though were not ſuch as are common to youth, nor ſubject to ſuch deſires as effeminating the minde, and diſſinewing the ſtrength, have brought many Princes to miſery, and to be inwardly hated by their ſubjects; but certaine ſprightly extravagancies cauſed by the incitations of his martiall nature, which not knowing in thoſe yeares how to employ it ſelfe, chuſed lewd wayes of imployment. Amongſt the pure ſeeds of vertue which were in him, were certaine graines of Darnell, which did almoſt at the ſame time bud, and become barren. He took delight to lye lurking in high wayes, to ſteale from himſelfe: for obſerving the times that his tenants were to bring him home his rents, hee would ſet upon them; yea ſometimes to the danger of his life; making them make good in their accounts as much as had been ſtolne from them: neither could they defraud him; for he himſelfe knew beſt how much they had loſt. And if they chanced to hurt or evill treat him, hee liked them the better. Buſineſſes which in England undergoe death, are reduced to two heads: Felony & Treaſon. The laſt hath reſpect to the Princes perſon, and ſuch things as doe depend thereon. The other regards civill affairs, as man-ſlaughter, theft, and ſuch like. It ſo fell out, that one of his ſervants that uſed to accompany him in ſuch like exploits, was taken for felony: he came poſt to London to ſave him; and finding that at the very inſtant he was carried to the Kings Bench barre to be condemned, hee himſelfe went thither, and commanded the Goalers to take off his irons, and ſet him at liberty. The Lord chiefe Juſtice, who at his comming had not ſtirred from his ſeat, wiſhed him to remember, that that was the ſeat of his father, King and Soveraigne: That his authority was not yet ſuch as might force the freedome of the Priſoner. Not that hee did not know him to be Prince, and the Kings eldeſt ſonne, an high and powerfull quality, but of no conſequence in a buſineſſe of this nature, it being impoſſible for

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for him to take from the hand of juſtice, to the breach of the Law, one who was condemned to die, and more impoſſible for himſelfe to give way thereunto: he told him therefore he ſhould doe well to goe the uſuall way of obtaining pardon from the King.

The Prince impatient of contradiction, and who was naturally given to blows, inſomuch as he would diſguiſe himſelfe to ſeek occaſion for them, gave the Judge ſuch a cuffe in the ear, as would have ſtunned any one who had beene leſſe reſolute then he: but the Judge neither frighted with the blow, nor loſing his former gravity, ſaid unto him, That the miſery done unto him ſitting on that ſeate, was an offence done unto the King, to whom, & to whoſe Laws, he the Prince was doubly obliged; as a ſubject, and as a ſon. That though the offence was great in it ſelf, yet was it greater in his perſon, and of more dangerous conſequence: for when he ſhould be King, he was not likely to finde any ſubject that would obey him, nor Judge that would execute thoſe Laws which he ſhould enact, if he ſhould permit his ſonne and heire to violate them, as it ſeemed he preſumed the King his father would permit him to do: that therefore to the end ſo enormous an example, might not be alledged for an example, as not puniſhed, he did in his Majeſties name commit him to the priſon appropriated to that bench, during his Majeſties pleaſure. The lookers on, who were ſomewhat ſcandalized, and ſurpriſed at the Princes action, and the Judges boldneſſe, wondred when they ſaw the Prince bluſh for ſhame, and yeeld himſelfe priſoner. The King who equally commended his ſonnes obedience, and the Judges integrity, for this and other his miſdemeanours, ſuffered him to tarry a good while in priſon; and the more to humble him, excluded him from the Councell table, and made his brother the Duke of Clarence Preſident thereof. But ſhortly being ſet at liberty, he betooke himſelfe to his former faſhions; inſomuch as his houſe being frequented by many great men, and ſuch as were moſt refractory, his father apprehended danger of an inſurrection in him, a ſuſpition fomented by ſuch as know not how otherwiſe to winne the Kings favour but by backbiting, nor better how to make uſe of their flattery, then by a fained zeal of their ſafeties, (the which the more deteſtable it is, the more dangerous is it for ſuch as are innocent) as likewiſe by his owne remorſe of conſcience, which objected unto him his uſurping the Crowne, the miſchiefes, miſeries, and ſo many deaths which had thereon enſued: all which might open the way to any one, much more to his ſonne, (his preſumed and declared heire) to bereave him of his Crowne. And though the reaſons of aſpiring thereunto, were no better then thoſe he had made uſe of to atchieve it, yet the deteſtation of things paſt which had reſpect onely to him, made him thinke it feaſable. And his unjuſt jealouſies falſly grounded upon the Prince his ill nature, ſeemed unto him conſonant to reaſon, when they repreſented unto him the true reaſons of his owne miſdeſerts: and ſince no love can be there, where feare is, the ſignes of his hatred conceived againſt ſome, were ſoone diſcovered by all men; but he who ſet his private deboycheries aſide, never imagined any thing of evill, neither againſt his father nor the State, being adviſed by ſome of the privy Councell that loved him, what ill offices were done him, reſolved to juſtifie himſelfe: the which he did in the moſt ſtrange and oddeſt manner

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manner that was ever heard of. He was cloathed in a ſute of skie colour-red ſattin, all full of oylet holes, and every oylet hole had a needle hanging at a peece of ſilke of the ſame it was wrought withall : He had upon one of his armes, a maſty dogges collar, ſtudded thus *S.S.* which were of maſſy gold, with buckles of the ſame. What he thereby intended I know not, nor have I met with any who doth explane the Allegory. He was attended on by a great many, whereof ſome were Peers, the reſt of the beſt families of the land. Being come to Court, he left the moſt part of his followers in the great Hall, with directions that they ſhould come no further then the chimney, attended on onely by ſuch as did belong unto the Court; hee did at unawares preſent himſelfe before the King, who through his infirmities had almoſt loſt the uſe of his legges. He would have ſpoken unto him at his firſt arrivall, as he had formerly begged leave to doe: but the King conſidering the extravagancy of his habit, and not able to make any good interpretation thereof, cauſed himſelfe to be carried into a more inward roome, followed by ſuch Lords as caſually were at that time about him: the which I thinke he rather did to gain time to thinke upon the buſineſſe, then for any feare he had: when his chaire was ſet downe, the Prince kneeling downe before him, ſaid theſe or the like words, That the generally ſpread rumour of ſome evill impreſſions his Majeſties had of him, cauſed by ſome who had deciphered him unto his Majeſty as one that had ſome plots upon the Crowne and State, had forced him thus to preſent himſelfe, to the end that hee might receive ſuch reſolutions from him as might ſeeme fitteſt for his ſervice: That his paſt behaviour had beene very bad, he did confeſſe, for he would not deny a truth: but ſince truth did permit him to gainſay thoſe things which were now objected unto him, he did deny them, for he could not affirm a falſhood. That his obligations unto his Majeſty, were greater then were thoſe of his other ſubjects; ſo as where he ſhould have deſerved the higheſt puniſhment if he ſhould have offended him as a private ſubject, no ſufficient puniſhment could be invented for him, if being his ſonne, he ſhould together with the Lawes of God and man, have violated the Lawes of nature. That worldly Lawes being grounded upon puniſhment, and fear, and the Laws of nature grounded onely upon love, he deſerved not to have any ſhare in the world, who (deſtitute of love) ſhould abuſe the ſubſiſtance and conſtitution of nature. That therefore if there were neither Law humane nor divine, this onely Law of nature would bee ſufficient to make him be the moſt deteſted creature in the world, if he ſhould not with ſincere love, reverence, and with reverend reſpect love his Majeſty his gracious father: The which he did not ſay to juſtifie, but rather to condemne himſelf, if he ſhould be arrived at ſuch a height of wickedneſſe, as not to deteſt the unſpeakable wickednes, which never having entred his breaſt, was by the malice of his accuſers, helliſhly invented againſt him. That though it were an eaſie matter to convince them, ſince they could never prove what he never dreampt of, yet he was not come for that purpoſe. That he did preſent himſelfe as guilty, ſince he was declared to be ſuch, not by his owne conſcience, but by his Majeſties deluded opinion: that therefore ſince it was impoſſible for him to live without inſufferable anguiſh of mind, being ſubject to ſuch ſuſpitions,

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hee beſeeched his Majeſty to free him from further vexation with this weapon. Then preſenting unto him a dagger by the point, hee added, That he would willingly ſuffer death, if it might cauſe ſuch quiet unto his Majeſty, as his Majeſty did beleeve. That hee ſhould not hold his hand out of any conſideration of his ſoule, for he had begged mercy of God, and taken his Chriſtian *viaticum*; much leſſe out of fear, that this might be imputed as a ſinne unto his Majeſty, for being already ſatisfied of the humane juſtice in puniſhing a guilty perſon worthy of whatſoever chaſtiſement, for what concerned divine juſtice, he did promiſe him (in the preſence of thoſe Lords who were by) to be his advocate before the Tribunall of the ſupreame Judge, in that fearefull and terrible day when the ſecrets of all hearts being knowne, his Majeſty and himſelfe, in the chariot of his innocency, ſhould triumph over the calumnies of other men. The ſpeech being ended, the King threw away the dagger, and with teares of joy imbraced and kiſſed him, and confeſſed he had done amiſſe in beleeving otherwiſe of him then he ought to have done. Hee aſſured him that for the time to come, hee would be deafe to all ſuch as ſhould dare to ſpeake againſt him. But the Prince not herewithall contented, humbly beſeeched his Majeſty to bring his accuſers to the teſt, that either they or he might receive condigne puniſhment. The King ſatisfied in the innocency of his ſonne, and unwilling that thoſe who were zealouſly his, ſhould be puniſhed, appeaſed his ſonne, ſaying, that ſince this buſineſſe was to be judged by the Peers of the Land, nothing could be done therein till the next Parliament, and that then he ſhould receive ſuch ſatisfaction, as he juſtly did demand. Then ſweetning him with intreaties, and faire ſpeeches, he made him quit his requeſt, and kept him in his good opinion as long as hee lived. Theſe and the like actions generally held diſſolute, afforded reaſon of bad preſages, as hath beene formerly ſaid, But aſſoone as he put on the Crowne, he turned another leafe, and became excellent in all ſuch vertues as make a Prince famous in peace, and redoubted in warre. A change by how much the more rare, the more admired, ſince thereby the worſt of men doe prove the beſt, and types of vertue. He firſt of all like a good husband purged his houſe of all uncleanneſſe, and not content to have ſwept from thence all his deboiſht companions he did not onely forbid them his ſight, and further company, but baniſhed them from comming within tenne miles of the Court. He put in their places perſons of exemplary lives. Hee placed in his ſeates of Juſtice, and in his Councell, men worthy of ſuch truſt, and joyning piety to his policy, he founded Monaſteries, and brought the body of *Richard* the ſecond, from an obſcure ſepulchre in Langley, to Weſtminſter, where he cauſed him with regall pompe to bee put in a tombe built at his owne charge, and Lady *Anne* of Bohemia his firſt wife, by him. He ſent Embaſſadours and Biſhops to Conſtantia, to endeavour in that Councell an end of the Schiſme which had then a long time laſted; and where not long after in ſtead of three Popes, who reigned altogether, *Martin* the fifth was choſen Pope, to the great joy of all Chriſtendome. He referred the Lord *Cobham* who was accuſed of hereſie, to the Eccleſiaſticall Courts, having given him friendly admonitions (for he had formerly loved him by reaſon of his valour) from whence being committed over to

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ſecular Juriſdiction, he was to have received his laſt puniſhment, had hee not by ſome of his friends beene ſecretly conveyed out of the Tower. But that which for the preſent befell not him, happened to divers others, for many of his opinion having ſeditiouſly aſſembled themſelves, and accuſed of conſpiracy, ſo many of them were taken, as the priſons were not able to containe them, and nine and twenty of the chiefeſt of them (where one was a Prieſt) were put to death; the like befalling himſelfe foure yeares after, who was taken about the borders of Wales, and hang'd and burnt. He reſtored *Henry* Percy, ſonne to *Henry* hot ſpurre, to his Lands & Honour, having ſent for him back from Scotland, whither he was for ſafety ſent in the downfall of his family, hee thought it not fit that ſo noble bloud ſhould ſuffer puniſhment in the perſon of a child, who being of ſo innocent yeares, ought not to partake of his fore-fathers faults. It was eaſie for him to reſtore unto him his lands, which the King his father had given to *Iohn* his third ſonne, whom hee recompenced with an equivalent revenue. Thus he ended the firſt yeare of his reigne, in the beginning whereof the Duke of Clarence, who was then in Aquitany, hearing of his fathers death, returned home to England, and brought along with him *Iohn* Count of Angoleſme, together with the other hoſtages aſſigned over for the Duke of Orleans debt, and was by the King received with a brotherly affection.

The Clergy had been practiſed upon in King *Henry* the fourths time, by reaſon of their great revenues, as being ſuperfluouſly larger then was requiſite for them. In the eleventh year of his reigne mention was made in Parliament that they would have been cauſe of much ſcandall if the civill warres had not been. The warres being at this preſent at an end, and mens mindes more eager of this then formerly, it was thought good not to loſe the opportunity of time: For ſince the King was addicted to war, it behoved him to raiſe unto himſelfe a permanent revenue, to the ſatisfaction of the whole Kingdome. A calculation was made, that leaving to the Clergy what was ſufficient for them, the over-plus of their revenues was ſufficient to maintaine fifteene Earles, fifteene hundred Knights, ſix thouſand two hundred Gentlemen, and an hundred Hoſpitalls, beſides twenty thouſand pound a yeare reſerved for the Kings Exchequer; which twenty thouſand pound was more then, then an hundred thouſand pound would now be. A calculation, which whether true or falſe, proved a true danger to the Clergy. The remedy was eaſie, the combination being generall, the advantage common to all: for the King, Nobility and Commonalty were to ſhare in what was to bee taken from them. A Parliament was called at Leiceſter, wherein they were threatned. They thought to eſchew the blow by making ſome great offer; but if it ſhould not be accepted of, (for bee it what they pleaſed, it muſt bee much inferior to what was expected from them) they ran a hazard of defamation, as corrupters of the Prince, and ſo to loſe together with their wealth, their reputation, which in ſo great a loſſe ought to bee kept unſpotted for the dignity of their profeſſion, and not to give a colour of reaſon to the wrong they were to receive. Every one thought the Kings warlike inclination would bee the Canon which ſhould batter them to pieces; but hee not having as yet made choyce of an enemy (warre with

France

France would be of a vaſte expence ; Scotland was neerer hand, and eaſier to bee invaded, *Iames* the firſt their King being priſoner in England) they thought that his pretentions to the Crowne of France, as moſt proportionate to the greatneſſe of his minde would ſerve for an argument, and that by perſwading him to that enterpriſe, they ſhould ſtay the propoſition which was to be made againſt them. The Parliament being met, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a Chertoſin Monke, failed not in a well ordered ſpeech opportunely to propound it : his principall heads were, the equity of his Majeſties pretentions, the honour of the King, the reputation of the State, and the occaſions now offered of making it feaſable, by reaſon of the troubles that Kingdome was in. In the firſt he ſhewed how the King was the naturall ancient heire of Normandy, Angier, Poictou, Umena, and Gaſcony, of all which he now poſſeſſed onely a little part of Gaſcony. That being heire to *Edward* the third, hee was likewiſe heire to France, otherwiſe the title which he thereof aſſumed would be unjuſt. He declamed againſt the Salique Law, as invented in thoſe dayes, onely to exclude England, no mention being made thereof in Chronicles or other memorialls; but ſince I cannot give you the very words, the ſtory neceſſary requires me to ſhew you the Law in a rough draught, to the end that you may examine the late undertakings of *Edward* the third, or the preſent ones of this *Henry* againſt that Kingdome, be juſtifiable or no. *Henry the 5.*

Edward the ſecond, King of England, married *Iſabell*, daughter to *Philip* the faire King of France. *Philip*, beſides this his daughter *Iſabell*, left three ſonnes, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip* the long, and *Charles* the faire : all which reigned Kings one after another ; and though *Lewis* left a daughter named *Iane*, and his wife with child of a ſonne (which ſoone after dyed) and that *Odone* Duke of Burgony Uncle by the mother ſide to *Iane*, did what in him lay to make her ſucceede unto her father ; yet *Philip* the long her Uncle (who was crowned in Rheims whilſt armed, and the gates ſhut) having then foure daughters, did by marriage appeaſe thoſe Princes who did oppoſe him; giving his eldeſt daughter to this Duke of Burgony, together with the County of Burgony (the which by her mother did belong to the ſaid *Iane*) and to *Lewis* Count of Eureux (the moſt potent Prince of all the adverſaries) hee gave the ſame *Iane*, and for her portion the Kingdome of Navarre, the County of Brye, and Shampania, ſo as the buſineſſe thus layed aſleepe, and he afterwards dying, *Charles* ſucceeded him, not interrupted by *Iane*, ſince her giving way to her other Uncle, paſſed as a ruled caſe. *Charles* dyed, leaving his wife with child; *Edward* the third, King of England, who was neereſt of bloud, as borne of *Iſabell*, ſiſter to theſe three Kings, pretended to the regency, in caſe the child the Queen went withall ſhould live, if otherwiſe, to the Crown: On the other ſide, *Philip* Count of Vallois, ſonne to *Charles*, who was brother to *Philip* the faire, made the like pretence, as neereſt heire male, alledging that the Law Salique which did exclude the women, did likewiſe exclude ſuch ſonnes as were by them borne. Whereupon the three States gathered together, *Philip* got the regencie, and the Queen Dowager bringing but a daughter, the Kingdome. *Edward* alledged in his behalfe, that this law was never knowne till then, and then invented

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to defraude him of ſucceſſion, no mention being made thereof in the memory of man, nor by any whatſoever ancient Authentique writer. That to give it a being when it had none, and cauſe it to riſe up in one night like a muſhrome, was likely not onely not to give it a ſubſiſtence, but alſo to make it not to be credited. That hee did not deny the ſucceſſion of the male in all times paſt, but that the ſucceſſion of the female ſex had not hapned to the Crowne till theſe preſent times. That the relinquiſhment made by *Iane* to her owne prejudice, and purſued without his conſent or knowledge, ought not to prejudice him, nor ought it be concluded that ſhee having laide aſide her claime to the prejudice of a third, the third ſhould likewiſe quit his claime to the prejudice of ſucceſſion. That ſhe had yeelded by force, being doubly betrayed by her Uncle, that he might uſurpe the Country of Burgony; and by her huſband that he might make himſelfe King of Navarre: both of them being contented with the certainty of this gaine, the hopes which they might promiſe unto themſelves by warre, being uncertaine and of leſſe account.

1. That if the Law were fundamentall (as they would have it beleeved to be) it would not have beene violated in the two firſt races. That in the firſt race, the French writers made a doubt whether *Morevius* were the ſonne of *Claudian* or not, and that if he were not his ſon, it is to be beleeved (ſay they) that hee was his next a kin; which is as much as to conjecture the one, and doubt of the other. They affirme him to have ſucceeded not ſo much by vertue of the Lawes, as by the free election of the States, not being aware that the terme free election doth contradict the Law Salique, it being impoſſible that there ſhould bee any ſort of election (much leſſe free) where the Lawes doe determine an undoubted ſucceſſour, otherwiſe one of two inconveniencies would neceſſarily enſue, either that the election ſhould annull the Law, or the Law make the election ſuperfluous, the next in bloud (all others excluded) being by the Law without election appointed to the Crowne.

2. That it cannot be denyed that when *Childericus* was driven out of the Kingdome, *Ægidius* a Citizen of Rome was choſen King, and that his ſonne *Siagrius*, after the death of *Childericus* (who was received as King again) did pretend unto the Crowne by vertue of his fathers election, which he never would have done had there beene

3. ſuch a Law to oppugne him. *Clodoveus* left foure ſonnes, of which one was a baſtard; they were all called Kings, not onely of ſuch proportions as was left unto them by their father, but of all France, whilſt the Law Salique ſuppoſeth but one King, and doth not admit of baſtards. *Dago-*

4. *bert* left the Crowne of France to *Clodoveus* the ſecond, his younger ſon; and to *Sigisbert* his eldeſt ſonne, the Kingdome of Auſtracia, without any manner of diſpute; whileſt that the Law Salique aimes not ſo much at the excluſion of women, as to the advantage the firſt borne ſonne ſhould

5. have over the younger. The ſame *Sigisbert* having no ſonnes, adopted the ſonne of his Lord Steward, which he never would have done, had there beene any Law Salique.

6. *Dagobert* the ſecond left two ſonnes behinde him, and yet a Fryer was taken out of a Monaſtery, and Crowned by the name of *Chilpericus* the ſecond.

7. and 8. *Charles Martellus* depoſed him, put *Dagoberts* two ſonnes into a Cloiſter,

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Cloiſter, and made *Coltarius* the fourth be Crowned, who being afterwards depoſed, the two brothers reigned Kings one after another.

Pipin depoſed *Childericus*, and made himſelfe King, though no Prince of the bloud, and come of a baſtard. Many other examples are paſſed over, which happened amongſt the Kings of this firſt race, contrary to this Law, in ſucceſſions, hereditance, and laſt wills and Teſtaments. 9

In the ſecond race, *Lewis* the ſtammerer, was ſucceeded by *Lewis* and *Charlemaine*, both baſtards, and the latter by another *Lewis*, whether brother or ſonne to *Charlemaine* it is not knowne. 10

This man was ſucceeded by *Charles* the great, King of Bavaria, and Emperour, but being depoſed by the Dutch from being Emperour, and by the French from being King, *Odone* Duke of Angiers, of the houſe of Saxony was ſubſtituted in his place. 11

Charles the ſimple being depoſed, and his ſonne *Lewis* being together with his mother fled into England, *Rowland* of Burgony obtained the Crowne. 12

Laſtly *Hughe Capet* having taken the ſucceſſion from *Charles* Duke of Lorraine, ſecond ſonne to the laſt mentioned *Lewis*, which fled into England, having thence the name of beyond-ſea *Lewis*, brother to *Lotarius*, and Uncle to *Lewis* the fifth, the laſt King of that race, leaveth it to our choice to thinke what we pleaſe of that Law. 13

No mention is made of any women in theſe two races, becauſe the caſe in their behalfe was not met withall: but ſay the caſe had been found, and that by reaſon of the rigorous practice of the Law, women have not dared to pretend unto the Crowne; by the ſame reaſon thoſe who had beene excluded would not have dared to have made any ſuch pretence: if the inſtitution of the Law had beene thus put in practice. Neither would *Iane* daughter to *Lewis Hutin*, have dared to pretend unto the Crowne, had there been any ſuch thing as the Law Salique. But if there be any argument which proves the falſhood of this Law, tis the confuſion of writers, who neither agree in the name nor in the author, nor in the place where it was made. A moderne writer will not have it called the Salique, but the Gallique Law. The more ancient writers denominate it from the River Sala, from the latin word *Sal*, contrary to the putrifaction, or from the French word *Sale*, which is the Hall or Palace of a Prince. Some make the ancient Dukes and Councellors in Germany the authors of it: And ſome *Faramond*, in France, ſo as they leave us nothing of certainty, whereas a fundamentall Law ought to be certaine, and not imaginary in its foundation.

They produce ſome reaſons to juſtifie this Law, which no waies appertaine thereunto, whereof three are the chiefeſt. That the Crowne may be eſtabliſhed in its owne Nation, by the excluſion of ſtrangers. That Poſthumes may be reverenced even in their mothers wombe, and notwithſtanding their infancy, made Kings: and that nature affects the maſculine inheritance, which was the cauſe why the Jewes permitted no ſucceſſion to women. The firſt reaſon would ſurely be good, if together with its utility it were likewiſe juſt, if the Law had beene made in the beginning of the Monarchy, or in a time when it had not beene to any one

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injurious, there could be nothing ſaid againſt it: but being ſprung up in an inſtant, never written nor ſpoken of before, it becomes very bad, not onely as falſe but as fained to the prejudice of naturall heires, and the utility thereof proves the injuſtice, ſince what is uſefull, and what is juſt, if not alwaies, are for the moſt part contraries. Lawes were inſtituted to curbe unhoneſt utility, which if ſuffered, there would be no ſafe commerce, nor living in the world. The ſecond reaſon is in part ſuperfluous, in part falſe: ſuperfluous, becauſe yonger brothers, though Poſthumes are preferred before their elder ſiſters, even in thoſe Kingdomes where women do inherit: falſe, becauſe betweene *Lewis* the ſtammerer, and *Charles* the ſimple, who was his Poſthume, there reigned foure Kings, *Lewis* and *Charlemaine* both baſtards, another *Lewis* and *Charles* the great; which proves it not true that they are made Kings notwithſtanding their infancy: The third containes two points, that the maſculine inheritance is according to nature, and that the Jewes did never at any time permit inheritance to women: The one and the other falſe. They confound nature, and her inſtitutions, with fortune, and the inſtitutions of civill Laws, taking nature otherwiſe then ſhe ought to be taken, for ſhe ought to bee conſidered in her pure principall, not in the accidents which doe accompany her: then thus conſidered, nature cannot (were ſhe thereunto willing) exclude the female ſex from inheriting, ſince ſhee hath no other forme of government, then what concernes the father of a family: Moreover, women being conceived, borne and brought up as are men, it was never his intent who made them equall in generation, to make them inferiour in conſervation; which he ſhould doe, if the goods of fortune (by meanes whereof we live after the introducing of civill Lawes) and the municipall Lawes (whereby they are differently regulated) depended upon nature, ſo as who doth exclude them, doth it by vertue of theſe Lawes, as are likewiſe in divers places excluded, the ſecond borne, though men. That the Jewes did not permit inheritance to women, is likewiſe falſe, read the 27. Chapter of Numbers, where you will finde God ſaid unto *Moſes*, The daughters of *Zelophead* ſpoke right, and that he ſhould give them a poſſeſſion of inheritance among their fathers brethren, and that he ſhould ſpeake unto the children of Iſrael, ſaying, If a man dye and have no ſon, then ye ſhall cauſe his inheritance to paſſe unto his daughter; and if hee have no daughter, then ye ſhall give his inheritance unto his brethren; and if he have no brethren, then ye ſhall give his inheritance unto his fathers brethren; and if his father have no brethren, then ye ſhall give his poſſeſſion unto his kinsman that is next unto him of his family. Moreover, Jeſus Chriſt was the ſonne of *David* according to the fleſh, by the womans ſide, not the mans. The Archbiſhop having with theſe and the like demonſtrations, made good the pretence to France, and conſequently the warre, he added three examples which argue againſt the antiquity of this Law. *Pepin* and *Hughe Capper*, to make their uſurpation juſtifiable, endeavoured to prove their deſcents, the one from *Betilda*, daughter to *Clotarius* the firſt, the other from *Lingarda*, daughter to *Charlemaine*, and Saint *Lewis* had never peace of minde till ſuch time as he was certified that *Iſabell* his grandmother by the mothers ſide, was the lawfull heire of *Emendarda*, daughter and heire of *Charles* Duke of Loreine; for being

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conſcious to himſelf, that the Dukes excluſion from the Crowne, was unjuſt, he thought himſelfe not rightly poſſeſſed of the Kingdome, ſave in the right of his grandmother, upon whom the rights of *Charles* fell, and conſequently upon him, as heire to her. At laſt hee made his intended offer in generall termes, promiſing that if the King would reſolve upon this enterpriſe, the Clergy would give him ſuch contributions, as greater were never given by them to any of his predeceſſors.

This enterpriſe, the reaſons thereof, and the offer made by the Archbiſhop, did ſo farre prevaile with the King, as that *Ralphe Nevill*, Earle of Weſtmerland, Lord Warden of the Marches, confining upon Scotland, fearing leſt the King would be perſwaded thereunto, and that by taking along with him the flower of all the ſouldiers, ſmall forces would remaine with him to oppoſe the endeavours of that Kingdome, did thus oppoſe himſelfe to what the Archbiſhop had ſaid. He confeſſed the enterpriſe to be juſt and honourable, but dangerous and full of hindrances. He ſhewed that prepoſterous proceedings were the overthrow of all undertakings, and that to fight with France before that Scotland was ſubdued, was the moſt prepoſterous courſe that could bee taken. That to make triall of fortune in a forreine Eſtate, whilſt the State at home was ſubject to alterations, was a reſolution no-waies agreeing with wiſedome. That it was to bee beleeved that Scotland that had never let ſlip any advantagious occaſion, would much leſſe paſſe by this ſo faire a one, preſented unto them, by the Kings abſence, and the abſence of the chiefe of the Chivalry of England. That though it were granted, that Scotland being without a King, and in ſome ſort divided within it ſelfe, might in likelyhood be careleſſe in other affaires, yet would it not neglect this, as not permitted ſo to doe by their ancient confederacy; and when they were not by obligation tyed to this, yet monies, aſſiſtance, and chiefly their owne ſafeties would force them unto it, ſince it was not to be doubted that the diverſion of Scotland being one of Frances chiefeſt defences, the French would not abandon her: for if ſhe ſhould be loſt, or weakend, they themſelves would ſuffer a great loſſe, and diminution of ſtrength. Since then her ſafety, obligation, and ſo many other ſeverall obligations were in queſtion, upon the which her good or bad did depend, ſhee would not ſtand idle: The which being granted, it would neceſſarily follow, that the one warre would produce the other: with this difference, that France could aſſiſt Scotland but in part, whereas Scotland could totally aſſiſt her: France could not ſo fully aſſiſt Scotland by reaſon of her diſtance, and that her aides would be weakened by pawſes and interruptions they might meet with by the way; and that by reaſon of her infirmities ſhee was unfit to make a diverſion by open warre; that Scotland on the other ſide was not onely free from theſe inconveniences, but ſure to make an open diverſion, notwithſtanding whatſoever oppoſition; ſo as making warre with Scotland, though ſhe might be ſtrengthened by auxiliary forces (which are alwaies hatefull, and full of jealouſies) yet one onely war was made, and in France two: for ſince his Majeſty could not paſſe over the ſea without weakning England, it would ſo fall out, as being infeſted he muſt be forced to quit the warre with France, and undertake the other, which at firſt ought to have beene undertaken: the which could not bee

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done without the loſſe not onely of reputation, but of much treaſure, which would there bee fruitleſly ſpent. That the events of warre being doubtfull, the leaſt difficult was to be choſen: ſo as rather then to thinke of conquering France whilſt Scotland might divert them, they ſhould hope to conquer Scotland: if England being free from forreine diverſions, ſhould bring all her ſtrength againſt thoſe parts onely: otherwiſe ſhe were likely to finde to her coſt, that to buckle with an united body, ſeparated from the ſea, of inſufferable expence, with a thouſand hazards of fortune, ſickneſſe, windes, deaths, want of victualls, and munition, would prove infinitely dangerous; the rather for that ſhe ſhould leave behinde her an indefatigable warlike enemy; which was not likely to meete with any incommodity (ſupplies being to be had in every houſe) not ſubject to winds, nor tempeſts, in a time when that Kingdome being without a King, and ill ſatisfied with the government, ſhe was to be preſumed not able to withſtand ſo valorous an undertaking. And if *Edward* the thirds paſt victories in France, and thoſe of the blacke Prince his ſonne, did render mens mindes confident, let them remember that fortune was fickle, and that thoſe who dreampt that the world was eternall, did not fancy to themſelves that all things ſhould returne to their former condition till after the ſlow revolution of 36000. yeares, he concluded that if England would make a ſucceſſive warre in France, ſhee muſt firſt conquer Scotland.

Theſe two opinions might have beene ballanced, had it not been for the third Marquis Dorſet, the Kings Uncle, which overthrew the latter of the two: This Gentleman was a good Schollar, for the Duke of Lancaſter his father (who thought to have deſtined him to the Church) had cauſed him to be brought up to his booke, the which being added to his travells in divers Countries, eſpecially in Italy, had ſetled his underſtanding, which guided by the two great Maſters, ſpeculation and practice, could not chuſe but render him perfectly wiſe; he repeating what had bin alleadged by the Earle, and arguing againſt the reaſons he had brought, ſhewed that Scotland had the ſame relation to France, as boughes to the tree: the Nobility of Scotland being maintained by penſions from her, and the yong men thereof bettered by her military diſcipline, ſo as to take away the bud, you muſt cut downe the tree: that give the conqueſt of Scotland for granted, more difficulties would bee met withall in the keeping of it, then in the defending the borders of England, whilſt warre was made elſwhere: for Scotland being in ſome parts inacceſſable, in other parts ſavage, and wholly an enemy, would continually produce ſome new motions, being incouraged by aſſiſtance, and monies from beyond the ſeas: That ſhe had never endangered England in former times, upon the like occaſions, but had bin ſufficiently endamaged. That *Malkin* was ſlaine whilſt he would make uſe of *William* the ſeconds abſence, who went to wage warre in Normandy; and *David Bruce* was taken priſoner whilſt *Edward* the third was at the ſiege of Calèis: that it is true the like doth not alwaies happen, but that therefore worſe ſucceſſe ſhould not be feared, whilſt the enemies forces are not augmented, nor our own diminiſhed; the which was now ſo farre from being ſo, as that they were without a King, and in a moleſted government, whilſt France was in no better

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better eſtate; for to boote with the warre which would diſtract her, ſhee was moleſted by the infirmity of her head, and the corrupted humours of her principalleſt members; That France did afford many advantages to whoſoever ſhould aſſault her, as ſeated in a climate abounding with all good things: whereas the ſterility of Scotland afforded nothing but inconveniences, ſufficient to beat backe her aſſaliants. That England could but for a while keepe footing there, being to be beaten backe by the two urgent peeces of artillery, cold and hunger: That wit and valour would there loſe the day, inforced not by problematicall fables, of fatality, and deſtiny, but by the reall and apparent neceſſity of nature: ſince then no invaſion was to be feared from thence, to what purpoſe ſhould the enterpriſe thereof be undertaken, if being ſubdued it would neither cauſe leſſe peace nor more trouble, then whilſt left at liberty warre might be elſewhere made? for being fenced by the ſituation, ſterility, its owne and other forces, it would alwaies afford occaſion of beginning afreſh, to the end it might never beginne, much leſſe ever make an end with others. That therefore to leave the confines well garded, and take in hand what was propounded, was the only reſolution now to be taken, as that which alone was conformable to the juſtice of the cauſe, the reputation of the King, and the reaſon of armes, ſince England ſhould never thinke to ſubdue Scotland, if ſhe did not firſt ſubdue France.

No ſooner had the Marquis expreſſed his reaſons, but the Parliament did unanimouſly agree upon the warre with France, ſo farre forgetting the buſineſſe of the Clergy, as no man thought any longer of it. The King having created his two brethren *Iohn*, and *Humfrey*, Dukes, the one of Bedford, & the other of Gloſter, and the forenamed Marquis, Duke of Exeter: following the wonted courſe of firſt denouncing war, before the undertaking of it, diſpatcht away this laſt Duke, together with the Admirall *Grey*, the Archbiſhop of Dublin, and the Biſhop of Norwich as Embaſſadors to France, whither they went, accompanied with 600. horſe, and were received with great pompe, & royally feaſted by King *Charles*, who finding himſelfe then well diſpoſed, would in their preſence runne at tilt againſt the Duke of Alanſon. The jollities being over, in ſolemne audience they demanded of him the reſtitution of the Crowne, together with ſuch Provinces as did of old belong unto the inheritance of the Kings of England, namely the Dutches of Aquitany, Normandy, and Angius, the Counties of Poictou, and Vienna, with this caution, that if he would give unto King *Henry*, his daughter *Katherine*, together with the aforeſaid Dutchies and Counties for a portion, that then he would lay aſide all other pretences; but if he did deny this, then *Henry* was reſolved to doe what in him lay by force of armes to repoſſeſſe himſelfe of his right. Theſe demands were long adviſed upon, to finde out the marrow of the buſineſſe, but the Embaſſadors ſtanding ſtiffe to the conditions agreed upon betweene *Iohn* King of France, and *Edward* 3. King of England, at Bretigny; anſwer was made, that a buſineſſe of ſo great weight was not to be anſwered in an inſtant; That aſſoone as it would be maturely diſcuſt, the King would ſend his reſolution by expreſſe Embaſſadors of his owne. King *Henry* tooke this delay, as an expreſſe deniall, and ſent word unto the Dolphin, who had ſent unto him a cheſt of tennis balls

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balls (as who ſhould ſay he thought him onely fit for ſport) that within few months he would requite his preſent, and reſtore unto him balls of iron, for balls of clouts, which ſhould be ſo toſſed as France ſhould have ſmall reaſon to glory in her good walls. And loſing no longer time, he began to raiſe monies, munition, victualls, artillery, and ſouldiers, and hired a great number of ſhips from Holland and Zealand, for his tranſportation. King *Charles* was this mean while relapſed into his accuſtomed trances, ſo as the Dolphin underſtanding what preparations King *Henry* made, did himſelfe likewiſe prepare for warre, not forbearing though to ſend him a ſolemne Embaſſy (as was by the Councell reſolved on) by the Duke of Vandoſme and Archbiſhop of Burges. Their inſtructions were to approve of the marriage, and to propound in portion certaine territories of no great conſequence, ſupplied by a great ſumme of money, upon condition that all other pretences abandoned, peace might enſue. The King who was at Wincheſter, going to his army, when hee underſtood their arrivall ſtayed there to give them audience, the which he publickly did, and after having feaſted them at his owne table, he by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury anſwered them, that if the King of France would give unto him his daughter, endowed with the Dutchies of Aquitany, Normandy, and Aniou, and Touraine, and the Counties of Poictou, Vinena, together with the reſt that the Kings his predeceſſors had by right of inheritance poſſeſſed in France, he would accept of her, and peace: if otherwiſe, he would indeavour to acquire them by force, and together with them the Crown, which did of right belong unto him. This being with much impatiency heard by the Archbiſhop of Burges, who could not hide his anger, hee deſired leave to ſpeak freely; whereunto the King giving way, with an inflamed countenance, and angry voice, hee ſaid, That if he did beleeve the King his Maſter had made him this offer, as fearing his forces, he beleeved amiſſe; twas the compaſſion of Chriſtian bloud that had moved him to it; that he erred in his preſumption, to thinke that he alone was able to injuriouſly oppreſſe the nobleſt and moſt redoubted King of Chriſtendome, who by his owne forces and thoſe of his ſubjects and friends, was not onely likely to reſiſt him, but to take him priſoner, and kill him, and to expoſe ſuch as ſhould follow him to the ſcorne and fury of the French Nobility; he further deſired a ſafe conduct that they might returne without moleſtation, and for ought elſe they would not trouble him. The King who with much patience had liſtened to what the Archbiſhop ſaid, replied, That he was nothing at all affrighted at his anger, much leſſe at its being ſuſtained by the forces he alledged. That his claime was known to all the world, and by them themſelves, though they feigned the contrary. That the power of their King was to them as the morning twilight, whilſt they had not ſeene the noontide of his ſtrength: That if *Charles* had ſubjects and friends he thanked God he lacked none. That he ſhould be confident that ere long the higheſt Crown of their Country ſhould be forced to bow to him, & the proudeſt Miter (meaning the Archbiſhop) to bend the knee before him. That they ſhould ſay to the uſurper *Charles* their Maſter, in his behalfe, that within three months he would come into France, not as into a ſtrangers houſe, but as into his owne lawfull patrimony, to vanquiſh it by the

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ſword, not boaſting words. That they might be gone with this anſwer, which he would give unto them under his hand and ſeale, as likewiſe their ſafe conduct, the onely thing of reaſon they had required of him. Aſſoone as they were gone, the firſt thing he did, was to ſecure the confines upon Scotland, by adding to the Earle of Weſtmerland, the Lord *Scroope*, Lord *Greyſtock*, and Sir *Robert Vmfreuill*. The laſt of which deſirous to trie his fortune, ſet upon the enemy of Godering, where hee ſlew 600. of them, and tooke 300. priſoners; whilſt the King ſent a Herald into France with new letters of defiance, who having acceſſe unto the Councell, but not unto the King, departed with this replie, That anſwer ſhould be made in time and place convenient. *Henry the 5.*

The King was a ſhip-board in Antona, when he was informed that the Earle of Cambridge, the Lord *Henry Scroope*, and Sir *Thomas Grey*, had conſpired his death. This was the onely miſchiefe undertaking againſt him (though in vaine) by the raging bloud of Civill ware. More certainly would have beene indeavoured had it not beene for the warres with France, which hindred ſuch attempts; whilſt it ſerved for a cauter to the bad humours of England. This Princes misfortunes were put over to thoſe that followed him; for the cautery being cloſed up after his death, produced ſuch ſickneſſe, as ſlew his ſonne and grandchild, as wee ſhall ſee in the ſecond Volume.

The three Conſpirators were apprehended. The firſt was grandſonne to *Edward* the third, couſen german to *Richard* the ſecond, and *Henry* the fourth, and brother to the Duke of Yorke; a Prince of great expectation, one of whom England and the King himſelfe, did promiſe unto themſelves deeds worthy of his birth in theſe preſent occaſions, he eaſily confeſſed (I will not ſay) the truth, but that which being likely to be true, redounded to his advantage that it ſhould be beleeved. He confeſſed that he and the other two had beene bribed by great ſummes of money received by the way of anticipation, which cauſed them reſolve (ſince it was impoſſible for them to deliver him alive into the French mens hands) to kill him, before he ſhould ſet footing in Normandy. This did very much afflict the King: he thought it improbale that men of ſo great fortunes ſhould be capable of ſo baſe corruption: for in his perſon they betrayed their Country, expoſed the very flower of England to the ſlaughter, and cut the very nerves of the fortune of the land. He bewailed the fault, but did not perceive the true occaſion of the treaſon, which if he had done, he had perhaps by rooting out the houſe of Yorke, prevented the ruine wich was a framing againſt his houſe of Lancaſter. But humanity attains not to the ſecrets of above; and if it did, it is not wiſe enough to divert the wiſdome of heaven. God is as well the reward of good in thouſands, as he is the puniſher of evill in the third & fourth generation. In *Richard* the 2. he puniſhed the death of *Edward* the ſecond. In *Henry* the ſixt and his ſonne, the death of *Richard* the ſecond. In *Edward* the fifth and his brother, the death of *Henry* the ſixt and his ſonne. And in *Richard* the third, the death of *Edward* the fifth and his brother; and yet hee was pleaſed to ſuffer thoſe to dye in peace which were the authors thereof. I would not place *Edward* the third in this number, if his mothers fault did not in ſome ſort lay upon him the aſperſion of parricide.

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Henry the fourth, who murthered *Richard* the ſecond, and *Edward* the 4. who murthered *Henry* the ſixt, remained all unpuniſhed. But to *Richard* the ſecond he denyed life, & perhaps repentance, his inhumanity not deſerving ſucceſſor, nor pardon. And though he died a violent death, yet not ſo ill as he deſerved, for who doth live through cruelty, ſhould through cruelty die. It was not credited that the Earle of Cambridge was corrupted by France (as he himſelf ſaid) but of his own accord: for being married to *Anne*, great grandchild to *Lionell* Duke of Clarence, and ſiſter to *Edmond* Earle of March, to whom the Crowne did of right belong, his deſigne was to kill the King, and his brethren, that ſo he might make his brother in law, King, who having no children, nor in a capacity of having any, he and his ſonne were to ſucceed in the right of *Anne*, ſo as fearing leſt to confeſſe the truth, might endanger his heires life, he framed this fable, He and his complices were beheaded. And though he was pittied by all, yet his reſolving upon ſo wicked a deed, in the nicke of ſo important a buſineſſe, to the common loſſe and danger, did much abate their commiſeration: for his death was thought expedient for the life and ſafety of King and and ſubjects. *Walſingham* writes, that the Lord *Scroop*, Lord Treaſurer (whoſe hypocriſie had wonne ſo much of credit with the King, that nothing was done without his approvall) was he who was corrupted by the Embaſſadors of France, and that the other two received their infection from him. That the Embaſſadors being returned home, reported that they had ſo ordered the buſineſſe, that King *Henry* was as then either diverted from the enterpriſe of France, or ſlaine. A manuſcript cited by *John Speed* ſaith, that the King of France gave them a million of Crownes, that they might either kill him, or deliver him up priſoner into his hands, and that the Earle of Cambridge deſirous to draw the Earle of March unto his party, revealed the deſigne unto him, forcing him by threats to ſweare ſecrecy; and that having obtained one onely hour for reſolution, the Earle of Marſh accuſed him unto the King. The ſentence of death which in hiſtory is recorded, ſaith, That it was ſo wrought, as that the Earle of Marſh ſhould take upon him the government of the Kingdome, in caſe *Richard* the 2. were dead (there remained ſtill an opinion that he was yet living in Scotland) and that he ſhould be proclaimed heire to the Crown in oppoſition to *Henry* of Lancaſter, uſurper. The which doth partly correſpond with the manuſcript, as likewiſe that the Earle of Marſh was the accuſer: it being probable, that having no children, and voide of ambition, and of a peacefull condition, he would not hazard his life to ſatisfie his brother in lawes ambition. But it is not poſſible that the King of France ſhould have payed this mony; for if ſo, it would have beene found after the delinquents death, and ſome mention would have been made thereof. Moreover the revenues of France in thoſe daies not amounting by much to ſo great a ſum, it muſt of neceſſity either be taken out of an already gathered treaſure, or from the common peoples purſe, not from the treaſury; for Princes lay up treaſure onely in peace, and by good government, both which were a long time unknowne to that Kingdome. Not from the purſe of the common people, for it was impoſſible in ſuch an inſtant, and with ſo much ſecrecy to have drawne it from them. So as for what appeares to me, the reaſons alledged in their

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ſentence ought moſt to be beleeved, the rather for that King *Henry* did never upbraid King *Charles*, nor the Crowne of France with ſo ignominious an act.

The truce betweene theſe two Kingdomes ended the ſecond of Auguſt, whereupon ſuch Engliſh as were in the garriſon of Calleis, and other frontiers of Picardy, were the firſt who began the warre, ſallying forth the very next day, ſacking the frontiers of Bolonia, and places next adjacent. Five thouſand ſouldiers under the command of *Monſieur de Rambures*, generall of the croſſebow-men, were ſent to defend the Country. But King *Henry* did not weigh anchor till ſome daies after, and came to Normandy the Eve of the Annunciation. His fleet conſiſted of 1500. ſhips, his army of 6000. men of armes, and 24000. Bowmen, furniſhed with all ſuch artillery and proviſions, as humane diligence, and the power of ſo great a King could aſſemble for ſuch a deſigne. He caſt anchor at Cape Caux, and landed without reſiſtance, having by publique proclamation commanded that neither Church, Monaſtery, women, children, nor any other perſon whoſoever that had no armes, ſhould be moleſted upon paine of life. The next day hee went to ſit downe before Harfleur, a Towne ſituated upon the mouth of the River Sens. The chiefe Lords of his army were, the Dukes of Clarence, Gloſter, Exceter, and Yorke, the Earle Marſhall, Arundell, Oxford, Suffolke, Warwicke, and others. The Town was commanded by *Monſieur de Etouteville*, aſſiſted by *Meſſieurs de Blanville, Bacheville, Ermanville, Gallart, Bos, Clere, Beſtu, Adſanches, Briote, Gocurt, Illeadam*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen, to boote with which were 400. men of armes, beſides the inhabitants who all made what reſiſtance poſſibly might be. The King of France diſpatcht away the Conſtable *Albret*, the Marſhall *Boniquet*, *Henaut*, *Ligni*, and others to fortifie the ſea Townes with men and artillery. The garriſon of Harfleur aſſoone as they underſtood of the enemy comming, dug up the way which leades from Montevillier to the Town, ſo to make the enemies march more difficult, and ſallying forth to skirmiſh with them, they had much adoe to get backe into the City, ſo many were their oppoſers, and in ſuch number the arrowes which ſhoured downe upon them. But notwithſtanding all impediments, the Engliſh pitched their campe, and planted their artillery upon the moſt advantagious places. The place was well fortified with walls and turrets, together with a broad and deep ditch, the defendants reſolve to maintaine it whilſt there was any the leaſt hope. Thoſe who were ſent to ſecure the maritime places, did what in them lay to hinder the booties, which notwithſtanding all their diligence, the beſiegers did every where take. All the good they did, was to preſerve the neighbouring Townes from being taken. The victualls in the Engliſh army being almoſt wholly corrupted by the ſea, they muſt have ſuffered much ſcarcity, had they not made great booties of men and cattell.

The King of France was come to Vernone, between Paris and Roen, levying men from all parts to ſuccour Harfleur; The which being furiouſly aſſailed, the gates, walls, and turrets, almoſt all beaten down, their mines ready to play, and the powder which the King had ſent unto the town ſurpriſed by the enemy: they of the town brought to ſuch a paſſe, as

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they were not able to withſtand a generall aſſault: a great many of them being ſlaine or ſicke, they agreed to yeeld themſelves, their lives ſaved, leaving all other things to the diſcretion of the beſiegers, if they were not ſuccoured within five daies. *Bacheville* brought theſe newes to *Charles*, who finding himſelfe weake, permitted them to doe what they were by neceſſity inforced unto, ſo as the five daies being paſt, they threw open the gates, after a ſiege of 37. daies, wherein they ſuffered very much. Harfleur was the chiefeſt Port Towne of all Normandy. The Towne was ſackt, quarter was given to the ſouldiers, and Citizens, who demeaned themſelves well. The women, children, and religious perſons, were all put out of the Town, the pooreſt ſort of them having ſix pence a peece given them. The great and rich ſpoile was ſent into England, as a witneſſe of good ſucceſſe: Whereupon people of all conditions flockt from England thither, who beſides other priviledges had a houſe of inheritance allotted to every family, ſo as the City was in an inſtant peopled by the Engliſh. The King made his entry without any ſolemnity, walking a foote to Saint *Martins* Church, to thanke God for that victory. He made the Duke of Exeter governour thereof, who choſe for his Lievtenant *Iohn Falſtofe*, and for his Councellors the Lord *Carew*, and Sir *Hughe Luterell*, and put therein a garriſon of 1500. ſouldiers, beſides horſemen. A great many ſicke people were ſent backe to England, amongſt which the Duke of Clarence, the Earle Marſhall, and Earle Arundell, the Earle of Stafford, the Biſhop of Norwich, Lord Molins, and Lord Brunell died of a fluxe in the ſiege. That which imported more then all the reſt, remained yet to be reſolved on. The King undertooke this buſineſſe about the end of ſummer, who came not to Normandy till the 14. of Auguſt, ſo as to continue the warre as was requiſite, was impoſſible; and ſo much the more for that winter came early and more egerly in, then it had done ſome yeares before. To paſſe the ſea againe, if it were not a kinde of running away would at leaſt be proclaimed ſuch by the enemy. To keepe in Normandy within the ſmall precincts of Harfleur, was impoſſible, the incommodity of victualls being conſidered. That which was reſolved upon was to march to Calleis through the heart of the Country, and through the enemies forces: a reſolution no waies neceſſary, as for lacke of other meanes, but moſt neceſſary for what concerned the honour and reputation of armes, of 30000. fighting men who had paſt the ſeas from England, there remained but 15000. 2000. men at armes, and 13000. bowmen; The reſt were either dead of fevers or fluxe, or ſent backe into England, or left in garriſon at Harfleur: ſo ſoone then as the ruines of the Towne were repaired, that things neceſſary were provided for, and that ſuch priſoners as had not paid their ranſomes, had ſworne to come unto the King to Calleis on Saint *Martins* day, he commanded that thoſe who were to follow him, ſhould carry along victualls for eight daies. And croſſing the Country of Caux and En, he marched apace that he might get to the bridges of Soane (which he neceſſarily was to paſſe) before they ſhould be broken. A bold reſolution, and which not ſeconded by good fortune, might have beene eſteemed a raſh one: for the Dolphin tooke from the Country all manner of proviſions, and placed great troopes of armed men in all parts to annoy him, and cauſed the bridges

bridges to be broken, hoping that wanting wherwithall to live, he would be forced either to yeeld himſelfe, or fight: whereas according to the common maxime, in caſe they had beene wanting, hee ſhould have built him bridges of ſilver to paſſe over. King *Henry* finding the bridges broken, turned towards Beauquene, to the ſame Foord betweene Peronne, and Corbie, which *Edward* the third his great grandfather, paſſed over before the battell of Creſſi: But infinite were the dangers he ranne; the enemy inthis face, at his backe, and on all ſides, yet did he march in ſo good order, as that he paſſed the Foord not receiving any damage, ſo ſaith *Duplex*. *Moſtrelate* ſaies that finding the Foord ſtrongly garded, he paſſed forwards towards Eraigne, burning, and making booty whereſoever he went, from thence to the bridge of Rhenus; and not able to paſſe there (for it was bravely defended by *Monſieur du Vaucourt*, the Maſter of the place) he went to Hangeſt upon the Soane, from thence to Ponteau de Mere; from whence turning backward he came in the ſight of Amiens, to Voicre, and to Betencourt, where he made his paſſage, thoſe bridges not being broken by thoſe of Saint Quintane, according as they had beeene by the King commanded: they not perhaps beleeving that he would have taken ſo great a compaſſe, to have come thither. It was reſolved in Councell (which kept ſtill with the King in Roan) to give him battell: And the King himſelf being now free of his malady, reſolved to be the leader. *Henry the 5.*

The Dolphin would by all meanes be there likewiſe, nor for ought could be ſaide to the contrary, would he alter his reſolution: But the old Duke of Berry, who had beene preſent at the buſineſſe of Poctiers, after he had in vaine laboured to diſſwade as well from the giving of battell, as from that the King and Dolphin ſhould be preſent at it, not being able to prevaile in both, prevailed in what was of greateſt importance, making it as apparent as day, that ſince to give battell was of eminent danger, there was leſſe of harme in hazarding one loſſe then two. Whereupon the father and the ſonne being appeaſed, the Conſtable was commanded to fight; the which being divulged, all the neighbouring Nobility flockt to the army, which growing hourely greater and greater, did never loſe ſight of the enemy, coaſting along the other ſide of the River till comming neere Arteſia, the Conſtable ſent word to Count Caraloiſe, that the batell being reſolved upon, he did invite him to partake of the victory. Anſwer was made to *Monſieur Mengaguire* (who was the Embaſſadour) by Count Carallois his Councellors, that all diligence that might be, ſhould be uſed that he might come. The yong Prince thirſted for nothing more; but his governours, though they ſeemed to prepare for his going (order being given to the Nobility that they ſhould come to accompany him) having received expreſſe commiſſion to the contrary from the Duke, did otherwiſe then they had promiſed, deluding the ſecond meſſengers, who with a herald were ſent to reſollicite him. And to the end he might neither know of the day of battell, nor where the army was, they made him go to Aire, a place out of the way, ſo as the Nobility and Gentry which expected his comming, finding that they were only fed with hopes, went of themſelves unto the army, and the yong Counts governours were faine to ſtop his teares, by making knowne unto him his fa-

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thers expreſſe inhibition. The Conſtable, who together with the Marſhall *Bonciquot*, ſaw himſelfe environed with ſo much Nobility, with ſo many troopes of horſe and foote; and that the very Princes themſelves in opinion of their valour and experience, had willingly yeelded the command to them, coveted nothing more then combate: ſo as fearing leſt the King (who had already paſſed the River) might eſcape them, they ſent to offer him battell: his anſwer was, That he had not learnt to accept of the opportunity of fighting from his enemies; that he went to Calleis; That if they durſt aſſaile him, at their perills be it, they ſhould then finde that his Army was compoſed of able Warriers. But the Conſtable thinking that to fet upon him in the preſent poſture he was in, would be to his diſadvantage, and that the anſwer though in appearance generous; foreſhewed a hidden fear, warily diſſembled, marcht on before him; whilſt the King marching at leaſure came in three daies to Blagni, where underſtanding that the enemy was encamped at Agencourt, he encamped himſelfe at Maiſoncelles, not above three bow-ſhootes from them, where his ſouldiers halfe dead with hunger, wearied and frozen to death (for they had not time to provide for fewell) ſpent all the night in confeſſion, communion, and other ſpirituall exerciſes, as if it were the laſt night they were to live; ſo as their ſoules comfort much incouraged them, the which they witneſſed by the continuall muſicke of their trumpets which never ceaſed to ſound till the breake of day; whilſt the French Campe put up with confidence, and buried in ſleepe, buried all their mirth in ſilence, the very horſes not ſo much as nelghing, ſo as ſome of them fuller of imagination then the reſt, tooke it as an ill omen; it being almoſt incredible that in the number of 150000. horſe which were then in the army, what for carts, waggons, artillery, and other warre affaires, there ſhould want inſtruments to out doe the Tantaraes of the enemies contemptible campe, or at leaſt voices to drowne them. And this devotion whereof we have ſpoken, though voluntary, was augmented by the Kings example, who ever tooke ſpeciall care that God ſhould not be offended, inſomuch that one of his ſouldiers having in his journey ſtolne the tabernacle wherein the hoſtia is kept, out of a Church, he would not quit the place, till it was reſtored, and the felon hanged upon a tree; which action being divulged in thoſe parts, the Country-people ſtrove who ſhould ſooneſt furniſh him with victualls, though they had ſtrict command to the contrary: of ſuch efficacy is religious juſtice, yea even amongſt enemies.

The five and twentieth day of October was come, wherein the French promiſed unto themſelves undoubted victory, and the Engliſh to loſe their lives at as deare a rate as they could, reſolute rather to die then to bee wanting to themſelves. Thoſe ſcorned theſe, and theſe feared not thoſe, but recommended themſelves to God, who was onely able to ſave them. The Conſtable made three great ſquadrons of his men. The Vanguarde reſerved for his owne leading, was compoſed of 8000. gentlemen, armed from head to foote, of 4000. archers, and 1500. croſſe-bow men, placing two wings upon the flancks, the one of 1800. the other of 800. choice horſemen. Here were placed the Dukes of Orleans, and of Burbon, the Counts of Eu and Richmond, the Marſhall *Bonciquot*, the generall of the croſſe-bow men, and the admirall *Dampiere*: the wing of 1600.

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was commanded by the Count de Vandoſme and that of 800. by *Clugnet* of Brabant, *William* de Sanenſes, and *Lewis* of Burbon. The maine battell of equall order, and number, was conducted by the Dukes of Barre, and Alenſon, and by the Counts Nevers, Vademont, Blamont, Salines, Grampree, and Rouſſi : The reereguard exceeded the other in number, but was compoſed of men leſſe experienced, the flower of all the army being put in the two former ſquadrons: It was conducted by the Counts Omalle, Marle, Dammartin, Fouchingburg', and Louray Captaine of Ardres, ſo as not reckoning the reereward, the Vanguard, and the maine battell were compoſed of 20800. horſe and 11000. archers and croſſebow men; the three ſquadrons ſeemed to be ſeven times as many as were the Engliſh. King *Henry* ſeeing hem troubled in the ordering of themſelves, and that they did not preſently ſet upon him, as he expected, gave order that his ſouldiers ſhould eate, before they ſhould be put into battell aray; and becauſe they were ſo farre inferiour in number to the enemy, as that of thirteene thouſand archers, and two thouſand men at armes, a great many were ſicke, inſomuch as to divide the remainder into ſeverall ſquadrons were to make them very ſmall ones, he reſolved to put them all into one body, placing the archers in the front, defended (as if it were by pikes) by certaine ſtakes ſharpened at both ends, and ſet bending forwards in the ground, which he himſelfe had cauſed be cut out of the woods by the way as he marched: of the men of armes he made two wings, placing them on the flanks, and in a field hard by, fenced by a bancke, he placed two hundred archers in ambuſh, with directions that they ſhould not ſhoote till the ſigne were given. The French men had beene a full houre in order, not having advanced one foot, and it was about tenne of the clock, when the Engliſh, expecting to be ſet upon, and impatient to attend any longer, did advance themſelves, and after having made a little haſte, Sir *Thomas Herpingham* an ancient man, and long experienced in war, threw a trunchion into the aire, which was the ſigne of falling too. The ſouldiers ſhooting aloud, and the 200. of the ambuſh anſwering them, began to let flie at the Vanguard, ſo as the enemies horſe being wounded in the fall of arrowes, and their riders troubled to governe them, they came not to the charge as they ſhould have done. *Duplex* noteth three errors committed by the French in this encounter. The firſt that when the Engliſh advanced themſelves, they did not likewiſe advance, but ſtood ſtill, though much the ſtronger; an error which *Ceſar* obſerved in Pompey, in the battell of Pharſalia: firſt motions give courage, whereas ſtanding ſtill takes from courage: for wounds which are received whilſt men ſtand ſtill, by wounding to the quicke, doe infuſe fear, whereas the ſenſe abſtracted by motion, hath leſſe ſenſe of wounds, and the ſpirits remaining intire, doe ſtrengthen the arme, and makes it give the firſt blow. The ſecond, that ſtanding ſo immoveable and bowing downe their heads, to the end that the arrowes might not enter through the ſight holes of their helmets, they made themſelves a firmer But to hit. The third, that of 800. horſemen led by *Monſieur Sanenſes*, 120. went onely to give the charge, and thoſe but ſluggiſhly, ſo as their Captaine not ſeconded, was by their arrowes beaten downe and ſlaine.

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Their horſes being thus wounded, ſtrength, dexterity, and the bit not able to governe them; in ſtead of going forward, they recoyled backe, and in ſhocking and juſtling together, fell one upon another, ſo as the Engliſh leaving their bowes, and laying loade on them with their hatchets and ſwords, made great ſlaughter of them; whilſt paſſing from the firſt file to the laſt, they came to the maine battell, the which either diſheartened by the ſight of ſo cruell an execution, or beaten back by ſo unexpected an aſſault, or that being too cloſe preſſed, and ſtraightned within themſelves, they had not meanes to manage their ſwords, was in a ſhort ſpace rooted; the Engliſh receiving no harme at all, ſave that ſome of them were trodden under foote by the horſe. Here the Duke of Brabant putting himſelfe forward, and not followed by his men, was ſlaine. Many who fell, or were beaten from horſebacke found meanes to eſcape, being aſſiſted by their ſervants, whilſt the Engliſh being but few in number, minded not thoſe that eſcaped or fled away. This meane while the King giving on with his horſe, which were freſh, and well ordered, drove thoſe of the maine battell which yet remained in order, backe upon the reareward, which being compoſed of new and unexperienced people, ran away, making ſmall or no reſiſtance. The archers, croſſe-bow men, and foote, did nothing in this daies worke but runne away. On the contrary ſide many Noblemen and Gentlemen, loſt their lives through too much courage. The Duke of Alencon gave on upon the ſquadron royall, where he ſlew the Duke of Yorke, wounded, and bore to ground the Duke of Gloſter, and hurt the King himſelfe upon the head, whilſt he ſtooped to raiſe up his brother; but being ſtrucke at on all ſides, and beaten downe, as he held up his hand and cried to the King, tis Alencon that yeelds himſelfe, he was ſlaine before the King could have time to ſave him. The Counts Omale and Marle, and divers other Gentlemen did by force keepe 600. horſe together, with whom they were all or taken priſoners or ſlaine. Others ſtucke together with the like ſucceſſe, being either ſlaine or diſcomfited. *Robert Brevocille*, and *Izembert Agencourt*, were the onely two who comming with an intention to ſteale, and not to fight, being followed by ſixe hundred horſe, entred the Engliſh campe, wherein was none but ſervants and ſicke folkes, whom they put all to the ſword, and bore away from thence a very rich booty: the which the King underſtanding and beleeving that the enemy had reunited themſelves, fearing to bee ſet upon againe, hee made it bee proclaimed that as many as had any priſoners ſhould kill them, the number of the priſoners being leſſe then were thoſe that tooke them: whereupon thoſe two as having beene cauſe of ſo wofull an effect (bewailed by the actors themſelves) were afterwards long kept in priſon by the Duke of Burgony: and it was thought that a ſword richly ſet with jewells which they had taken amongſt the Kings ſtuffe, and given to Count *Caralois* that he might protect them, ſaved their lives; which had not ſerved their turnes, if the Dolphin had lived. But no more people appearing, the victory was ended, by taking of more priſoners and adding freſh numbers to the dead. The heate of this battell continued three houres, and three houres longer did they continue to fight till ſuch time as there was no more neither to kill nor take; ſo as about foure in the afternoon a

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retreate was founded, and by the Prelates and Chapplins, *Te Deum*, was ſung, and the Pſalme *In exitu Iſrael de Ægypto*, and at the verſe *Non nobis Domine, non nobis, ſed nomini tuo da gloriam*, all threw themſelves upon their knees. The campe and tents of the French ſerved for lodgings to the victors, in recompence of their owne campe which they had loſt. The next day *Montjoy* the King of armes of France came, accompanied with foure other Heralds to know the number of priſoners, and to obtaine leave to bury the dead. The King calling him before him, ſaid, That the multitude of men ſlaine which he ſaw there, was no worke of his, but the worke of God Almighty, to puniſh the unjuſt uſurpation of France, That therefore he willed him to ſay whether he thought he, or the King of France had wonne the battell? To the which *Monsjoy* replied that his Majeſties victory was ſo apparent, as there was no place allowed for diſpute. the King then looking round about deſired to know the name of the Caſtle which was neereſt to the two campes, and underſtanding that the name thereof was Aiencourt; from henceforth, ſaid he, this battell ſhall be called the battell of Aiencourt. He then granted him all he demanded; but the ſouldiers deſired firſt to view the field, and to take ſuch priſoners as did yet live, and to take from ſuch as were dead, their gold, and jewells, & what elſe they had of value, leaving them their apparrell; of the which they were afterwards by the Country people ſtript. The number of the ſlaine, (according to *Monſtrelet*) were above 10000. of the which 9000. gentlemen. He regiſters the names of the chiefeſt of them in a particular Chapter. It will ſuffice us to know the names of the Princes and chiefe commanders. Of Princes there died the Duke of Brabant, and Gount de Nevers. both brothers to the Duke of Burgony, The Duke of Barre, and his brother *Iohn* the Duke of Alenſon. The Counts of Marle, Vademont, Blamont, Grampre, Rouſſi, Faucumberg, and *Lewis* of Burbon: of chiefe commanders *Charles Albret* Conſtable, *Dampiere* the Admirall, *Ramburres* generall of the croſſebowes, and *Guiſhard* Maſter of the Kings houſhold. The priſoners were the Dukes of Orleans and Burbon, the Counts Ew, Vandoſme, Richmont, the Marſhall *Bonchiquet*, and eighteene Gentlemen of name, beſide others. Of thoſe who were ſlaine of the Engliſh ſide, reports do very much differ. *Paulus Æmilius* ſets downe 200. naming the Duke of Yorke for one, whom he calls the Kings brother. *Gaguine* ſets downe 400. comprehending the ſaid Duke with the ſaid error. *Monſtrelet* 1600. *Duplex* the ſame number adding a great many that were wounded, which (as he ſaith) did almoſt all die. Of the Engliſh writers, *Grafton* ſaith betweene 500. and 600. other betweene 20. and 26. *Edward Hall* who comprehends the Duke of Yorke, the Earle of Suffolke, Sir *Richard Kikely* and *David Game*, the onely men of note, ſaith, there were not above five and twenty ſlaine. Let who pleaſe beleeve miracles. But in all reaſon it is likely that having fought three whole houres, with ſo great a number of enemies, the relation of 500. or 600. is the trueſt. *David Game*, the laſt of the foure above named, and one whom the King much eſteemed, as one of the braveſt, and moſt judicious ſouldiers of his campe, being ſent the night before to make an eſtimate of the number of the enemy, went to the top of an hill and ſeeing all the Champion covered with tents, and blazing with fires,

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brought word backe, that there were enough of them to be slaine, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to be made runne away. When the King was come to Calleis, he found there the prisoners of Harfleur, who according to their promise were come to present themselves unto him. Assoone as he had dispatcht them, and refreshed his men, he passed into England, meeting in so short a passage with so terrible a tempest of winds, as it droye two ships loaden with souldiers into Zeland, without the losse of any one vessell: yet some write otherwise: he was received in triumph with processions and other magnificences. He tooke order for the safety of his prisoners, and caused the Duke of Yorke, and Earle of Suffolkes funeralls to be splendidly celebrated.

The afflictions wherewith France was in generall wounded would more particularly have touched upon the Duke of Burgony by reason of the death of his brothers, had not the imprisonment of Orleans and Angolesme, and the death of Alenson served him for defensive weapons. It cannot be easily judged whether of these two prevailed most with him, till it be resolved whether the love of friends or hatred of enemies be of most power in humane affections: But who shall well consider it, will finde that in an ambitious and revengefull minde, the excesse of hatred is greater then naturall affection is: Few are seene, who to inherit their possessions, would not be content to lose their brethren, and very few, who doe not forget the love to their owne bloud, when at the charge of their friends, they may revenge themselves upon their enemies. But whereas hatred proceeds from injuries, from the which (as being done, not received) evill is to be expected, without the concurring of any other passion; It is able to corrupt whatsoever nature, much more the Dukes nature which was already corrupted. And tis to bee beleeved that the private and publicke losse he suffered in this battell did not more afflict him, then he was joyed at the benefit hee received by his enemies being oppressed. Hence it was, that seeing himselfe voide of competitors, he resolved immediately to go to Paris to resume that authority, the desire whereof had caused him to cause the Duke of Orleans father to this present Duke, be slaine: to breake so many covenants made with his sonnes, and to reduce the faire and rich Country of France almost to gastlinesse and poverty. But the present condition of government, did not permit him to enter in a peacefull manner: for the King being possest by the contrary faction, those of his party being or excluded or banished, the Dolphin (though his sonne in law) evilly conceited of him, if he came not in a condition to give the Law, he ranne hazard of suffering it both in his life and livelyhood. Having then levyed 10000. horse, he tooke his journey; but assoon as his designe was heard of, King *Charles* laying aside all other busines, endeavoured to stop his comming. He strictly forbad all Cities and Towns to permit him entrance; and that he might oppose unto him a man of valor, & of the contrary faction, he recalled from Gascony (with the offer of being Constable of France) the Count Armignack, who willingly came, drawne rather through hatred to the Duke, then ambition of the honour. The Duke seeing those gates shut upon him, which he thought to have found throwne open, and that the Count Armignacke was arived at Paris with great troopes of men from Gascony and Languedock, and that he

he had received the ſword (the badge of Conſtableſhip) to the end that he might wield it againſt him, tarried at Lagni: where in a ſhort time he was 20000. horſe ſtrong, remooving all obſtacles which might withſtand his entrance into Paris, not unarmed and with his particular family, as he was permitted to doe, but armed in the head of twenty thouſand horſe, alledging the ſame reaſons to obtaine his entrance, as the King did to deny it. *Henry the 5.*

During theſe diſputes, *Lewis* the Dolphin died of a fever, but according to the opinion of moſt, of poyſon, being by the Orleaniſt thought no leſſe a boſome friend then ſonne in law to the Duke. I know not though what judgement to give herein, the tokens of this friendſhip (his alliance ſet aſide) being very ſlight: For at Burges he appeared againſt him, and in other places upon other occaſions, ſeemed but very meanly to favour him: he had quitted his wife, the Dukes daughter, for ſome affection he had elſewhere; nor would he have reſumed her, if not threatned to have the treaty of Arras broken; beſides, the Dolphin of his owne nature was not conſtant in his friendſhip, opiniatred onely in odde fancies; not over thankefull to his father, and as much ignorant of government as he was preſumptuous and headſtrong. *Serres* notwithſtanding calls him terror of Burgony, but without cauſe, for had the Dolphin lived, he had runne no danger; for in time he might eaſily have won him by his ſubtilneſſe: And though through the antipathy of ambition he appeared againſt him, yet it is not likely that he would have forgone that reſpect, which as to a father in law, he owed him. This his death was rather thought, and aſſuredly was a great blow to the Dukes fortune, to the which he began to give way, and retired himſelfe to Flanders, failing in what hee intended in France.

The Emperour *Sigiſmond* had all this while endeavoured as much as he might the peace of the Church: which not likely to effect without the aſſiſtance of other Princes (for to ſend their Prelates and Embaſſadours to the Councell, was not of force enough againſt the ſtubborneſſe of three titulary Popes, which required a coactive authority to incline them to reaſon) he reſolved to goe himſelfe to France, whether he came with 800. horſe; and finding that it was impoſſible to compaſſe his deſignes, without the peace of the two Kingdomes, he meant to endeavour it. And having laid the ground-worke thereof with *Charles*, he procured Embaſſadors from France to goe along with him to England, that he might the better treat thereof in their preſence. He was received by *Henry* with all due reſpects. *William* Count of Hannault came thither likewiſe in perſon to the ſame end, and ſhortly after the Embaſſadors of many Princes, amongſt which were thoſe of the Duke of Burgony, in greater magnificence then all the reſt. But the propoſitions which were propounded to King *Henry*, were far ſhort of what he pretended unto, and of his good ſucceſſe, by the which he ſeemed to be inwardly adviſed to the contrary. He forbare not though, in thankes to ſo great a mediator, to ſend Embaſſadors to Bavaois; where as an introduction to the buſineſſe, a truce was propounded, together with the ranſome of ſuch priſoners as were in England. Things which eaſily might have beene a- 1416

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greed upon, had not an accident happened, which hindred all agreement, the which though it be by *Chesnes* denyed, his arguments for confutation are very weake. The Duke of Exceter governour of Harfleur, was gone forth with 3000. ſouldiers to ſcoure the parts neer about Roan, againſt whom the Conſtable oppoſed himſelfe with 5000. (The French writers ſay it was Monſieur *de Villaquiers*, and not the Conſtable, and that he had but 3000. men.) They fought, and 300. of the Dukes men were ſlaine: (the French ſay 1800.) ſo as finding himſelfe to be the weaker, the Duke retired himſelfe into an Orchard incompaſſed with a hedge of thornes, where he ſtaied the reſt of that day, and the next night. As he retired upon breake of day towards Harfleur, he was overtaken, and ſet upon againe neere unto the City, from whence new ſuccours iſſuing forth, he put the enemy to route, *Villaquiers* himſelfe being one of thoſe that were ſlaine. But however it were, the Conſtable having for his firſt enterpriſe reſolved to drive the Engliſh out of Normandy; he beſieged Harfleur, and though he ſaw that this reſolution would wholly break the treaty of peace, yet was he ſo deſirouſly confident to winne it, that hee would not raiſe his ſiege, though he was commanded ſo to doe. Whereat King *Henry* being offended, he recalled his Embaſſadors, intended to have gone to the ſuccour thereof himſelfe in perſon, and had done ſo, had he not beene by the Emperour diſſwaded. Being then perſwaded to ſend away others in his ſteade, he diſpatched away the Duke of Bedford with 200. ſhips (the French authors ſay 300.) and with him many Lords and Gentlemen, with whom he arrived there the day of the aſſumption of our Lady, a fatall day, aſwell to the keeping of Harfleur, as it was to the winning thereof, for the yeare before the King came thither upon the Eve of that day. The City was narrowly beſieged by ſea and land. Vicount *Narbonne* Vice-admirall of France preſented himſelfe before it with a great fleet before the Conſtable came thither, hoping alone to have ſurpriſed it, by taking the defendents at unawares. But being diſcovered, and driven backe, he was contented to have company in the continuance of the ſiege; he gave many aſſaults into the Town, but little good was done either by ſea or land: When he diſcried the Engliſh fleete, hee prepared for fight, and went into the mouth of the River. The Duke did not refuſe the encounter, but ſending ſome of his ſtouteſt ſhips before to beginne the bickering, he with all the reſt ſeconded them, reſolving either to die or overcome. They fought a long while with equall courage and obſtinacy till at laſt fortune favouring the Engliſh, the enemies ſhips which what great, what little were in number 500. were all of them almoſt either taken, or ſunke; amongſt which were three great Carrects of Genua, which being afterwards ſent into England, did witneſſe the defeate. The Duke having reinforced the garriſon with monies, and men, returned home, the Conſtable having raiſed his ſiege, aſſoone as the Navy was defeated.

The Emperour who ſufficiently knew that it was loſt time to tarry any longer in England touching the matter of peace, provided for his departure. The King had conferred upon him, and the Count Hannault at their firſt comming, the order of the garter, and they were inſtalled with extraordinary pompe at Winſor. The Count was already gone, & the Empe-

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rour being likewiſe to be gone (the affairs of Germany and of the Councell recalling him) the King would waite upon him to Calleis, a ſtrait league being agreed on between them, which having cauſed jealouſies in divers Princes, was the cauſe why the Duke of Burgony deſired to ſpeak with them both before they parted. And becauſe the declared war did not permit him to adventure his perſon to a profeſt enemy (or at leaſt he would have it ſo beleeved) the Duke of Gloceſter and Earle of Marſh, were ſent unto him for oſtages, and he was met, and brought to Calleis by the Earle of Warwicke. This meane while his ſonne *Philip* Count Caralois, having with much honour received the oſtages, led them to lodge in Saint Omers: And the next morning going to give the good morrow to the Duke of Gloceſter, who was ſtanding with his backe to the doore, diſcourſing with ſome of his domeſtiques, the Duke was ſomewhat late in ſaluting him, and did it in a more familiar manner then did become the quality of ſo great a Prince: whereat he made no ſigne of diſtaſte, though he reſented it, his fathers occaſions infuſing diſſimulation into him. The Duke of Burgony was driven upon this by an accident from whence nothing but dangerous conſequences was to be expected. Thoſe who governed France, after the Emperours departure for England, had laid a generall taxe upon all things vendible; the which having diſtaſted the people, the Pariſians more ſeditious then the reſt, plotted the moſt deteſtable conſpiracy that till then had beene heard of in that Kingdome, and having had recourſe unto him, as on whom they chiefly did rely, he ſent ſome of his friends unto them, to confirme them in their reſolution, promiſing to aſſiſt them: hoping by this meanes to compaſſe the ſo much coveted government, and to ſuppreſſe his enemies, his two ancient unalterable deſignes. The appointment was, to take the King, the Queene, the Duke of Berry, the King and Queene of Sicily, the Chancellour, the Councell, and thoſe that ſided with Orleans, all priſoners on good Friday, and to kill them all. But many going that day out of the City, to obtaine pardons by their devotions, and fearing leſt ſome of thoſe might likewiſe have gone forth whom they would not have had to gone, and ſo might ſave themſelves, they deferred executing their plot till Eaſter day, which was the ſafety of thoſe that were proſcribed. For the Chancellor hearing of the treaſon by meanes of a woman, made the King and Princes ſuddenly retire themſelves into the Louvre, whilſt the Provoſt arming ſuch as upon ſo ſuddaine an occaſion he could aſſemble together, made himſelfe maſter of the Market place, and taking ſome of the conſpirators priſoners, infuſed feare into the reſt, freeing the lives of many from eminent danger, by the death of a few. Afterwards ſecuring himſelfe of the City, by ſuch men of armes as flockt unto him from all the neighbouring parts, and taking away the chaines from the ſtreets heads, which made them inſolent, he diſarmed the people whilſt the Dukes officers had time to eſcape. This buſineſſe produced ſuch jealouſies and rancor, as all parties drawing into the field, they omitted nothing whereby they might injure one another. And the Duke, who masked, preſented the principall perſon in this tragedy (the argument whereof was not changed, though the Scene were) thought that to compaſſe his ends, it was requiſite for him to ſecure Flanders from

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from the danger of England, that whilſt he endeavoured to endamage others, he might not bee indamaged at home: To this purpoſe he came to Caleis, where he did ſo worke upon theſe two great Princes, as that the Emperour, who at his paſſage into England, was by the Duke of Bavariaes meanes, brother to the Queene, who was an utter enemy to the Duke, become an Orleaniſt, did upon this meeting become a Burgonian, being wholly changed through cunning and the homage made unto him of the County of Burgony and Alloſt: and King *Henry* prorogued the truce formerly made betweene Flanders and Artois for two yeares longer, to the Dukes advantage, and ſcandall of all well minded men: for to preferre private reſpects before the publicke, with the enemies of the State, without the knowledge of the Soveraigne, is as blameable and worthy of puniſhment, as it is contrary to conſcience and Law. But he that propounds evill for his object, loſeth all ſhame which thereupon depends: and his naturall confidence (by reaſon whereof his Dutchmen called him Undaunted) becomming the fatall chariot of his precipice, made him to be undaunted at the encounter of his ruine. His affaires being thus acommodated, every man betooke himſelfe to his owne home, hee to Flanders, the Oſtages to Calleis, the Emperour to Germany, and the King to England.

Partly before, and partly after this time were the funeralls of three great Princes celebrated in France: That of the Duke of Berry, of *Iohn* the Dolphin, who ſucceeded to his brother *Lewis*, and of the King of Sicily. All of them unfortunate deaths, for all the reſpects which concerned that Kingdome. Berry and Sicily did ſerve to counterpoſe the ambition of Burgony, and the Dolphin ſerved for a removall of thoſe evills (if he had lived) which in the ſucceſſion of his brother *Charles*, through the Dukes death did afterwards happen. The Duke alive or dead, was borne for the deſtruction of France; ſo as that which authors write hereof, if it be not true, it is truth like: That a Turkiſh Mathematician ſaved his life when he was priſoner to *Bajazet* the firſt, by aſſuring *Bajazet* that more Chriſtians would in ſhort time bee deſtroied for his cauſe, then the *Othomans* ſword would cut off in a whole age. *Iohn* the Dolphin, during his brother *Lewis* his life, had married *Giacalina* the only heire to *William* Count of Hannault, and whilſt he kept with him, ready to goe for France, he died, not being yet fully twenty yeares old. Not long before this a ſtrait confederacy was made in Valentiniana, betweene him and the Duke of Burgony, the reputed cauſe of his death: for it cauſed his being poyſoned by thoſe of the Orleans faction: for (he being dead) the hopes of the Kingdome falling upon *Charles* Count *de* Poictou, ſonne in law to the King of Sicily, and the laſt of King *Charles* his five ſonnes, they fell upon a Prince that was their friend, bred up in the hatred and paſſions, wherewith his father in law then living, was indued. But he dying likewiſe ſhortly after, left it in doubt whether his death cauſed more of pleaſure or diſpleaſure unto the Duke: for though he were freed of a mortall enemy, yet his hopes of revenge being in his death loſt, did ſowre the ſweet thereof; ſo as it may be ſaid, that the ſweets of ill diſpoſed men, have no taſte which is not ſeaſoned with ſomewhat of ſowre. The articles of this confederacy, and which cauſed the Orleaniſt

niſt to rid him out of the world (if it be true that they did ſo) were, That the Duke of Burgony ſhould ſerve the King and the Dolphin againſt whoſoever, particularly againſt the King of England. That he ſhould keep peace with all men in France except the King of Scicily. The Dolphin on the contrary part obliging himſelfe, to aſſiſt the Duke, not onely againſt his owne ſubjects, if ſo it ſhould fall out, but againſt whoſoever elſe ſhould moleſt him. But his enemies encouraged by this death, became ſo inſolent, as they forced him to eſſay the ſtrongeſt Cities, to exclude the preſent government, whereupon the civill warre grew hotter then ever it was. And Count Armignacke upon whom through the death of theſe Princes, the Kings incapacity, and the Dolphins tender yeares, all authority of government fell, ſeconded by thoſe of the Councell, who together with him were afraid, that the Queene weary of their preſumptions, might endeavour their ruine, made her to bee carried to Towrs, under the cuſtody of three of his confidents. And that this her baniſhment might be irrevocable, he intereſſed the Dolphin therein, making him (under pretence of the neceſſity of the warre) ſeize upon ſuch treaſure, as ſhe had gathered and placed in certaine Churches, and Monaſteries, as in ſo many Sanctuaries. An action which cauſed in her ſuch hatred againſt her ſonne, as (hoping for revenge) ſhe by his ruine, who was her onely ſonne, wrought the ruine of France; which things though their ſucceſſe were uncertaine, yet nothing of good could be conjectured thereby. So as they being by King *Henry* well examined, he haſted to call a Parliament, propounding the continuation of the warre, which was embraced with much applauſe, and monies to that purpoſe readily paid downe, nothing but good ſucceſſe being to be hoped for, whilſt matters went thus. *Henry the 5.*

The King to make himſelfe Maſter of the Sea, diſpatcht away *John Holland*, Earle of Huntington, his Admirall, ſonne to that Duke of Exceter who was beheaded the firſt yeare of *Henry* the fourth, a yong man whom he much favoured, not ſo much, for that hee was couſin german, (borne of *Iſabell* his fathers ſiſter) as that his conditions did deſerve it. He on the other ſide, deſirous by ſome honorable atchievement, to augment the Kings favour, departed reſolute to doe ſome action worthy of the opinion which was conceived of him. The baſtard of Burbon was Captaine of the French fleet, of equall force with the Earle, in one onely thing ſurpaſſing him; that being guarded about by nine Genway Carracts, as by ſo many fortreſſes, he thought them alone ſufficient to ſecure him from all the enemies forces; ſo as ſeeking him out, and finding him who did not hide himſelfe, they came to blowes. Their equall courage and valour, held the balance a long time equall, till ſuch time as the Engliſh prevailing, Burbon was taken priſoner: and of the nine Carracts, three were ſunke, and three were taken, and amongſt the prey, the mony which was allowed for halfe a yeares payment of the fleet.

The which being taken by the King as a good omen, he tooke ſhipping at Portſmouth, waited upon by many of the nobility, and followed by his two brothers Clarence and Gloſter, leaving his third brother Bedford, Regent. He landed at Tongues, a Caſtle in Normandy, which in foure daies ſurrendred it ſelfe, as with the like ſpeed did Harcourt, Beaumont, 1417

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mont, Ereux, Faleſe, Baienſa, Liſeaux, Corances, Aurenches, and other places. Caen a Towne well peopled, ſtrong, and one of the Bulwarkes of that Province ſtood out reſolutely, and not liſtning to any termes of ſurrendring, it was ſoone after taken by aſſault, and ſackt. The Caſtle (as *Monſtrelet* ſaith) held out three weekes longer, and ſeven weekes according to *Duplex*: whilſt the Engliſh ſay that all manner of rigour being denounced againſt the defendants, if they would not yeeld after the firſt day, Monſieur *de la Faietta*, and Monſieur *de Montene* (deſpairing of ſuccour) came forth within the limited time. All the riches and ornaments of the neighbouring Townes were found there as placed in a ſafe place. No man durſt lay hands upon them, for whoſoever did, was unavoidable to be put to death. They were by the Kings directions reſtored to the Monaſteries and Churches to which they did belong: The which purchaſed him the good will of the Country, and helped him in his ſucceeding enterpriſes. Religious actions unfainedly done, have power to molifie even thoſe breaſts, which hardned with hatred, would for all other meanes prove obſtinate and irreconciliable. Chereburg, and Ponte del Arco, were next Caen, the moſt conſiderable Forts, for the conqueſt of Normandy. A particular account muſt be given of Roan by it ſelfe. The King ſent the Duke of Gloceſter to Chereburg, who finding it provided with men, munition and victualls, ſpent tenne months there in vaine; in which time when he could not get the gates open by battery, force nor induſtry, the avarice of *Iohn d'Engenes*, the governour thereof threw them open unto him, which proved afterwards a gaine which cauſed his death: for having by this infamouſly purchaſed money, received a ſafe conduct for a certaine limited time, during the which he might trade where ever the King of England did command (for he could not in reaſon truſt himſelfe in France) he was in Roan after the City was yeelded up unto the Engliſh; and tarring there, relying upon ſome, when his ſet time was expired, his head was cut off: the preſence of a traitor ſmells ſo ranke in the noſe of a noble Prince and lover of vertue. After this many other places yeelded, incited thereunto by the King, having made it to bee proclaimed, that all men ſhould enjoy their goods and priviledges, and that he would treate with all ſuch as with his naturall ſubjects, who uninforced would put themſelves under his government; ſo as in little more then a yeare his enſignes were ſeene flouriſhing in every place, nothing almoſt remaining to the entire conqueſt of Normandy, but the Metroplitan Roan, proceedings ſprung from the Prince his worth, and ſouldiers valour, but facilitated by the enemies diſunion; it being in them made true, that deſolation muſt needes enſue, where a Kingdome is divided within it ſelfe: And that as amongſt the paſſions of the minde, there is none ſo great as that of hatred, ſo all hatreds muſt give place to the violence of civill or home hatred.

The City of Roan in the loſſe of all thoſe Towns (which as to the head of the Province were under her) had her eye more fixt upon France, then upon her owne eminent danger; for being a principall member thereof, ſhe thought ſhe ſhould be cut off, and made no member if ſhe did not partake of her infections; and her inhabitants imitating the Pariſians in wealth & riches, would have thought their honour had bin concerned, if

they

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they ſhould not likewiſe emulate them in their ſeditions. Being then reſolved equally with them to favour the Duke of Burgony, they made an inſurrection under the conduct of *Allen Blançard*, a partaker with the Duke, and having ſlaine the governour, and ſome of the officers, and chiefe Citizens, they would make themſelves maſters of the Caſtle (a place requiſite for their ſafeties, after ſo ſottiſh a rebellion) and were repulſed by *Iames* of Burbon, Signieur *de Preaux*, who had the command of it; ſo as their ill ſucceſſe cauſing repentance, they were forced to flye for protection to the ſame Burbon, whom they had but juſt then ſo unjuſtly offended. So raſh and haire braine bold are the people, in ſtumbling upon offences, and ſo affrontedly preſumptuous in the choice of their remedies. But the Dolphin who was come thither with an intention to give them exemplary puniſhment, meeting with unexpected difficulties, did cloake his ill will, and pardoned the fault, the which without much danger he could not puniſh. But ſince I am to ſpeak much of this Prince, I crave permiſſion to deſcribe him to you in foure lines, that you may the better know him. He was borne under a phantaſticall planet gliſtering with incomparable felicity and miſeries. Amongſt his miſeries was his fathers frenzy, to whom it behoved to ſide with one of the two factions alternately. Two warres at the ſame time with Burgony and England: his mothers hatred, and thereby the loſſe of little leſſe then the whole Kingdome. Amongſt his felicities the death of foure elder brothers, whereby the Crowne fell upon him: the death of King *Henry*, which ſettled it on his head: for if *Henry* had lived, he was in hazard either to have wholly loſt it, or to have injoyed but a ſmall part thereof, and that with difficulty, and continuall warre; being bred up in hatred to the Duke of Burgony, to undoe him, he undid himſelfe: He was of as various an humour, as his fortune was various; as indulgent to his pleaſures as his dangers would permit him: whereby he was tutored ſometimes in abſtinence, ſometimes in temperance; inconſtant in his affections, conſtant & acurate in his actions, inſomuch as when he died he left that Kingdome entire and peacefull, which at his entry thereunto, he found not onely turbulent but almoſt loſt. So as it may be ſaid, that tribulation made him wiſe and glorious, which otherwiſe of himſelfe he would not have been; he had before him three powerfull enemies; the King of England, the Duke of Burgony, and his mother; who though a woman, and unarmed, was more of trouble and damage to him, then the other two: It was hard for him to fence againſt them all. He could not encounter the firſt without affording leaſure unto the ſecond, who the more domeſticall he was, the more dangerous was his enmity: For whereas againſt the King of England he might rely upon his peoples faith and aſſiſtance, he durſt not affie in them againſt the Duke, whom they were inclined to favour: ſo as his greateſt difficulty for the preſent, was, which of the two he was firſt to oppoſe: if he quitted Paris, he loſt it; and if he left it not, he loſt Normandy. But Count Armignack, were it out of paſſion, or the intereſt of his owne authority, or out of true judgement, ſhewed it unto him, that loſing his capitall City, he would likewiſe the leſſe inferior ones, which would follow the others example; and therefore thought it moſt neceſſary for him to ſecure that City againſt the Duke, a Prince of the bloud,

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and a ſubject, then to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the King of England, a forreine Prince, and pretender to the Crowne, though thereby hee might loſe Normandy. The Duke therefore perceiving that it was impoſſible for him to enter Paris for the preſent, betooke himſelfe to the taking in of ſome ſmall Towns neare about it, and after many too's and fro's, beſieging Corbeille, whilſt every one thought he did it to famiſh Paris (it being the moſt important paſſage, whereby to cut off the victualling of Paris) be roſe from thence, and haſted to Towrs, and finding the Queene in Maurmoters Abbey (according to the agreement which was formerly made betweene them) he brought her in liberty to Towrs with reciprocall commodity, for her to reenter into authority and command, by means of the Dukes forces, & for the Duke to make way to his deſignes, by meanes of the Queenes perſon and name. They were to the peoples great joy received into the City and Caſtle, gladded that they were freed from all other taxes, ſave that of ſalt; not perceiving that ſuch graces were of no long continuance, aſwell for that they cannot bee granted but by the ſoveraigne Prince, and in ſuch times onely as being free from warre, it redounds to his advantage that his people be eaſed; as likewiſe that thoſe who are factious and ſeditious, cannot ſubſiſt without oppreſſing the people. From hence they went to Chartres, where the Queene made herſelfe be proclaimed Regent of the Kingdome, eſtabliſhing two Courts of Juſtice, the one at Amiens, the other at Troyes in Champania, and prohibiting upon great penalty any whatſoever recourſe unto the Parliament at Paris. Divers Cardinalls and Prelates treated a reconcilement betweene her and her ſonne; the Duke deſired it, hoping thereby the more to tame him. But Count Armignack, and the Chancellor Marle (which thought it would bee the overthrow of their authority) brake off the treaty, becomming thereby more hatefull unto the people. Whereupon thoſe who ſided with the Duke in Paris embracing the occaſion, opened one of the gates by night, and brought in Monſieur *d'Illeadam*, who ſtrengthened by the Citizens, & crying out, *Vive la paix, Vive le Roy, Vive Bourgogne*, did aſſault the houſes of ſuch as were of the Armignack faction. *Tanvigues du Chaſteu* a faithfull ſervant of the Dolphins (gueſſing by the firſt bruit at the matter) ranne at the Dolphins bed ſide, and conveied him ſafe in a ſheete into the Baſtille. The Count Armignacke hid himſelf in diſguiſe, in a poore neighbours houſe, who afraid of the puniſhment wich was proclaimed againſt whoſoever ſhould conceale him, did diſcover him: Thoſe who led him away priſoner having much adoe to ſave him from the fury of the people. The King compelled to riſe out of his bed, was by this raſcally route ſet on horſebacke, and led through the City, to the end that the miſchiefe which was done, and which was to be done, might be authenticated by his preſence; as if a lewd and deadly miſchiefe ſhould have tended to his ſervice, and that he had commanded it. The Chancellors, divers Biſhops, Councellors and Magiſtrates, were taken and made priſoners, whilſt the common people poſſeſſed with a freſh fury, brake the priſons, and ſlew them all, their madneſſe reaching to the rich, enemies and friends, wealth, anger and inheritance were under colour of the Armignacks, the death of many innocents, who never had to doe in any faction; ſo as

death,

death, though every where of an alike countenance, was clad with different liveries. The Conſtables and Chancellors corps having been three daies together dragd naked up and downe the ſtreets (to the end that the aire might not be therewithall corrupted) were throwne out of the City, where carrion uſed to be laid. The Duke of Burbony, who was then at Dijon, approving of the fact, but ſeeming not to approve of the manner thereof, came from thence together with the Queene, and were in great triumph received by the Pariſians. Being thus arrived where he deſired, increaſed in power, freed of his enemies, poſſeſſed of government, and having the King to diſpoſe of at his pleaſure, hee did his uttermoſt to draw the Dolphin to him; he ſent Embaſſies one after another, as ſent from his father and mother, pleading the infirmity of the one, and the others for their inabilities to reſolve upon any thing requiſite againſt the King of England without his aſſiſtance, nor was he ſparing in the vowing of his owne ſervice unto him. But the Dolphin, though he was thereunto inclined, was diſſwaded by thoſe who thought themſelves irreconciliable with the Duke. Thus doe Princes ruine themſelves and their affaires, whilſt wanting judgement how to governe alone, they meaſure their owne intereſts by the concernments of their ſervants, who if they were worthy would either ſacrifice themſelves for their Maſters welfare, or would ſave themſelves by flight, to ſhun the being reputed their Prince his undoing. *Henry the 5.*

Theſe alterations made ſport for King *Henry*: the vitall ſpirits which ought to have concurred to the ſtrengthening of ſo important a member as was Normandy, retired themſelves unto the heart, oppreſſed by dangerous ſymptomes; the which not eaſing the one, did aggravate the other, to the danger of them both: nor could it be otherwiſe: for the buſineſſe requiring union and obedience; the Duke could not obey the Dolphin, whilſt he pretended to governe him; and union was impoſſible to the Dolphins ſervants, being they were to loſe their authority, which together with the Dukes authority was incompatible. The one ſide and the other did alike feare that the ſeverall factions being once reduced into the right way, would not goe aſtray againe: for there is nothing whereof ſeditious men are more jealous, then to make thoſe taſte the ſweete of good, who were formerly their aſſociates and coadjutors in evill. So as France running ruine through the exceſſe of diſorder, it was no wonder if England did eſtabliſh herſelfe through the excellency of counſell.

The Engliſh before they could beſiege Roan were conſtrained to endeavour the taking in of Pont d'Arcke, a fortreſſe ſeated upon the River Sene, that ſo they might the better keepe Roan from being ſuccoured. The King being not farre from thence in the Priory of Boneport, ſent the Lord of Cornwell to ſound the defendants minds, and to ſee whether the example of ſo many other places which had received his enſignes, would move them to doe the like. *John Graville* was governour thereof, who being reſolute to ſtand out, the Baron ſaid unto him, that he did ill to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the King of Englands forces, for he would undertake himſelfe alone with very few more to paſſe over that River in deſpite of him and all his people, offering to wage with him hereon his helmet with 500. Nobles in it, againſt the beſt horſe in his Stable. *Graville* 1418

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accepted of the wager, and placed great troopes upon the paſſages, *James Harcourt* being come to him from Eſtempes with 800. fighting men, and 12000. of the Country people. The Baron failed not to make good his word the next day: he brought along with him 600. almoſt all archers (amongſt whom was a yong ſonne of his owne of fifteene yeares of age) one horſe, and ſome little field peeces, all which hee conveied over in eight barkes, to a little Iland ſituated in the midſt of the River: from whence ſhooting at the enemy who were upon the further banke, hee ſo diſordered them with his ſmall peeces and his artillery, as that they were faine to ſave themſelves, *Harcourt* retiring himſelfe to Eſtempes, *Graville* to Ponte d'Arcke, and the reſt to the woods, ſo as being paſt over without reſiſtance, and having Knighted his ſonne, he put himſelfe in battell aray, and ſent backe the boats, to the end that they with ſome others that he had provided, might convey over about a thouſand ſouldiers, with which hee did not onely maintaine skirmiſh againſt the garriſon of the Fort, but lodging himſelfe in Mortamer Abbey, he ranſackt the Country, putting them all in feare and diſorder. *Graville* being afterward jibed at for having ſo poorely mainteined the paſſage againſt ſo few men, replied, That if he had beene ſo ſeated as was he, he would have hindred the paſſage, not onely againſt him, but againſt England and France put together. But the ſeate was not the right reaſon of this, it was rather the bowmens cunning, and the terror, which without any evident cauſe doth ſurpriſe even the ſtouteſt hearts, by the ancients called fate, but by us, divine providence, the which is then more particularly ſeene, when greater things are done then were the meanes whereby they were done. The next day the Duke of Clarence paſſed over with 4000. fighting men, and the King cauſing a bridge to be made on Roans ſide, made himſelfe Maſter of the field, ſo as the Country people having no place to repaire unto, the greateſt part fled elſewhere, and *Graville* having withſtood a ſiege of three weekes, deſpairing of ſuccour, yeelded the Fort, their lives and goods ſaved.

Roan yet remained, not that there were not many other Townes yet not taken in, but becauſe if ſhe were once taken, the reſt would come in of themſelves without one blow ſtrucken. The King of France and Duke of Burgony, had ſent thither made Captaines and ſouldiers to boot with the great number of inhabitants, who were all reſolved rather to die then to ſuffer the Engliſh ſubjection. This ſiege was laid when the corne was not yet gathered in, to the end that hunger might aſſiſt the other forces. The King tooke up his quarter amongſt the Cheartoſine Monkes his brothers, and Lords quartered themſelves in ſeven other places, to wit, upon Saint *Kathernes* hill, and over againſt the gates of Saint *Hillary*, *Caux*, *Martinville*, *Beauvais*, the Caſtle and the bridge. The defendants made many ſallies to impeach the beſiegers workes, ſlew ſome of them, and loſt ſome of their owne, retiring themſelves ſometimes with their ſwords bloudy, ſometimes with bloudy heads. But for all this they could not hinder them from ſecuring their quarters with great ditches and workes, and from accommodating themſelves, as that though they found all the adjacent houſes, Churches, and Monaſteries beaten downe, and razed (particularly Saint Severe, Richburg, Saint Gervais,

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Gervais, Murtenville, the Arſenalle, and the Galleyes that were in it) yet they uſed ſuch diligence, as that they wanted nothing requiſite for a long ſiege, as they thought this would prove, the Cities ſtrength being conſidered, and the Citizens reſolution; who on the contrary ſide chaſed out of the City all ſuch as had not wherewithall to victuall themſelves, eaſing themſelves (out of the number of 210000. mouths which were numbred in the City) of 12000. of the moſt unuſefull ones, as old men, women, children, and religious people; who did afterwards all of them almoſt dye for hunger in ditches, for they were not ſuffered to paſſe any further, that the City might bee inforced to take them in againe, the which ſhe did not: one of the evill effects of warre amongſt thoſe who doe defend themſelves, being to lay aſide all manner of charity, even though it concerne their owne blood, ſo as the King was conſtrained (the moanes and outcryes of the miſerable people flying up to heaven) afterwards to ſuccour them, to keepe them from utter periſhing. He ſent the Earle of Warwicke and the Baron Talbot to Caudebec, a place upon the Sene, betweene Roan and Harfleur, wherewith they agreed for the paſſage of the Engliſh Veſſells over the River, and that that Town of Caudebec ſhould ſurrender it ſelfe as ſoone as Roan ſhould either be taken or ſurrendred. They gave oſtages hereupon, and ſuffered an hundred Veſſells to paſſe over, which came from the Fleet, to caſt Anchor under Roan. He made a bridge over the uppermoſt part of the River towards France, and diſplaied three chaines, a Canon ſhot off from the walls; the one a fooot and a halfe under the water, the ſecond equall with the ſuperficies of the water, and the third two foot above the water; bereaving them thereby of all manner of ſuccour. And becauſe their many ſalleyes were the cauſe of the loſſe of many of his men, to no purpoſe, hee endeavoured to take it in by famine, being ſure that their obſtinacy could not continue long. Thoſe of Saint Katherins, who had not beene diligent in making their proviſions, yeelded themſelves at the firſt months end, their lives ſaved, but not their goods: The field this mean while was full of Burgonian, Daulphiniſt, and Engliſh Colours, all of them to each other enemies, ſo as if the former two did backe together, the third made booty, the two carrying away what the third left.

At this ſame time ſixteen hundred Iriſh arrived at the Camp, conducted by the Lord Kilmayne, ill armed, and but badly cloathed; but of ſuch agility and valour, as they were commended beyond all the reſt: whereupon a newes being given out, that the French were comming to ſuccour the towne, they were placed where it was thought the French would come; they received this charge with unexpreſſible joy; and though the ſuccour came not, they ceaſed not to do much miſchiefe, going and returning with more ſpeed, and to better purpoſe, then the horſes themſelves either could or would have done.

The Citie had ſuffered much ever ſince October, their victuals were ſpent, happy were they that could get either Horſes, Dogges, Cats, Mice, or ſuch like uncleanneſſe to eate. The poorer ſort of people, if in the ſtreets they met any one with any thing of livelihood, they would flye upon him, blowes nor wounds not availing to make them to deſiſt. In three months

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months ſpace no meat had been publickly ſold, and thoſe who had meanes to purchaſe any, payed exceſſive prices: above 50000. perſons died of hunger, during this ſiege. They ſent *Euſtace Paville*, a Doctor to acquaint the King and Duke of Burgony with their miſery, who when he had ſhewed how great evills they had ſuffered, onely that they might preſerve their faith and loyalty, proteſted, that if they ſhould be inforced to yeeld themſelves, the King and Kingdome of France ſhould have no greater enemies then they. The anſwer was gracious, that the King would preſerve his good City of Roan, that within a few daies hee would ſo ſuccour it, as that the enemy ſhould rather bethinke themſelves how to eſcape away, then any longer to continue the ſiege. Words which proved to no effect, yet neceſſary to hinder the proceedings of the Engliſh to the coſt of the miſerable beſieged; but not able to ſuccour them by force, hee bethought himſelfe how to give them comfort by a treaty of peace. Cardinall *Vrſino* was about this time come from Avignon, ſent by Pope *Martin* the fifth, to finde out ſome meanes how to agree theſe two great Princes. The firſt thing he treated of, was that they ſhould ſend their Embaſſadours to Pont d'Arcke, as they did; but the time being ſpent in diſputes and no concluſion made, he reſolved to goe himſelfe to the walls of Roan. Hee ſpoke with King *Henry*, he preſented him with the Picture of the Lady *Catherine* of France, the beſt meanes as he thought whereby to perſwade him. The King after he had well conſidered her beauty, and praiſed it, ſeemed to be deſirous of the match, if ſhee ſhould come endowed with a million of gold, with the Province of Normandy (by him almoſt wholly conquered) the Province of Acquitany (by him likewiſe in a great part poſſeſſed) the County of Poictou, and all the other Signiories which did formerly belong and were hereditary to the Crowne of England; adding that he would have them free from having any dependancy upon France. The which ſeeming very hard to the French Deputies, the conference was diſſolved: For beſides the aboveſaid pretenſions, the Engliſh Deputies explained themſelves, that *Charles* by reaſon of his ſickneſſe, was not fit to make treaties, nor the Dolphin, as not being King, nor the Duke of Burgony, as not having power to diſpoſe of the inheritance and dependances of the Crowne: That therefore it did neceſſarily follow, there was no accord to be made but by the ſword, which was onely able to ſatisfie the one, and inforce the other.

The breach of this Treaty did almoſt quite dead the hopes of the beſieged; yet did they a while languiſhin agony, by reaſon of the great preparations which were made throughout all Picardy: but as ſoone as they perceived that the King and Duke of Burgony, diſtracted through their jealouſies of the Dolphin, could not ſuccour them, they reſolved to hazzard their lives (leſſe valued then their pretended liberty) and to goe themſelves to procure and bring in ſuccour; the which they could not doe, but by breaking through the Campe; 10000. of them well armed (the reſt remaining to defend the City) ruſhed furiouſly out of a gate, from whence they were not gone two miles, when the rafters of the bridge breaking, as many as were upon it fel into the water, & thoſe who remained in the town iſſued out at another gate to ſave their companions;

the

the which they could not ſo ſoon doe before the Engliſh had already fought with them and driven them back. Thoſe who fell, ſhared all of ſeverall misfortunes, few of them eſcaping, being either drowned, broken or wounded. The bridges rafters were cut in two by *Guy Buttler*, after the place was ſurrendred; he was thought to have cauſed them to bee cut, onely becauſe he had ſworne loyalty to King *Henry*, and was become his ſubject. The Duke of Burgony did not ceaſe though in this deſperate caſe, to flatter them with hopes of ſuccour, and that they might beleeve him, he ſaid, he would doe that which he was farre from being able to effect. He brought the King and Queene to Beauvais, and cauſed great troopes of armed men to come thither, which ſerved to no other uſe, then to bee an oppreſſion to the Countreyes through which they paſſed. Hither for their laſt Embaſſy came new ſoliciters from Roan the midſt of December, who laid open what miſerable famine they ſuffered: the miſery that thoſe endured who being ſhut out of the city, died in ditches, that they were forced to take up ſuch children as were there borne, in baskets over the walles to baptize them; and being baptized, to convey them downe againe to their mothers, who rather expected death then life. That many died unbaptized; evils which had happened, and did happen for their ſervice done unto the King and Duke of Burgony, whileſt they on their ſides had done nothing that they ought to have done, and had promiſed: that they could expect no longer: that if ſuccour were not immediately ſent, they would render themſelves to the King of England. And with this proteſtation they renounced what ever former loyalty, faith, oath, ſervice and obedience, declaring themſelves diſcharged thereof, ſince they were by them abandoned. They were mildly anſwered, that the King could not as yet ſuccour them: But that ſhortly hee would not faile to doe it. But not ſatisfied with this unlimited anſwer, the Duke promiſed to ſuccour them the fourth day after Chriſtmas. Whereupon returning with more appearance of danger then hope, they were but ſadly received. *Henry the 5.*

At this time *les Sieurs d' Arcourt*, and *de Meurle* had gathered together two thouſand fighting men, with a reſolution to try their fortune. They placed themſelves in ambuſh, in two ſeverall places, not above 2 leagues from the Engliſh Campe; yet ſo neere together as that they might aid one another. To allure the Engliſh, they ſent out an hundred and twenty horſe, who meeting with certaine Engliſh, who were lodged in a little village, ſlew the greater part of them: the few that eſcaped, gave an alarme unto the Campe, beleeving that they who had ſet on them, were the fore-runners of the ſuccour. The King commanded the Lord *Cornovallis* to diſcover the truth. The Baron tooke along with him, ſix hundred horſe; and for guide, thoſe who had brought the newes: not farre from thence hee diſcovered the enemies troopes, who turning about, clapt ſpurres to their horſe, and ran to the place of ambuſh; giving as great alarme to their leaders, as the Engliſh had done to *Henry*. But the Baron made ſuch haſte, as finding them in diſorder, and poſſeſt with feare, he made ſome of them betake themſelves to their heeles, charged other ſome, killing and taking two hundred and forty, of which number were Monſieur de Moreule, Butor, Delroys Baſtard, and many other Gentle-

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Gentlemen: *Harcourts* horſe ſaved him, and the Baron made a quick returne unto the campe, with victory, newes, and priſoners.

In Beauvais where the King, Burgony, and Councell were, (as hath beene ſaid) nothing was treated of, but how to ſuccour Roan: after long debate it was concluded, That during the enemies might and power, the Kings and Dukes forces were not ſufficient to make him raiſe the ſiege. The Duke perceived this, but not with the ſame eye as did others: For he conſidered that if he ſhould meete with any notable diſaſter in the ſuccour, together with Roan, he was to loſe the advantage of forces he now had over the Dolphin: That the loſſe of that City, though it would be a loſſe unto him, yet he therein ſhould have ſharers: whereas the loſſe of a battell would diſorder and diſcompoſe his authority, his government, and his particular deſignes. A cautelous, but bad conſideration: A Prince who ſits at the helme in a Kingdome, ought to preferre the publique before his private good; nay, here his owne peculiar good conſiſted in the publique welfare: for his authority and greatneſſe depended upon the well managing of affaires; he ſhould have ſuccoured Roan, though with never ſo much danger, for in the loſſe thereof, hee loſt his reputation both with his friends and enemies. And though it had beene impoſſible for him to effect it (as indeed it was) yet ſhould hee have attempted it, for in matters of difficulty, the world accepts of the will for the deed; hee ſhould have ſhadowed the weakeneſſe of his forces, and in the faile of fortune, have given a rich teſtimony of his worth and valour; he might have preſented himſelfe, and not have been inforced to fight. King *Henry* was content to defend his trenches, & prohibit ſuccour, not troubling himſelf about ought elſe: It made not for him to quit his trenches, and leave them to the deſperate ſallies of the beſieged, to the end that hee might to no purpoſe, and with much danger fight with the enemy in open field, whilſt by ſitting ſtill he overcame, his onely end being to winne the Towne, without or bloud or danger; and though it had behooved the Duke to adventure a battell, the diſadvantages were counterpoiſed. A City wherein was above 15000. defendants reſolved to dye: deſpaire, an obſtinate defence, almoſt not to be overcome: ſo as the enemy being fewer in number, and ſet upon behinde and before, if he were not overcome, would at leaſt be weakned, and though he ſhould winne the place, would be ſo weakned in his forces, as that he could not make any further progreſſe. The victory at Creſſis, and Ajencourt had onely advantaged him in affording him a meanes of ſaving himſelfe; for the ſmall number of his ſouldiers, and his requiſitneſſe to paſſe the ſea to reinforce himſelfe, tooke from him the benefit of his victory. On the contrary ſide, the loſſe of men would not be of much moment to ſo populous a Kingdome, able of it ſelfe forthwith to furniſh more; For great bodies are not moved, much leſſe do they fall for one ſhocke.

The battell of Poictiers would not have beene of great moment, had not the King beene taken priſoner: for this now in queſtion, the ſouldiers were onely to be hazarded; and grant the loſſe of the day, Roan ſuffered no miſchiefe; which without this hazard was aſſuredly loſt. But for my part I beleeve that the Duke did never really intend this ſuccour

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cour, knowing that (to boote with his feares of the Dolphin) it was impoſſible for him to force a well diſciplined victorious army, within its trenches, under a powerfull King, and great commander, unleſſe he were mainly aſſiſted by fortune. And events being uncertaine, are not of force enough to perſwade to dangerous and irrevocable reſolutions. The which if it were ſo, it may be inferred, that the reiterated hopes given to the beſieged, the making of them ſuffer ſo much, and at laſt yeeld themſelves with ſo undoing a diſadvantage, was one of thoſe errors upon which they fall, who make uſe of publique calamity, for their owne peculiar good. Had he prolonged that ſiege to winne time, to withold the proceedings of the Engliſh, and quite breake them off by ſome great undertaking, he could not have been accuſed; but his not caring though all were loſt, ſo as the Dolphin did not advance, proves it to be true, That who hath double ends doth alwaies amiſſe; ſince the moments of reputation, are not meaſured by the moments of time, which leaneth upon things caſuall; but by order, which depends upon the rules of wiſdome and fidelity: a principall condition of him that governes, from which whoſoever hath at any time ſwerved, hath ever had the heavens & fortune for his adverſaries. The examples hereof are ſo frequent, in paſt and preſent times, as it is a wonder ſo many do ſtumble againſt this rock.

The reſolution of not ſuccouring the Towne being taken at Councell table, all the ſouldiers were diſmiſſed, ſave ſuch as were to be put in garriſon upon the face of Normandy, and of the Dolphin. Aſſoone as the King was gone from Beauvois, thoſe of Roan were ſecretly admoniſhed by the Duke to ſurrender themſelves upon the beſt tearms they could. A death doing adue, which did utterly aſtoniſh and affright them. They were not permitted to die fighting, for the enemy was in a condition of not being enforced to fight; and ſay thoſe of them who ſhould fight, ſhould die, a greater number yet remained behinde unable to fight. They reſolved to ſend a Herald for a ſafe conduct. The which being granted, they ſent ſix Embaſſadours, who were brought before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Earle of Warwicke, who had commiſſion to hear them. Their anſwer was, that the King would not admit of their ſurrender upon any tearmes, ſave ſuch as ſhould beſt like himſelfe. Whereupon a great aſſembly of Councell being had in the City, it was reſolved that loſing the foundation of ſome part of the wall, and then underpropping it, to the end that they might make it fall when they pleaſed, they would ſet divers parts of the Towne on fire, then place the women and children in the midſt of the armed men, and ſo throwing down the wall outward, they would ſally forth in that manner with a reſolution either to die or to make their way through the enemy, whither their fortune would lead them. But the King hearing of this, and deſirous to have the City whole and undemoliſhed, ſent backe for the Embaſſadors, with whom he concluded the ſurrendring of the Towne. Thus writeth *Monſtrelet*, and with him the French authors, who as in this, ſo in many other things have punctually followed him. I will tell you what the Engliſh ſay of this. The City ſent twelve commiſſioners who were brought unto the campe, whilſt the King was at Maſſe; which being ended, and they admitted, he gave them audience with a ſevere countenance. Thoſe who

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who had order to ſpeake, ſaid unto him, That the glory of victory in the taking in of Townes, and aſſubjecting of people, did conſiſt in manifeſt worth: That there was no worth ſhowne, and conſequently no glory wonne in the taking of their Towne, ſince it was conſumed by ſuffering, not by the ſword. That therefore if like a generous Prince hee would ſuffer thoſe who were ready to periſh for hunger to come forth, that they might ſeeke for their livelihood elſewhere, and uſe his milltary rigour with ſuch as remained, he ſhould by conquering them, win that true glory, which a great King and valiant Captaine ought to ſeeke after. The King having heard their indeſcreet demand, and thought a while on it, replied, That he had thought they were come to ſurrender the City, not to read leſſons to him. But that he did not wonder at it, for arrogancy is the forerunner of ruine. That the conceit they had of him came ſhort of his condition, becauſe they either thought him ſo ignorant of morall vertues, as that he was to learne of them, or ſuch a novice in warre, as to governe himſelfe therein according to their rules and precepts. And to the end they might perceive their error, he would read them a lecture, That they ſhould therefore know that nature having beene liberall in ſome habit of ſtrength to all ſenſible creatures, giving the uſe thereof in one ſort to buite creatures, in another to men, ſhe had given every creature ſome defenſive armes, except man, who being borne naked, would be inferiour to all other, if God had not given him underſtanding, whereby he offendeth others and defends himſelfe better then any of them. So as if he uſe advantagious weapons againſt beaſts, hee is not therefore to be blamed, becauſe he followeth the inſtinct of nature, who not having indued him with weapons, hath ſhewed him (becauſe he ſhould have no reaſon to complaine of her) how to ſubſiſt without naturall armes. That therefore if ſtrength bee a vertue, it conſiſts not in the ſtrength of the body (then beaſts would be more vertuous then men) but in the underſtanding, which makes him that hath leaſt force overcome what hath more. The which if it be to be underſtood betweene man and beaſt, much more betweene man and man, for whom this and all other vertue is onely predicamentall. And though there bee divers meanes whereby to compaſſe it, yet warre is the chiefeſt, And as every art hath its inſtruments, ſo are ſword, fire and famine, the inſtruments of warre, of the which the commander maketh uſe by turnes; wiſdome the ſoule of warlike ſtrength, is the onely chuſer and moderator of them; ſo as if ſhee bee by reaſon induced to quit the one for the other, none will blame her. That therefore if he who was chiefe commander would have uſed the ſword againſt the deſperate (as they deſired) it would not argue ſtrength in him, ſince he might obtaine the victory without expoſing his men to ſlaughter, whoſe ſafegard is the chiefe end of a good King and wiſe commander. That it ſufficed him to have ſufficiently ſhewed that he feared not to uſe the ſword, and that he was ready to demonſtrate it when occaſion ſhould require: That France and they knew this to their coſt: Fire made not for his purpoſe, hee loved what was his, That hee would preſerve thoſe conqueſts, the poſſeſſion whereof was due unto him by his ancient and lawfull hereditary right, without the right of Armes: a knowne title, and which of it ſelfe did render his conqueſts undoubtedly juſt. So as theſe two inſtruments being for the formerly

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alledged reaſons laid aſide, famine did remaine, as the onely proper meanes to vanquiſh them; The which did not bereave him of praiſe nor glory, ſince he was prompted thereunto not through want of courage, but through wiſdome and underſtanding. For the point of ſufferings, That he wondred they had a tongue to pronounce them, ſince in generall they could only accuſe themſelves, for from the beginning they might have made choice of that, which now by neceſſity they were forced to doe. And in this particular they had no excuſe to juſtifie them: For the putting forth of their gates, Citizens borne in the ſame Country, priviledged by yeares, as were old men and children; by ſex, as were women; and by profeſſion, as were the Friers and Monkes, was an action as inhumane as contrary to all Lawes. Hereunto might be added that they expected that ſuccour from him an enemy which was denied them by them their friends, fellow Citizens and parents, who had expoſed them to the injuries of aire, famine, cold, and all manner of miſeries: That they had done them all the miſchiefe they could, and yet blamed him (who had done them all the favours an enemy could do) becauſe he would not ſuffer them come forth of their trenches, as if he had not more reaſon to keepe them in, then they to drive them out; the onely reaſon which had mooved them to ſo inhumane an action (if it might bee termed a reaſon) being the prolonging for ſome few daies more, at the coſt of the innocent, their owne nocent obſtinacy which was that which did onely deſerve fire and ſword, and (if nature had permitted it) not one but redoubled famins. That in anſwer to their demands, he would have them know, that though he knew he was ſufficiently able to conquer them with the ſword, he would not doe it; the meanes hee had made choice of, being the fitteſt and ſafeſt for his ſouldiers, and the beſt ſuiting with their deſerts; That he would keep on his courſe, and that when they ſhould be humbled with famine, he would further humble them with ſuch puniſhment as their obſtinacy did deſerve. This being ſaid, hee retired himſelfe with an angry countenance into his lodgings, commanding his officers to keepe them at dinner with them. Theſe people were as much aſtoniſhed at the Kings wiſdome, as they were at his power; After dinner having adviſed of what was to be done, they deſired another audience, the which was by the King graciouſly granted them; They deſired a truce for eight daies, and having obtained it, returned to the City. The Engliſh ſet up in their campe three rich tents, one for their Commiſſioners, one for thoſe of the City, and the third for the one and the other to conferre together in. The King named the Earles of Warwicke and Salisbury, the Baron Fitzhugh, Sir *Walter Hungerford*, Sir *Gilbert Humfreville*, and Sir *Iohn Robſert*, together with *Iohn Vaſques* of Almadas, the City, *Iohn Butler* and ſix more.

The eight daies were ſpent in contentions, accuſations, excuſes, demands and denialls, nothing being concluded: Whereupon, when thoſe of the City tooke their leaves, they compaſſionately begged a prorogation of the truce till the ſuns next riſing, and obtained it: When they were returned to the City, they found the people in ſuch an uproare, as that they ran in danger of their lives, ſo as they went early the next morning to Sir *Iohn Robſert*, intreating him to interceede for a ſecond prorogation

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gation of truce for foure dayes. To the which the King againe giving way, the ſurrender of the Towne was agreed upon the firſt day of the foure, upon three and twenty Articles. The chiefe of the which were, That they ſhould pay unto the King 365000 French Crownes, that *Robert Linet*, Vicar generall to the Archbiſhop, *John Giordane*, Captaine of the Croſſe-bowes, and *Allen Blancard*, ſhould be delivered to the Kings diſpoſall. That they ſhould ſweare perpetuall fealty to him, and all the Kings of England; and that ſo doing, they ſhould enjoy all immunities and priviledges which they had enjoyed in the reigne of Saint *Lewis*. That thoſe who would, might have leave to depart, carrying nothing along with them but one ordinary ſuit of apparrell. That the Souldiers marching out unarmed with a white ſtaffe in their hands, and one onely ſuite, ſhould ſweare not to beare Armes againſt the King for one yeare next enſuing. This Citie was ſurrendred the 19 day of January 1419. *Guy Buttler*, accompanied by the beſt of the Towne, brought the keyes; and the Duke of Exceter tooke poſſeſſion, placing Corps de guarde, and Sentinels where he thought neceſſary. The next day the King made his entrance, waited upon by foure Dukes, ten Earles, eight Biſhops, ſixteen Barons, and a great many Knights, being met by the Clergy and Citizens, who led him to the chiefe Church, where he was received by the Archbiſhop, and Cannons. As ſoone as hee had given thankes, he gave order for repaire of the ruines; and cauſing proclamation to be made, that all ſuch Cities and Townes as would willingly ſubmit themſelves to his obedience, ſhould enjoy their former priviledges, Caudebe, Monſtravillier, Diepe, Feſcampe, Arques, Chaſteau, Neuf, Dencourt, Vernon, Mante, Gourne, Honfleur, Pont de Mer, Triet, Tancarville, Abrichier, Moleurier, Vallemont, Nucaville, Ballacombre, Fontenes, Nugondeville, Logembre, Saint Germaine upon Calli, Bodemont, Bray, Villaterra, Ciarles, Menill, Ferefonte, Beccriſpin, Baqueville, and many other Townes, ſent him, their keyes, and received in Engliſh Garriſons. The Countrey people, and ſuch as lived in the fields, did the like; ſo as the white Croſſe of France was changed into the red of England. Normandy fell into the hands of the Engliſh 229 yeares. After the time that *Philip* the ſecond tooke it from *John* King of England, which was the yeare of our Lord, 1190. *Allen Blancard* was beheaded, and the other two reſerved to bee diſpoſed of as the King ſhould pleaſe, were ſometime after reſtored to their liberty, having payed therefore great ſummes of money, and the government of the Citie was conferred upon the Duke of Gloceſter.

The Duke of Burgony was hee who ſuffered more then any other in this loſſe, whoſe authority being grounded upon the peoples good opinion, was in danger to have fallen upon his oppoſite. The evils which happened thereupon, were to be imputed to him alone; hee was the directer (if not rather the corrupter) of the State: hee who by his evill practiſes had got poſſeſſion of the Kings perſon, had through his ill government obſcured his luſtre, loſt his reputation, and leſſened his command; not void of ſuſpition that he had intelligence with the King of England, to ſuppreſſe the Dolphin: a fault not to bee averred, becauſe it was not true, the opinion thereof though, likely to cauſe his ruine. He could not conteſt againſt two enemies, it behoved him to reconcile himſelfe with

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one of them. His naturall hatred, his faction, his ancient and new injuries: his opinion of him to be of an humour not to be truſted, his behoving to yeeld the government to him, and the often denyed agreement between them, made him deſpaire of reconciliation with the Dolphin. With King *Henry*, ſet the warre aſide (which may notwithſtanding be maintained between generous Princes, without malignity or hatred) he had nothing of injury or offence. His affaires (being reconciled to him) were not onely to be continued in thir preſent condition, but bettered: for his forces would be preſerved entire, to contend more vigorouſly againſt another: The which being well weighed by him, hee choſe the later, and ſent expreſſe meſſengers unto *Henry*, to perſwade him to ſend Embaſſadours; with whom at Troyes in Champania a truce was concluded, by meanes whereof the two Kings (meeting in a Parke neer Melune) might treat of a peace. And though King *Charles* came not thither (hindered by a new acceſſe of his accuſtomed indiſpoſition) the Queene, her daughter, and the Duke, failed not to come. This fair Princeſſe was by them of purpoſe brought, out of hopes that the beames of her beauty dazling King *Henries* eyes, might make him deſiſt from his rigorous pretences, ſo as peace might be the eaſilier made, and upon more advantagious conditions: but where honour and love doe interſhock; Honour though a friend, cannot but treat Love like an enemy: Honour is not Honour, if encountring with paſſions, it overcome them not. So as the King, though he were much taken with her, did not forgoe any thing he had formerly pretended unto, hoping if hee could not get her by peace, to win her by warre. They came not at firſt to the Rendevous, but having made choyce of two neighbouring places, the Queen tarried at Pontouſe, the King at Mantes, where he kept his Whitſuntide, and made there three Earles, *Gaſton de foix*, a great man in Gaſcony, hee made Earle of Longaville: *John Grey*, Earle of Tancherville, and the Lord *Bourchiere* Earle of Eu. The day of meeting being come, the King departed, accompanied by a thouſand horſe, and came into the Park, followed by the Dukes of Clarence, Gloceſter, and Exceter, and by *Henry Beaufort*, brother to Exceter, a Clergy man; by the Earles of Marſh and Salisbury: he there found his Tents pitcht, wherein he repoſed himſelfe. The Queen came, accompanied by her daughter, the Duke of Burgony, the Count Saint *Paul*, by twenty Ladies and Gentlewomen, and as many horſe. A large pavillion was erected in the midſt of the Tents of both ſides, wherein they met. The King kiſſed the Queen and her daughter, and received the Duke of Burgony with much reſpect; and having ſpent ſome time in complements, the reſt in buſineſſe, they tooke leave one of another, the one retiring to Pontouſe, the others to Mantes. The next day returning to the ſame place, they began the treaty, which laſted three weekes, Princeſſe *Catherine* not appearing there any more: for it was thought the niceneſſe of her appearing would produce prodigall effects in him that coveted her. But the King perſiſting in his demands, and they in their refuſals, no concluſion was made. This meeting raiſed mighty jealouſies in the Dolphin, thinking it to bee a meanes to depreſſe him, as indeed it proved. And having no other meanes to breake it off, but by proffering to make peace with the Duke, which hee had ſo often

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formerly denied to doe, he ſet himſelfe about it, intending to keep it, with the ſame minde as he offered it. *Tanniques du Chaſteau* was his adviſer, meſſenger, and he who put it in execution. *Tannigues* came in a time when the Duke (not able to make agreement with the King, without the relinquiſhing of many Provinces) was in a ſtrait, either to condeſcend to the Kings deſires, or to be neceſſitated to fight at one and the ſame time, againſt two powerfull enemies. Whereupon having greedily accepted of the Dolphins offer, and growne obdurate to the King, *Henry* (who perceived it) broke off the treaty, ſaying to him at his departure, that ſince by meanes of peace he could not effect his deſired marriage, hee did him to wit that he would obtaine it by warre; and together with it King *Charles*, and all he did deſire: and that if he could not get King *Charles*, his perſon, he would force him to forſake France, as he would doe him the Duke. To the which the Duke anſwered; that he mought ſay and think what he would, but that in the effecting of it he would bee ſo weary, and ſo out of breath, that the King of France and he were not likely to be put to much trouble.

Reciprocall Embaſſadors, and Madam *de Giac*, a favorite of the Dukes, and a maine mediator in this buſineſſe, had already accorded all differences with the Dolphin, and named a ſeat in Champagnia, neare to Melune, for their meeting. Whereupon the Duke departing from Pontoiſe, with a many armed men, and accompanied by the Count Saint *Paul*, *Iohn* of Luxenburge, the fore-named Lady, and many other Lords of great quality, met the Dolphin neare Povilli: when they were come within two bow ſhoots one of another, they made their followers make a ſtand, each of them attended by ten others onely paſſing forwards, the Duke lighting firſt from Horſe-backe, bowed himſelfe oft-times to the Dolphin, before he came up unto him. The Dolphin taking him by the hand, had much adoe to raiſe him from off his knees, ſaying that he pardoned whatſoever offence, if any ſuch hee had committed againſt him, that for the time to come his will ſhould be governed by the Dukes will, to which end he referred the articles wholly to him, to be corrected, or altered, wherein they were not ſatisfactory to him: the Duke replying with redoubled obſequies they ſwore the peace, and after them all the Lords there preſent; their Souldiers in ſigne of joy, mingled one with another, and curſed whoever for the time to come ſhould beare Armes upon the ſame quarrell. The Duke would needs hold the Dolphins ſtirrop, (though the Dolphin would not have had him doe ſo) and having waited upon him a good part of the way towards Melune, he tooke his leave going himſelfe to lodge at Corbeile. Some are of opinion, that the Duke had been ſlaine at this meeting, had it not been for feare that their people might have gone together by the eares, the which would undoubtedly have enſued, to the danger of the Dolphin, and that which followed doth manifeſtly prove it.

When King *Henry* heard of this agreement, he eaſily conceived it to be made to exclude him: he was not thereat notwithſtanding diſmaid, it being his uſe to increaſe in daring, as difficulties did increaſe: and to give a proofe hereof, he forthwith ſurpriſed Pontoiſe. The Marſhal *Iheadam* was Governour thereof, as a frontier place, and in-let to the Iſle of France, which

which if the enemy ſhould winne, it would ſecure unto him not onely Roan, but all Normandy; by reaſon of former occurrences many Engliſh Embaſſadors had paſſed through it; by whoſe advertiſement the King tooke occaſion to make himſelfe Maſter thereof, hee ſent thither three thouſand fighting men, who comming thither about the break of day, did not onely ſcale the walls, not meeting with any that made the round, but opened the neareſt gate whereby they who remained without entered, and paſſed forward in battell aray, crying Saint *George*, the City is taken. The Marſhall who was wakened at this noiſe, got on horſeback, but ſeeing their number and order, he thought beſt to yeeld, carrying nothing away with him but what he had in jewells and ready mony; the like did the garriſon, and about tenne thouſand inhabitants which followed him, he went out of the gate towards Paris, whereof not having the keyes at hand, he cauſed it to be broken open, for all delaies were dangerous. Thus did the Engliſh make themſelves Maſters of this place, not without ranſack, though without bloud. King *Charles* not well pleaſed with this neighbourhood, withdrew himſelfe to Trois in Champagnia, followed by the Queene, his daughter, the Duke and Councell; leaving the Count Saint *Paul*, and *Euſtas de Lactres*, Chancellor of France, in charge with the government of Paris; the Marſhall went to Beauvois, another fronteire City of Normandy, intending to keepe it more warily then he had done the other; and he had neede to doe ſo, for he had loſt his reputation in the loſſe of Pontois, and rendred him more hatefull to the Dolphin then to all the reſt: the winning of Giſſors, accompanied this conqueſt, received to mercy the Duke of Clarence; whilſt the Earle of Huntington, and Sir *Philip Lys* did each of them make much havocke about Cleremont, Abeveile, and Pont *de* Reine, returning loaded with prey and priſoners. Chaſteangalliard and Roccagion, the two ſtrongeſt places of Normandy, (guarded by the Dolphins people) were at one and the ſame time beſieged: the latter yeelded at two monthes end, the other held out ſixteene months; nor had it then yeelded, had it not beene for want of cordage to draw up water; a thing unheard off, and whereby we may beleeve, that they had made uſe of their ſheets, and all other things fitting for the like buſineſſe.

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The Dolphin this meane while was not at peace within himſelfe: for no torture doth more torment the ſoule of man, then that which gnawes thereon betwixt reſolution and execution of a premeditated wickednеſſe. The feare he had the Duke of Burgony ſhould make peace with the King of England, had forced him to reconcile himſelfe with the Duke. The appearing end was the home peace betweene them, that they might joyn in expelling the forreigne enemy. So did every one thinke and not without reaſon, having compaſſed his firſt deſire in the breach of the treaty, he betooke himſelfe to a ſecond; to quit himſelfe (under the ſecurity of reconciliation) of the aſſociation of an hated colleague: the Kingdome was not capable of two heads; he imagined that the Dukes ambitious ſpirit, would never give way unto him, nor would ever withdraw himſelfe from government, whilſt he had in his hands the Kings perſon, was favoured by the Queene, and had the people at his diſpoſall: Beſides all theſe provocatives, he was naturally an abhorrer of ſuch contracted

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tracted friendſhip: Reſolving then to have his life, he came to Monſtreau upon the River Jone accompained by 20000. ſouldiers, from whence he writ unto him; that having a great many ſouldiers about him, and deſirous to imploy them about ſome uſefull action, he deſired him to come unto him, that they might conſult what to make choice of. The Duke were it either that he did not thinke good to reſolve upon any ſuch thing, without the participation of the King and Councell, or that he did not affie in him, ſent backe *Tannigues*, who had brought him the letters, with this anſwer: that buſineſſe of this nature required the aſſent of King and Councell, and that ſince he the Dolphin could doe nothing more acceptable to the King and Queen, he wiſhed him to come himſelfe unto them, ſince their authority was requiſite in ſuch like reſolutions. But the Dolphin, who had already put on his reſolution, which was not to be effected without him, ſent *Tannigues* againe unto him, who knew ſo well how to perſwade him, as that he brought him to Bray, where he tarried, thinking more conſiderately upon his buſineſſe; hee bethought himſelfe that to goe without forces, was dangerous, and not to goe, was to proclaime a diffidency: the firſt uncertaine, the ſecond moſt certaine; and that if he ſhould miſdoubt him, he ſhould be thought a man of ſmall beleefe, being overcome by redoubled embaſſies he was perſwaded to the worſt. The Biſhop of Valenſa, brother to the Biſhop of Langres, one of the Dukes ancient and cabinet Councellors, was he who moſt egged him on to this. Valenſa being abuſed by the Dolphin, did abuſe his brother, and he his Maſter, ſhewing him that under ſuch promiſes, ſuch witneſſe, and between ſo great Princes, faith could not be falſified; that trechery would be too apparent, which would not onely prove ignominious but dangerous to the Dolphin; and that the Caſtle of Monſtrueill, which he gave unto him, might be a pawne unto him of his true meaning, and ſafety of the Dukes perſon, wrought upon by theſe reaſons he came thither, (his hower being come) waited on by 400. horſe, and 200. archers upon Sunday the tenth of September 1419. at three a clocke after dinner; a little before he came thither, he was met by *Anthony Tolongones* (who had bin to ſpie what was done at Montreville) who wiſhed him to bethink himſelfe well, for the bars that were placed upon the bridge, (the place appointed for their parley) were to his diſadvantage, if the other had any intention to proceed fowly with him, wherewithall ſome what ſurpriſed, he ſtayed a while, taking new advice; ſome diſwaded him from going, ſhewing him that to beleeve well, and have a good opinion in enemies, was good in the golden age; but for the preſent times they ſerved onely to ſupplant the ſecurity of life: others perſwaded him to goe, alledging an impoſſibility that the Dolphin would commit ſo infamous and unexcuſable a treachery; whereupon after having a while bethought himſelf, he ſaid, he muſt goe leſt it might be ſaid, a womaniſh feare had made him make a new breach, which was not to be ſhun'd, if he ſhould doubt the Dolphins ſo many letters, promiſes and oaths: that though he had reaſon to proceed more cautiouſly in this buſineſſe, yet the world would not conceive the reaſon thereof, nor would concurre in the eſtabliſhing of peace, if for the preſent he did not adventure his life; that he might very well loſe it, but not without the greateſt infamy that could befall the baſeſt man alive,

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alive, much more ſo great a Prince as was the Dolphin: Thus opinioned he paſſed forward, he entred by the gate which opens into the fields, into the Caſtle, which he found trimd up for him with all pompe, and hoſpitable magnificence: he placed a hundred foote to guard the gate which opened into the Towne, placing the reſt in order without; the which he had no ſooner done, but *Tannigues* came to advertiſe him that the Dolphin expected him, making new promiſes and new oathes unrequired: the ten which the Duke was to bring along with him, were *Charles* of Burbon, *Iohn* of Friburg, *Meſſieurs de* Novaile, Saint *George Montague*, and *d'Ancre*, *Antony* of Vergi, *Guie* of Pontaiſler, *Ciarles* of Lens, and *Peter de Giac*, to the which he added *Peter de Sanguinat*, one of his Secretaries, giving order to the reſt to ſtay behinde: when he came to the firſt barre, he met ſome ſent to meet him, who by renewing the ſo often reitterated promiſes, made him ſuſpect ſomewhat, and had almoſt made him returne backe, but his owne men made him paſſe on, alledging that ſo much treachery was not to be imagined, and that they were likely to runne the ſame ſhipwracke as was he; when he was paſſed the ſecond barre it was preſently locked, which did a little amaze him; yet reſting his arme upon *Tannigues* ſhoulder, who was come to receive him, he ſaid to St. *George*, this is the man on whom I rely; when he was come to the Dolphin, (who with his corſlet and ſword by his ſide ſtood leaning againſt a barre) he kneeled downe before him, ſaying he was come to receive his commands; but he giving him but a cold welcome, upbraided him with the not obſervancy of what was agreed on betweene them; and for not having made warre againſt the Engliſh, nor taken the garriſons from ſuch places as ſhould according to their articles be reſtored to him: to which the Duke replying, that he had done what was to be done againſt the Engliſh, and that he had made ſurrender of all ſuch places, as by articles he was bound to doe; *Robert de Loyre* tooke him underneath the arm, ſaying he was too great a Prince to be ſo long upon his knees, but as he lifted him up, finding his ſword behinde his backe, as the Duke with his hand would have put it in its right place, *Robert* ſaid, will you lift your hand againſt the Dolphin? and at the ſame inſtant, *Tannigues* having ſaid to his companions, now is the time, he ſtruck at him with a hatchet thinking to have cleft his head, but did onely take his chin away, at which blow he fell with one knee upon the ground; and laying hand on his ſword, wounded as he was with many blowes borne to the ground, whilſt *Oliver Laiet* thurſt his ſword into his belly up to the hilts; Monſieur *de* Novaille, brother to the Count *de* Fois, as he was about to defend him, was hindred by the Vicount of Narbone, who oppoſed him with a dagger, and whilſt he flew furiouſly upon him, to have taken his dagger away, he was by others ſlaine: *Friburg* doing his duty likewiſe was taken priſoner; St. *George* was wounded in the flanke, and *d'Ancre* in the hand, *Montaigne* leaping over the bars got into the Caſtle, the Secretary and all the reſt were taken priſoners, thoſe of the Caſtle perceiving the bickering, and not knowing of the Dukes death, came forth to the paliſado, but driven backe by the bowmen, fled to Bray, beaten ſlaine, taken, and loſing all they had. Monſieur *de* Jouvelle and *Montaigne*, with ſome ſouldiers, and about ſome thirty of the Dukes ſervants

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and pages, fortified themſelves within the Caſtle, but wanting victualls, they yeelded it up, their lives and goods ſaved. All the Dukes furniture and jewells which were many and of great worth, were reſerved for the Dolphin; ſuch priſoners as would not take the oath, had ranſomes ſet on their heads, and thoſe who would were ſet at liberty. *Charles de* Lens Admirall of France and who was conſtant in his friendſhip to the Duke till his laſt gaſpe, was ſlaine upon cold bloud. *John Lovet* Preſident of Provence, the Vicount Narbone, *William Butler*, *Tannaques ae* Chaſteau, *Francis de* Grimaux, *Robert Loire*, *Peter Frotiere*, *Oliver Laiet*, and *Fonchore de* Namae, Marſhall *Seneſhall* of Auvergnia, were the authors of this parricide; Madam *de Giac* was thought a confederate in this buſineſſe, for that the deed being done, ſhe withdrew herſelfe unto the Dolphin; Monſieur *de Barbaſan* not guilty of the treachery, but preſent when it was done, ſaid unto the reſt that they had ruinated their Maſters reputation, and wiſhed rather to have beene dead, then preſent at ſo wicked an action: the Dukes body was laid upon a table, and carried at midnight into a mill, from whence it was taken away the next day and buried in his calſons with his hat upon his face, his dublet on (the which they had not taken off becauſe it was bloudy, and full of holes) with his bootes and ſpurs without any Chriſtian decency, ſave a doſen maſſes, which were likewiſe the oblations of bleeding hands and teares of woe.

This was the end of *John* Duke of Burgony, ſurnamed the Undaunted, by him deſerved, by reaſon of the murther committed twelve years before upon the Duke of Orleans perſon, by his command; but his fault did not waſh away theirs that ſlew him: and though in the former, ambition was the onely cauſe, ſo as he could not be more wicked, and in the ſecond hatred, and reaſon of State; yet the ſo often plighted faith, and ſwearing by the name of God in witneſſe thereof, makes the latter more wicked and inexcuſable.

The Dolphin who had promiſed himſelfe great advantage thereby, found he was deceived, for effects are not alwaies taken away by the cutting off their cauſes, unleſſe they be wholly rooted out: the ſonne remained a branch from which did bud forth more ruines, then either could or would have done from the ſtocke: if the adviſers to this buſineſſe, had had reſpect to the ſubjects relation, to the good and honour of the Prince more then to the jealouſie of his authority, (the which whilſt the Undaunted lived, was fading) they would have ſeen that dying he left clients, ſubjects and ſervants ready to revenge him; that ſo deteſtable an action was ſufficient even to alienate the Dolphins owne friends; that the King his father was ſubject to thoſe that governed him: that his rulers were the defuncts creatures; his mother more then ever irreconcilable; the King of England faſtned in France; The new Duke of Burgony as well heire to his fathers injuries, as to his eſtate and authority; that being deſcended from a turbulent family, he was not likely to be quieted without bitter revenge, though the worlds welfare ſhould therein conſiſt; ſo as the intereſt of ſervants, which for the moſt part doth ruine ſuch Princes who are either very yong, or ill adviſed, did undoe the Dolphin; who not able in ſincerity of truth to excuſe ſo ſcandalous an act; indeavoured to cloak it by a falſhood, giving out that the Duke came with an intention to kill

him

him the Dolphin : but *Montaigne* publiſhed the truth of the buſineſſe : whereat the King was troubled, the Queene offended, (who as was thought, did love the Duke more then became her reputation, after hee had delivered her from Towers) and the people which had alwaies ſided with him, were herein confirmed; the Court remained as before, governed by ſuch as did depend upon him, not ſtaggered by his fall : He had a ſonne by ſurname and actions good (who afterwards was called *Philip* the good) not violent, as was his father, but more wiſe; ſo as of the whole of ſo great a Kingdome, a little cantle did onely ſide with the Dolphin: his more ſoutherne Provinces (which diſjoyned from the low Countries, had no occaſion to be annoyed by the Undaunted) were thoſe alone which did ſuſtaine him, and which after a tempeſtuous voiage brought him ſafe into the haven, thanks to the diſorder of others; which are the chiefeſt, and moſt frequent occaſions of taking away of Kingdomes from ſome, and conferring them on others: for the death of King *Henry*, the underage and weakneſſe of his ſucceeding ſonne, and the bad intelligence betweene the Uncles and Duke of Burgony, (the reaſon of their reconciliation) did after many yeares, contrary to all likelihood, ſet him on foote againe. *Henry the 5.*

Philip Count Carelois (whom henceforth we will call the Duke of Burgony) underſtanding his fathers death (after his ſorrow and obſequies) conſulted upon what was to be done, he had two advices given him; the one hee ſhould treat well the Dutches his wife, ſiſter to the Dolphin, ſince ſhe did not ſhare in the injury done unto him by her brother; the other, that being to revenge his fathers death, he ſhould ſeeke out the moſt effectuall meanes how to doe it; that friendſhip with the King of England being of all others the likely beſt, hee ſhould offer him peace, and his aſſiſtance in his pretences to the Kingdome and his marriage; for the Dolphin could by no other means be debarred of the Kingdome, he who had cooled in his affection to his wife, his paſſion overſwaying his reaſon, and who knew her vertue did deſerve this advice, honoured her and made much of her as long as ſhe lived, which was but a ſmall time: for what concerned friendſhip with England, (his father having chalked out the way unto him, from whence had he not ſwerved, he had not died) he thought he could not chuſe a better way of revenge; wherefore he anſwered the Pariſians, who after their condoling with him, deſired his aſſiſtance againſt the Engliſh; by Embaſſadors which they of purpoſe ſent, that they ſhould not need to trouble themſelves therein; for he hoped with the Kings good liking, to make a peace, which ſhould ſecure them, and their friends, the which he forthwith did; he ſent the Biſhop of Arras and two more, with ſuch officers to King *Henry*, as were very well approved; and the Biſhop being returned with ſatisfaction, he ſent ſoone after him, the Earle of Warwick and Biſhop of Rocheſter, with whom the Duke concluded a truce, to indure till ſuch time as a peace might finally be concluded, by meanes whereof the way was opened for commerce, betweene them, as if the peace had been already concluded; ſo as the Engliſh ſouldiers, as friends and confederates, did joyne with thoſe of France, and the Duke againſt the Dolphin: aſſoon as he had accommodated his home buſineſſe, (having obtained of his 1420

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ſubjects all he could deſire) he came to Trois, where he plotted the peace and marriage: for King *Charles* did what hee was perſwaded unto, and thoſe who did perſwade him, were the Dukes dependants, and ſuch as were upheld by the Duke.

King *Henry* being advertiſed hereof, and nothing now remaining to conclude the buſineſſe, but the formality of his Embaſſadours, hee ſent the Duke of Exceter, the Earle of Salsbury, the Biſhop of Ely, the Lord *Fitſhug*, Sir *Iohn Robſert*, and Sir *Philip Hall*, with whom the peace, and marriage was agreed upon; the latter to be celebrated in that very place as ſoone as the King ſhould come thither. As ſoone as the Embaſſadours were returned (*Robſert* only tarrying with the bridge) the King went from Roan, waited on by his brother Clarence and Gloſter, the Earles of Warwicke, Salsbury, Huntington, Eu, Tancherville, Longaville, and fifteene thouſand fighting men, making his journey by Pontoiſe, Saint Dennis, and Sciarantone; where having left ſome troopes to ſecure the paſſage, he came to Trois by the way of Provence, and was met 2 leagues off by the Duke of Burgony, and the Nobility, which upon the like occaſion were in great number come unto the Court: his firſt meeting with the King and Queen was in Saint *Peters* Church, where he took his Bride by the hand, and the marriage was ſolemnized on Trinity Sunday, with the greateſt pompe that ever was ſeen in that Kingdome. Hee corrected and altered the Articles as he pleaſed; the which being ſworne unto by the King, Duke of Burgony, Princes and Lords, were ſent to bee publiſhed in both Kingdomes: they were thirty three in number, the chiefeſt whereof were, That King *Charles* ſhould enjoy his dignity, title, and Kingdome, as long as he lived; That King *Henry* ſhould bee Regent thereof, and afterward Heire; That neither he nor the Duke of Burgony ſhould make peace with *Charles* who tearmed himſelfe Dolphin, without the conſent of the three Eſtates of both Kingdomes; That the peace between France and England ſhould bee perpetuall; That theſe two Kingdomes ſhould never be diſmembred one from another, but ſhould bee governed by one and the ſame King, but under their ſeverall Lawes.

Sens, and Montreville were the two moſt important places which the Dolphin did hold in thoſe parts: ſo as the marriage ſolemnities being over, they beſieged Sens. This Citie would have held out longer, had it had any hopes of ſuccour; but having none, it ſurrendered it ſelfe the twelfe day. Such Souldiers as would ſtay in the Kings ſervice, were ſuffered to depart, their lives and goods ſaved; except thoſe who had had a hand in the Dukes death. And though many of them did for the preſent accept of the Engliſh Croſſe, they did afterwards at ſeverall times forſake it, betaking themſelves to the Dolphins ſervice: of the inhabitants the oath of fidelity & obedience was onely demanded. Montreule held out longer: the Caſtle was fortified, & provided for a longer ſiege; but though they did valiantly defend themſelves, the towne was taken within a few dayes, thanks to the aſſailants ſucceſsfull raſhneſſe, who charged it on ſundry ſides, without directions from the King or Duke. When they had taken it, purſuing their good fortune, and cloſely following thoſe who fled into the Caſtle, they were the cauſe why many of them were drowned;

they

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they tooke twenty priſoners, almoſt all Gentlemen; whereupon the King having lodged his people in the towne, over-againſt the Caſtle-gate, did yet more narrowly incloſe it, bereaving it of all hopes, ſave a rationall capitulation. But Monſieur de Guitres, reſolute in the defence, was cauſe why twelve of the twenty priſoners, whom the King had proteſted he would hang, if the Caſtle did not yeeld, were immediately hanged before his face, after they had in vaine requeſted him, and had their requeſt ſeconded by their wives teares, and friends interceſſion. His inexorableneſſe was the more to be blamed, for that after ſo deplorable an execution he made good the Caſtle onely eight dayes. Hee came forth his life and goods ſaved, as likewiſe all ſuch as would not remaine in the Kings ſervice, thoſe onely excepted (as formerly) who had had a hand in the death of the Duke. *Guitres*, who was accuſed to bee one of them, did defie his accuſer, a Gentleman of the Dukes; but no apparant proofes being found, hee was let goe. The Duke had ſent divers Gentlemen, to cauſe his fathers body to be taken up; who finding it buried in ſo miſerable a manner, tooke it up, and wrapped it in lead, and it was ſent to Chertoſa in Dijoune, where he was buried neere unto his father. At the ſame time his people tooke Villenenſe, ſituate upon the ſame river, putting all the garriſons to the ſword.

The Dolphin on the other ſide made his progreſſe; for being reſolved to out the Prince of Orrenge (who fought on Burgonies behalfe) from ſuch places as he held in Languedocke, hee beſieged Saint Eſprite, and aſſiſted by Avignon, and Provence, tooke it, and drove all the Princes people out of that Countrey. The which being done, hee returned to Burges, his uſuall abode, that hee might raiſe what force poſſibly hee might, intending rather the enemies proceeding, then to give him battle.

The Duke of Bedford was come from England before the taking in of Montreule, with two thouſand Archers, and eight hundred horſes, and was by the King and his brothers received with much joy. Thus reinforced, he went to beſiege Melune: The King of France came, together with his Queen, from Bray, (where they had tarried during the ſiege of Montreule) to Corbeile. Melune was begirt by two Camps, with artillery and ſuch engines as were then in uſe for the taking in of places. Meſſieurs de Barbaſan, and de Preux, commanded ſeven hundred fighting men, who were within the towne. By battery, mines, and trenches, the aſſailants got ſhortly underneath the ditch. The Duke of Burgony, who had made himſelfe maſter of a Bulwarke, did fortifie it much to the prejudice of the beſieged. The King built a bridge over the Seene, to ſerve for commerce between the two Campes, ſecuring the Bankes on both ſides with good corps de guard; and to free his quarters from danger of ſurpriſe, he cut ſome trenches on the outſide of them, and raiſed ſome workes upon each end thereof, that ſo they might not bee aſſailed without great danger to the aſſaylors. The breaches made by battery, were made good by earth and bavens; the beſieged omitted nothing wherein either diligence or foreſight might ſtand them in ſtead: one ruine was anſwered by another, wherein they fought at puſh of pike, and wherein the King and Duke of Burgony managed theirs. King *Charles*

was

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was come unto the Campe, and together with him the Queene accompanied by the Dutches of Clarence, newly arrived from England, with a great traine of Ladies, who were lodged by King *Henry* in a houſe erected of purpoſe neare to his owne tents, without the reach of Canon; ſo as making uſe of this occaſion, he would trie whether the beſieged would yeeld to their King or no; but being queſtioned thereupon, they anſwered: that if *Charles* King of France would vouchſafe to enter there, he ſhould be received with all due reſpects unto his Majeſty; but not *Henry* King of England, nor *Philip* Duke of Burgony, their profeſſed enemies: he ſent this meane while the Duke of Clarence to Paris, giving him the chiefe command of the City, to the end that taking poſſeſſion thereof, he might by Engliſh forces ſecure the moſt conſiderable places therein; as the Baſteille, the Louvre, the houſe of Neele. and forth there of the Boys *de* St. Vicenne; the Count of St. Paule who was chiefe commander there, was ſent to Picardy to receive the oathes of the Cities of that Province touching the peace with England, and to except of King *Henry* as Regent and heire, the which was done without any oppoſition: the beſieged and beſiegers were both but in bad condition; the one being reduced for lacke of better nouriſhment, to eate all manner of uncleaneſſe, the other by reaſon of the Prince of Orenges departure (who was gone with his people into Provence to defend his own affairs) & by the rage of a violent peſtilence which had much leſſened their numbers; inſomuch as the Duke of Burgony was forced to ſend the Signior *de* Luxenburg to Picardy to raiſe more men, who returning ſhortly after with them appeared in ſo handſome aray before Melune, as that the inhabitants beleeving they had beene the ſuccour they had ſo long expected, did not onely ſhew ſignes of joy by the ringing of bells, but growne inſolent did mocke the beſiegers; an error of ſmall continuance, yet not ſufficient to have made them yeeld, if the Dolphin had not at the ſame time adverti-ſed them, that he could not ſuccour them.

This Prince was governed by the wiſdome and upheld by the purſe of the Count *de* Vertu brother to Orleans, and Angoleſme, priſoners in England; but he being at this inſtant dead, he was like a ſhip without ſailes, he could not move towards the preſervation of a place of ſo great importance. The Town was ſurrendred the eighth of September, upon diſadvantageous tearms; thoſe who were guilty of the Dukes death, were condemned, a prime article, not to be forgotten, the ſouldiers were to be forthcomming till they could put in good ſecurity, not to beare armes under the enemies of either of the two Kings; that inhabitants ſubmitted to pleaſure, their weapons and moveables were put into the Caſtle. Monſieur *de* Barbaſan, who was accuſed of being guilty of the Dukes death, was ſaved for that there appeared no proofes thereof againſt him, ſave onely inſomuch as he was the Dolphins ſervant: This notwithſtanding he was ſent priſoner to Paris, and from thence to Chaſteau Galliarde; where after nine yeares ſpace, he had the good lucke to recover his liberty; the place being then taken by the Dolphins forces, who, his father being dead, called himſelfe King. Monſieur *de* Preaux together with five or ſix hundred Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, and Citizens, were likewiſe ſent to Paris, put into ſeverall priſons; the chiefeſt

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of them into the Basteile; those who were put to death were few: amongst which was one *Bertrand* of Chaumont, a Gascoine, a naturall subject of England, for that he was bribed to save Amicron *de* Lau, an accessory in the Duke of Burgonies death, & though the Kings brother did intercede for him (for he had alwaies beene valiant) yet could they not obtaine his pardon; for reason of State would not permit *Henry* to give way unto passion, and to be partiall in the Duke the sonnes just revenge; moreover in right he was to lose his life, who saved the life of a delinquent, not through pity but avarice.

Winter growing on, & the souldiers requiring rest after having been so long in field, the two Kings retired themselves to Paris, being met by the people and Clergy with great magnificency; they rid together, the King of France on the right hand, they lighted at the Church of nostre Dame, and from thence, *Charles* went to l'Hostell *de* Saint *Paul*, *Henry* to the Louvre, and the Duke of Burgony to his owne house, l'Hostelle *de* Artois: the next day the two Queenes made their entry in the like manner, and were received by the City with great expressions of joy, and met by the brothers of the Kings, and Duke of Burgony, followed by all the Nobility; richly presented by the Citizens; particularly the Queene of England, and the King her husband.

The Dolphin had beene set upon all this while one'y by the way of war, now they endeavour to opugne him by the Law; a businesse which did nothing at all import *Henries* pretences; his foundations were of another sort, not supported by these formalities; for without them, without his marriage with *Catherine*, or his being adopted by *Charles* (all of them workes of supererrogation in this case) he was lawfull King; but it redounded to his advantage to second the Duke of Burgonies desires, that thereby, or by what ever other meanes the Dolphin might be by the people abandoned. Princes are subject to no seate of justice save that of conscience; all others are but phansies and tricks: fansies and therefore not to be despised, for such are oft times more embraced by the people then is reason: whence it happens that their authority being darkened, and deprived of its lustre by contrary opinions, they are subject to the eclipses of their subjects disobedience. Burgony endeavoured the Dolphins ruine his fathers murtherer; he was to open the way thereunto by the peoples fury; perswade them hee could not: for though the fault were very hainous; the guilty party was by the common Law, and Law of nature of too great authority with them, being borne their Prince, yet (men alwaies reserving some seeds of equity in them) hee hoped that by objecting this case, cloathed with the habit of justice, dyed in the colours of so many perjuries, treasons and breach of faith, hee might cancell the respect the people bore him, and by degrees draw them from pitty and commiseration, to hatred, and from hatred to armes. *Charles* the Dolphin according to the pretended Law Salique (set aside, that *Henries* pretences were by the people repulsed that so they might repulse his person, not onely as a stranger but as an English man) was presumed heire to the Crowne. Moreover the murther of the Duke of Orleans (set aside the circumstances) was in its originall more wicked then this: if the Duke of Burgony had then beene punished (as of right he ought to have beene) in

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in his eſtate, the Dolphin had had no occaſion to bereave him of his life: ſo as the parity of fault, requiring parity of puniſhment, it was againſt reaſon, the ſecond ſhould be puniſhed by juſtice, when by injuſtice the former ſcaped unpuniſhed: whilſt having no reſpect to the diverſity of the delinquents qualities, the Dolphin being a priviledged perſon as Soveraigne, ſhould be puniſhed for being ſo, rather then the Duke for being a ſubject: let us learne by this; that mens particular intereſt is that which ever hath, & ever doth pretend; and that ſeverity is quick ſighted when the queſtion concerneth others, but blind, when we are our ſelves concerned.

This cauſe was pleaded in the preſence of both the Kings, the Princes, and Judges, in the low Hall of l'Hoſteile *de* Saint *Paul* by the dowager Dutches of Burgonies advocate and the Duke her ſonnes, who accuſed *Charles* (who tearmed himſelfe Dolphin) the Vicount of Narbone, Monſieur *de* Barbaſan, *Tannigues de* Chaſteau, *William Butler*, *John Lovet* Preſident of Provence, *Robert de* Loyre, *Oliver Laiet*, and others of this murther; he demanded juſtice, and particulariſed in what puniſhment: this plea was ſeconded by a Doctor of Sorbonne (ſent thither for this purpoſe by that Colledge) who by many allegations drawne from the Scripture, laboured to perſwade the two Kings, to puniſh thoſe who had had their hands in ſo grievous a fault; but no declaration being forthwith to be made, without the due proceedings in Law, the Chancellor anſwered in the Kings name; that by the advice of the King of England, Regent of France and his declared heire, all ſhould bee done that was requiſite in ſo important a buſineſſe: ſo as the Dolphin being cited to the marble table, with the accuſtomed ſolemnities, and not appearing, he was for his contumacy declared guilty of the aforeſaid murther, falne from the Crowne, incapable of what ever preſent, or future ſucceſſion, and baniſhed the Kingdome: the Dolphin hearing this appealed to his ſword, the which was that alone which afterwards (by the helpe of the Duke of Burgony his chiefeſt enemy) did annull the proces, decide the queſtion, and cut in two the ſentence.

1421 King *Henry* was to go for England after Chriſtmas, to make new proviſion or warre, and to cauſe the Queene his wife to be crowned; ſo as having licenced the three eſtates, who all had ſworne obedience to him, he went his way, having the Duke of Exeter with five hundred fighting men in Paris, and in other places good and faithfull governours: he ſtayed a while in Roan to give order for things belonging to the Dutchy, and left therein the Duke of Clarence his generall; from thence he together with his other brethren, tooke his way towards Callice, and were received in England with ſuch joy, as Kings uſe to receive who returne crowned with victory, and accompanied by wives, rich in dowry, grace and beauty, as was his: ſhe was crowned at Weſtminſter, on Saint *Matthews* day, where whilſt the pompe and ſolemnity exceeded whatſoever of former times, fortune prepared funerall ſolemnities for the Duke of Clarence in France; a buſineſſe which being very diverſly reported by authors, forces me firſt to recount what the Engliſh ſay thereof, then how others relate it: for paſſion within circumſtances of winning, or loſing, is very great amongſt them, makes them to contradict one another, & who doth not joyne them together, will hardly be able to extract the truth.

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This Prince had made a ſelect choyce of Soldiers, out of all the garriſons of Normandy; hee entred Umena, and paſſed over Loire, placing himſelfe underneath Angiers, hoping that thoſe of the Towne would have fought with him: but they not iſſuing forth, hee ſpread himſelfe over the countrey; where, after having enriched his people with prey and priſoners, he returned for Normandy. Being come to Bewford, he underſtood that a great number of enemies were at Beuges, conducted by the Duke of Allanſon, the Dolphins Lieutenant, who had in company with him, 26 French Lords, one Spaniſh Captaine, *Iohn* Earle of Bowchan, *Robert* his brother, ſonnes to the Governour of Scotland, *Archibald Dowglas*, Earle of *Vigtonia*, *Alexander Linſay*, brother to the Earle of Crayford, and eighteene Scottiſh Gentlemen, lately come from Scotland with 700 Souldiers (*Buchanan* ſaith, ſeven thouſand:) hee was about to ſet ſuddenly upon them, but did not: for, to aſſaile an enemy, not knowing his forces, is like walking in a darke night in unknowne wayes. He had at that time, one *Andrea Fregoſa*, an Italian, who had been with the French, and who aſſured him, that the enemy was ſo few in number, that halfe his company was ſufficient to rout them: ſo as beleeving this mans relation, who did abuſe him, being deſirous of glory, hee took only the horſe along with him, commanding the Bowmen not to ſtirre, and leaving them under the command of his ſonne *Iohn*, called the Baſtard of Clarence; betweene him and the enemy there was an uneaſie and a narrow paſſage; through which, when without any oppoſition hee had paſſed, he diſcovered the enemy not farre off, and contrary to the relation made unto him, in full and well ordered troops; whilſt hee not able to retire, the paſſage being taken, which if it had not been, he could not paſſe over it againe in File, as he did before without danger: it did more availe him to hazard himſelfe by making a ſtand, then by giving backe to venture the being ſhamefully cut in pieces. The one ſide fought deſperately, the other bravely; but the Engliſh not being above one for foure, were diſcomfited, the Duke himſelfe being ſlaine, the Earle of Tancherville, *Gilbert Vmfreville*, Earle of Kent, the Lord *Ros*, Sir *Iohn Lumbley*, and Sir *Robert Verend*, and neare upon two thouſand others; the Earles of Somerſet and Suffolke, the Lord *Fitzwalter*, Sir *Iohn Barckley*, Sir *Ralph Nevil*, Sir *Henry Inglos*, Sir *William Bowes*, Sir *William Longiton*, Sir *Thomas Burrowes*, and many others were taken priſoners. Of the French were ſlaine about twelve hundred of the beſt of the Army. The Baſtard of Clarence, who after the Dukes departure, was informed of the number of the enemies, marched with all poſſible diligence, to ſuccour him, but came too late; and the French having notice thereof, retired themſelves with their priſoners, and did forſake the Field. The Engliſh buried their dead, and carried the Dukes body along with them, which was afterwards ſent from Roan to England, and buried at Canterbury, by his father. This is the ſubſtance of their narration. *Cheſne* and *Deſplaix* ſay, that the Duke of Clarence, a wiſe and valiant Prince, went to fight with the Earle *Bouban*, the Dolphins Conſtable, and Mr. *de Faiette*. That the French, though fewer in number, obtained the victory, having ſlaine three thouſand Engliſh: And that the Engliſh Hiſtorians to defraud the French of this glory, make their loſſe

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leſſe, accuſing the Duke of Clarence of raſhneſſe, for that not truſting in the French that were with him, he undertook the buſineſſe with his own men onely. *Dupleix* further to convince them, asketh, what the French men did while they fought? whether or no they ſtood with their armes acroſſe? and that he expected they ſhould couple impoſturiſme to their calumnie; and ſay, that the French had joyned with the Dolphins forces, to their prejudice. *Monſtrelet* ſayes, that the Duke of Clarence had ſent his people into Anjou, where under the command of the Scottiſh Conſtable, and Mr. *de Faiette*, a great number of the Dolphiniſts were met: That Clarence hearing they were at Bawges, tooke along with him part of his men, and almoſt all the chiefe Commanders, being followed by the reſt aloofe off. That he marched towards them with much danger and paine, by reaſon of a troubleſome paſſage over a river which he was to paſſe. That the Dolphiniſts being aware of his comming, and provided for him, after a keene, cruell, and bitter battell, had the victory; That the Engliſh loſt between two and three thouſand men, the French above eleven hundred; yet notwithſtanding all this, they under the command of the Earle of Salsbury, recovered the Dukes body. *Paulus Emilius* writes, that the Duke being come before Angiers, and having provoked the Garriſon, and taxed them of cowardiſe, becauſe they did not iſſue forth, paſſed forward to a little towne, where he underſtood the Scots were (who fought under the Dolphins pay) joyned to ſome companies of French, the which he careleſly ſet upon, for that hee was much more in number then they: but that being knowne by a golden circle, which as a Jewell he wore on his helmet, hee was ſet upon by many of them and ſlain: That notwithſtanding this, the greateſt part of his men retired themſelves without or feare or diſorder, unto Umena; where taking upon them the white croſſe of France, and finding the bridge over the river cut, they compelled the countrey people to re-edifie it, killing ſome of them, & leading the reſt along with them, leſt that the inhabitants being by them advertiſed, might have followed them, and that in this manner they got ſafe to Normandy. He ſpeakes nothing of the number of the dead. *Gaguinus* ſayes, that the Duke of Clarence being gone with a many Souldiers, into Anjou, did incamp himſelfe at Beufort; that being at table, he was told by certaine Scottiſh Free-booters, who were taken priſoners, that the French and Scotch were met together at Bawges; whereupon, riſing immediately from the table, he ſaid, they are our own, let none but the horſe follow us: that when he was come to little Bawges, he met with *Iohn de Croix*, a valiant French Gentleman, who being got into a Church, and having ſhut the doore upon him, was got up into the Belfree: that the Duke ſeeing he ſpent his time in vaine, ſet upon the reſt; and being himſelfe in the head of his men, having a garland of Jewels upon his helmet, hee was one of the firſt that was ſlaine by the French, and many other Lords with him. The Earles of Huntington and Somerſet, and *Thomas Beaufort* brother to the laſt, being taken priſoners. That the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight; but that finding the bridge broken at Umena, they tooke the white Croſſe, faigning themſelves to be French, and cauſing it to be mended by the Countrey people, they put them all to death, and paſſed forwards. *Serres* reports, that having preſented

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ſented himſelfe before Angiers, and having no hope to win it, hee ſet upon the French Army lodged at little Bawges; that out of aſſurance of victory he was loſt: and that together with him, there were there ſlaine fifteen hundred Engliſh. The hiſtory and Chronicle of Normandy relates, that being come into Angier on Eaſter Eve, hee underſtood that a great number of Scots were at Bawges; whereupon paſſing the river, hee in diſorder ſet upon them, not tarrying for his company: that the Earle *Bouhan*, a Scot, had the honour of the day, the Engliſh being defeated and ſlaine, hee names the great ones, but makes no mention of the reſt; but ſaith, that the bodies of the Duke, and the reſt of the Lords, were taken away, and ſent into England. *Buchanan* reports, that the Duke being informed by *Andrew Fregoſo*, or ſome other Scottiſh Free-booters, that the French were careleſly diſporting themſelves at Bawges, as thinking themſelves ſecure, it being good Friday, a day dedicated to devotion; or were it becauſe there was a truce for eight dayes, reſolved to ſet upon them, and that riſing from the table, he commanded that the horſe ſhould only follow him; that when he came to Bawges, he met with ſome ſcattering French, who ſaving themſelves in a Belfree, whilſt hee in vaine did ſpend his time there, the reſt were advertiſed of his arrivall, that the Earle *Bouhan* ſent 30 Archers to poſſeſſe the bridge, with whom *Hugh Kened*, together with an hundred others who were quartered in a Church hard by, all of them almoſt unarmed, as upon ſuch ſudden occaſions doth oftentimes fall out, did joyne himſelfe. That the Duke not able to make his horſes take the bridge, being ſhot at by the enemies, was the firſt that lighted, and who wonne the paſſage; but that whilſt hee and thoſe few that followed him, got on horſeback againe, and that the reſt paſſed leaſurely after him, by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the bridge, hee was ſet upon by Earle *Bouhan*, who had not with him above two hundred horſe; That they fought with equall courage, and hatred, the Scots as having an occaſion to give proofe of themſelves, (for the French were of opinion, that the inhabitants of great Britaine, were good for nothing but to eate and drinke: the ſame opinion which the Spaniards hold of the French, and the Africanes of the Spaniards) and the Engliſh as having before them an unplacable enemy, who not contented to fight with them at home, was come to ſeeke them on the other ſide the Sea: That they laid load one upon another, the Duke himſelfe fighting more eagerly then did any other: but that being wounded with a lance in the face by *Iames Luinton*, and unhorſt by the Earle *Bouhan*, who let drive at him with a battle Axe, the reſt all ran away, & were purſued till dark night: that there died about 2000 Engliſh, of which ſix and twenty men of account, beſides priſoners, which were many. Of French and Scots very few, and almoſt all of the meaner ſort. That others doe beleeve that *Alexander Macelſelan* was he who kild the Duke, having ſold the Duke of Clarence Coronet to *John Stewart* for five hundred pound, which was afterwards pawned by him to *Robert Vſtonne*, for two thouſand five hundred pound. That the Scots had the greateſt ſhare of glory in this buſineſſe, and that for this cauſe the Dolphin made the Earle *Bouhan* Conſtable, rewarding the other commanders according to their deſerts. From theſe expoſitions may eaſily be gathered, that *Dupleis* the lateſt of all other Writers, doth falſly

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falſly accuſe the Engliſh Hiſtorians. *Monſtrelet* witneſſeth the Duke was fewer in number, where he ſaies he tooke but part of his forces; the Chronicle, that he did not tarry for his men; *Gaguinus* and *Buchanan*, that leaving the foote, he tooke onely along with him the horſe; that they taxe him of raſhneſſe, to rob the honour from the French; *Monſtrelet* ſaies that he was abuſed by information, that he was to make a difficult paſſage, and that the enemy was advertiſed and provided for him. *Paulus Emilius*, that he ſet upon them careleſly, as if he did deſpiſe them: that he would take onely the horſe along with him, beleeving that the French were already as good as loſt. *Serres*, that his imagined victory was the cauſe why hee loſt his life: the Chronicles, that he ſet upon the enemy diſorderly; and *Buchanan*, that he onely made uſe of the horſe; that they have leſſened the loſſe, they confeſſe 2000. *Serres* ſaith but 1500. none but *Monſtrelet*, names them to bee betweene two and three thouſand; an undeterminated number: *Buchanan* about 2000. hee likewiſe undeterminates; *Paulus Emilius*, and *Guaginus* ſpeake not hereof at all. That any French troopes were with the Duke, neither Engliſh nor French author, of as many as I have met withall (himſelfe excepted) mention any ſuch thing; for what remaines, if it were not true that the baſtard of Clarence came in unto his reſcue, the Dukes body could not have beene recovered; that it was recovered, *Monſtrelet* and the Chronicles of Normandy doe take away all diſpute; and as *Monſtrelet* ſaith, the Earle of Salsbury was he who recovered it, were it at the ſame time or afterwards: to ſay afterwards, is abſurd: for flying from the defeat, he muſt with danger of his life, have tarried ſomewhere, till the enemy was gone, or elſe have returned with new forces from Normandy, and to no purpoſe, ſince they might have taken his body away: he tarried no where; for the Engliſh in their flight (according to the French writers) tooke their white croſſe for their owne ſafeties, and cauſed the bridge of Umena to be reedified, leſt they might be againe ſet upon, neither did he returne, for being come to Normandy, he could not at the ſame time have made this voiage, and that of Alanſon; therefore if the baſtard recovered the body, the Duke fought without his bowmen: and if the Earle, it was at the ſame time, but not unleſſe he were Maſter of the field, the which after ſuch a defeate he could not be without a ſtrong ſuccour, which was that which did diſſipate the cloud of enemies, which buried the dead, which recovered the bodies of the Duke and the Lords, and whereby he returned home voide of feare, not cloathing himſelfe with the white croſſe: but ſay that this recovery be falſe: is it poſſible the French authors (were it onely for triumphs ſake) ſhould make no mention of it? and if they deny not that it was carried into England, would they not ſay how it was granted, whether in change, in gift or by ranſome? the Engliſh narration then (unleſſe it be the equivocall meaning of the Duke of Alanſon, wherein *John Speed* erreth not, and which hath nothing to doe with this our affaire) is that which I ſhall judge the treeſt: which being granted, the Duke being but a few, was overcome by many, and not unrevenged, for he was indebted to the enemy onely for 800. carcaſes, he having loſt 2000. the enemy 120. hee was a wiſe Prince, but not at this time; he preferred magnanimity before wiſdome;

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without which the former is as an unbridled horſe which runnes upon precipices, and ruines the rider; ſo as if his authors have accuſed him of raſhneſſe, they have done it juſtly not to rob the French of the honour, as ſaith *Dupleis*; rather writing as he doth, he that robs it both from the Engliſh and the Scots, for this act, what ever it was, was done under the happy guidance of Earle Bouhan their Generall.

The death of this Prince incouraged the enemy, for Normandy wanting now a Generall, they thought it weake to indure an incounter; they beſieged Alanſon; the Earle of Salsbury, who did ill indure the loſſe of ſuch a place, gathered all the forces together he poſſibly could, whilſt the French who ſpied his waies, expected his comming in good order, intending to ſet on him; but he, who came to ſuccour not to fight, turned towards the Abbey of Bec, loſing in his retreat about 200. men; an eaſie prize for the raiſing of the ſiege; for the enemy having driven away the ſuccour, retired to Anjou, leaving Alanſon free.

When King *Henry* heard of his brothers death, he choſe in his place, & endowed with the ſame authority, *Edmond* Earle Mourton, brother to the Earle of Somerſet; and calling a Parliament, he had great aſſiſtance; the Biſhop of Wincheſter, his uncle lent him monies (till ſuch time as the ſubſidies could be raiſed) wherewithall he paied 4000. men at armes, and 24000. archers, which he cauſed to paſſe over to Callis, conducted by the Earle of Bedford, and followed himſelfe in midmay: the Dolphin did at this time beſiege Shartres, a place of importance, defended by the baſtard of Theime, and ſome troopes which the Duke of Exceter had ſent unto him from Paris, whilſt hee being weakned, ſuffered much for want of victualls; the City by reaſon of the multitude therein eaſily to be famiſhed; the reaſon of this ſcarcity was, for the Dolphiniſts having made themſelves Maſters of Bonevalle and other forts thereabouts, did command the field. But the King being come to Callis, diſpatched away unto him the Earle of Dorſet, and the Lord Clifford, with 1200. men; by means whereof and by the newes of his paſſage, he ſtopped the enemies excurſions: at Montreule he met the Duke of Burgony, who was come thither the day before, ſicke of an ague; they ſtaied three daies together, after which time the Duke departed, to procure for him the paſſage over Some to Abeville, and did obtaine it, whilſt the King marching that waies tooke in Fertes held by Monſieur *de* Harcourts people; he placed there in a garriſon of the Dukes ſouldiers; when hee was paſt the bridge at Abeville, he tooke his leave of him, the Duke having promiſed to meet him againe within a few daies, as he did; when he was come to Bois *du* Saint Vincent, aſſoone as he had ſaluted the King and Queene, he reſolved with the Duke of Exeter (who was come from Paris) to goe to Shartres, and to fight with the enemy, to this purpoſe he added ſome French troopes to his owne men: when he was come to Mantes, the Duke of Burgony met him with 3000. fighting men; the Dolphins forces conſiſted then of 7000. men at armes, 4000. croſſebow men, and 6000. archers; but finding himſelfe much inferior to the Kings forces, he raiſed the ſiege, and retired himſelfe to Turin, for one defeat would have beene ſufficient to have ruinated all his fortune: the hopes of battell being thus vaniſhed, the Duke paſt into Picardy; this Province

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was held in much diſorder by *Meſſuers de Harcourt, d'Offement*, and other Captains: he and his men marched without any manner of order, looking for nothing leſſe then to be ſet upon: ſo as being aſſaulted at unwares, not farre from Mons, the Dukes Banner born by his ſervant, who ſhould have borne it, fled ſuddenly away, and two thirds of the Army, beleeving that the Duke had been gone with it, fled likewiſe after it: and *Pieron de Luppes* purſuing them with an hundred and twenty horſe, did ſo weaken his companions, as that the Duke accompanied by valiant Gentlemen, overthrew thoſe who remained, killing foure hundred of them, and taking an hundred priſoners. This good fortune was accompanied by the gaining of St. *Requier*, which was ſurrendred to him by Monſieur de *Offemont* in change for the priſoners he had taken. The King on theother ſide made himſelf maſter of Dreux, Beaugenſy, and other places upon compoſition: and returning by Beauſe, tooke Rougemont by force, and Villeneue upon articles: having here made fitting preparations for the ſiege of Meaux, he paſſed thither in Boats over the river Marna, invironed it with workes and trenches.. This place was defended by brave Captaines, under the command of the baſtard of *Vaures*, and by a thouſand Souldiers, beſides the inhabitants, who were all ready to defend it: here did the King receive newes that his Queen was delivered of a ſonne at Windſor, baptized *Henry*, the place of his birth and name did allay his joy; for hee called to minde an unlucky prediction, the which though hee did not beleeve, yet it is incident to man, to doubt of happineſſe, and feare calamities: for evill events happening oftner then good, wee doe rather beleeve ſuch predictions as foretell bad events, becauſe they are likelieſt to enſue: So as turning to his Chamberlaine, hee ſaid, that to himſelfe who was borne at Monmouth, great conqueſts were fore told, and a ſhort life; but to his ſonne borne at Windſor, a long but miſerable life, and a declining fortune: that he left the ſequell to Gods diſpoſall; but if the predictions were ſuch, they were too true: for juſt ſo it fell out.

Mr. *d'offemont* was to goe to Meaux, to take order for defence of that place; and the beſieged had writ unto him the name of the place by which he was to enter, giving him downe a ladder at the walles foot, that hee might the readier climbe up: hee came accompanied with fourty Souldiers, hee ſlew ſome Centinels which were in his way, and paſſed quietly into the ditch: but whilſt his men clome up the ladder, that he himſelf might be the laſt, it ſo fell out, that as he was paſſing over a boord which croſſed ſome kinde of concavity, his foot ſlipt, and hee armed as he was, fell in: and not able to be got out without noyſe (having broken two Lances which were by his men let downe to help him out) the beſieged ran thither, and ſetting upon thoſe who were not yet gotten up, tooke him wounded, and by direction from the King, hee was carefully dreſſed and looked unto. This chance did much trouble the beſieged; who not able to defend the Citie without infinite labour (their number not being ſufficient to defend ſo great a circuit) they abandoned it, and retired themſelves to the Fort in the Market-place; where having broken their Lances in their daily bickerings, they made uſe of Spits: and the Engliſh who were lodged in the Citie, enjoyed the like advantage: for they were freed from infinite guards which the great circumference of the

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place inforced them to keep. The King cauſed Artillery to be planted in fitting places, beating downe the walles, houſes, and the onely Mill which was within that compaſſe; winning the which, hee did ſo incommodate them, that if they had been ſuccuored, they could have received no comfort without a counter-ſiege. This onely difficulty had been ſufficient to have made them whilſt time ſerved, thinke upon their ſafeties; but their vain-glory to be buried in the ruines, made them lend no eare to the perſwaſions of an enemy King who did friendly admoniſh them. Whereupon force being the onely cure for their obſtinacie, hee ſet upon them with a generall aſſault, which was valiantly performed, and more vigorouſly oppugned, the defendants being inforced, after much loſſe of bloud, and lives of both ſides, to retire: and the defendants eſteeming themſelves victors, in as much as they were not overcome, were ſo puft up with pride, as after divers opprobrious and ſcornfull ſpeeches, they did drive an aſſe to the top of the walles which incompaſſed the Market place, in ſight of the beſiegers, and cauſing him by blowes to bray, they incited his aſſiſtance to the beſieging King: the which hee made a leſſe eſteem of, then the loſſe of the ſonne of the Lord *Cornwalle*, a young youth who being hardly out of his nonage, had through his wiſedome and valour raiſed ſuch an expectation in every one, as had not a Cannon ſhot bereaved him of life, he in a ſhort time was likely to have been numbred amongſt the worthieſt Captaines of that age. But theſe the beſigeds uncivill, ruſticke inſolencies, were but of ſhort continuance, like the laſt blaſts of a candle ready to goe out: for they ſurrendred themſelves, at the Victors wills, the lives of the meaner people being onely ſecured. The King uſed ſuch juſtice as they had deſerved. The baſtard *Vaurus* was beheaded, and his body hung upon a tree without the Citie, upon the which hee had formerly cauſed a many Engliſh and Burgonians to bee hanged; whereupon it was afterwards called, *Vaurus* his tree. *Dionegius Vaurus*, and *Lewis Ghaſt* were afterwards put to death in Paris: the reſt, which were betweene ſeven and eight hundred, were impriſoned, and their goods divided amongſt the ſouldiers; the taking in of Meaux drew after it the ſurrendring up of many other places; amongſt which that of Creſpi in Valeſia, of Pierrapont, Mertean, Offemont, Compeigne, Remy, Gurney, Mortemer, Neville, Montaigne, and others; Moy, Montecurt, and Breſſii, were ſet on fire by their owne garriſons, as unable to hold out any longer: the garriſons of Moy, retired themſelves to Guiſe, and the reſt elſewhere. King *Henry* was no ſooner gone from Meaux, but the Queene his wife came into Normandy, with a puiſſant army of horſe and archers, under the conduct of the Duke of Bedford; ſhe paſſed on from Hafew to Roan, and from thence to the Boys *de* Saint Vincent, where the King met her, joyfully welcomed by her, his brethren in law, and all the Court, and after they had with great ſolemnity celebrated the feaſt of Whitſontide at Paris, he tooke his laſt farewell of her, betaking himſelfe to the firſt occaſions the war offered.

The Earle of Warwick was gone with three thouſand men to take poſſeſſion of Gamach, which was to yeeld it ſelfe, in caſe it were not ſuccoured by the eight of June, and having left there a ſufficient garriſon he tooke his way towards Saint Valery, having ſent before ſome few horſe,

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horſe to diſcry the Country: who being met by a hundred horſe, they defended themſelves, till ſuch time as the Earle came in to their ſuccour, whereby they were forced to withdraw themſelves into the City, which was forthwith beſieged; thoſe within the Towne had the ſea open, and the Earle had no ſhips, inſomuch as they ſcorned his ſiege; for they furniſhed themſelves with victuall by their owne ſhips, or elſe had them brought unto them from neighbouring Port-townes. But as ſoone as by his directions they ſaw ſhips come from Normandy, they grew to Articles of ſurrender, if they were not ſuccoured by the fifteenth of September, which they were not: ſo as all the Townes between Paris and Bullen, were now in King *Henry's* hands, except Crotois and Guiſe, the which Monſieur *de Harcourt* would never yeeld up, though in the Kings name hee was thereunto intreated by his brother the Biſhop of Amiens.

The Dolphin this meane while ſate not ſtill; but being twenty thouſand men ſtrong, he went to St. Serres; he took Charitee upon Loyre, and beſieged Cone, inforcing it to give Hoſtages to ſurrender, in caſe it were not releeved by the 16 of Auguſt. But their courage growing warme in this negotiation, and egged on by millitary diſcipline, they agreed to fight a pitcht battell the aforeſaid 16 day: whereupon the Duke of Burgony being ready to goe into Artois, advertiſed hereof, ſtayed in Burgony, ſending for people into Picardy and Flanders, and gave account hereof to King *Henry*, who was then at Sentis, intreating him to ſend unto him ſome of his men, under ſome good Leader. His anſwer was, he would ſend him none: for he himſelfe would be their Leader. Whilſt his mind being greater then his ſtrength of body, hee promiſed what he could not performe: for though he were ſicke, hee thought not hee was come to his laſt end; which in truth was ſomwhat bitter, & out of ſeaſon to one of his years; who notwithſtanding, according to the wil of heaven, was ripe, and at his full growth. So as not able to go himſelfe, nor willing that the ſuccour ſhould come late, he commanded the Duke of Bedford, accompanied by the Earle of Warwicke, and other Lords, to lead it along, promiſing to follow them himſelfe, as ſoon as poſſibly he could. But when he was come to Melune (his ſickneſſe growing ſtrong upon him) hee was compelled to goe into a Litter, and to be carried to the Boys de St. Vincent. This mean while the Duke of Burgony being come before Cone, and having mingled the two Nations together, to the end that they might equally ſhare in honour, ſo to avoid the difference which might ariſe between them touching precedencie therein, he found that the Dolphin, not willing to hazard himſelfe upon the ſucceſſe of a battaile, had raiſed the ſiege, and was gone to Burges; ſo as he was forced to be content to have with his honour freed Cone.

The Duke of Bedford underſtanding that his brother grew worſe and worſe, rid poſt to the Boys *de* Saint Vincent, and Burgony not able to goe along with him, (for his affaires called him elſewhere) ſent *Hugh de* Lanoi to make his excuſe, and to viſit the King, who finding his eſtate of life by all ſignes deſperate, and knowing that he muſt die, finding his brothers, his uncle, and all the reſt, ſad and diſconſolate, he wiſhed them to praiſe God, who tooke him unto him in ſuch a time when as his honour

nour was not ſubject to the inconſtancy of fortune; that he was ſorry for nothing but to leave them under the burthen of ſo weighty a buſineſſe; that their worth and fidelity, did much comfort him; that the Lord God would ſhare the glory betweene them, which he had had in giving a good beginning thereunto, and which they were to have in bringing it to a happy end; he willed them to remember what they ought unto him in the behalfe of his yong ſon; that if he did deſerve to be ſerved as his heire, and their Soveraigne, he deſerved much more ſo to be, for that his innocent age had not yet beene harmefull to any: that it was their parts by inſtructing him in vertue, to infuſe into him a diſpoſition to gratitude and love, that by the one he might recompence ſervice, and by the other affection; he adviſed them above all things elſe to keep the Duke of Burgonies friendſhip, and never to diſjoyne themſelves from him: that if any treaties of peace ſhould be with the Dolphin, they ſhould agree to none, without the reſervation of Soveraignty, the Dutches of Normandy and Guaſcony; that they ſhould not ſet at liberty the Duke of Orleans, and the other priſoners that were in England, till his ſonne was of age. To *Humphrey* Duke of Gloceſter he committed the protection of England, and to *Iohn* Duke of Bedford the Regency of France, with this caution, that if the Duke of Burgony ſhould endeavour it he ſhould freely yeeld it up unto him: finally, he recommended the Queene his wife unto them, intreating them to honour and reſpect her as he had done; all the roome was filled with ſighes and tears, in midſt whereof they promiſed punctually to obey him: having thus freed himſelfe of worldly affaires by his verball will, he deſired to know of the Phyſitians how long in their judgements they thought he might yet live: But they referred the event to the good will of God, whereupon he commanded them to ſpeak freely their opinions; after a ſhort conſultation, the chiefeſt of them kneeling downe, ſaid unto him, that for what the skill of phyſicke could foreſee, he was not likely to live above two houres, a ſentence which did no whit ſtartle him, but calling for his Chapleines, he cauſed them read the ſeven penitentiall Pſalmes before him, and when they were come to the verſe, *Benigne fac Domine in bona voluntate tua Sion ut edificentur muri Hieruſalem*, do good in thy good pleaſure unto Sion, build thou the walls of Hieruſalem, hee ſaid that his intention had alwaies been (if God had granted him life) after he ſhould have reduced the buſineſſe in France to a peaceable end, to have gone to the winning of that holy City, but ſince that the divine Maieſty had pleaſed to diſpoſe otherwiſe of him, his holy will be done; & they returning again to read the Pſalms, he made a bleſſed and a happy end; dying neer about the ſame time his Phyſitians had foretold, and having received all thoſe ſacraments, which by the Church of Rome were preſcribed to dying men: he dyed the laſt of Auguſt, of a pluriſie, a diſeaſe not wel known in thoſe daies, which cauſed amongſt the common people two ſeverall opinions of his death, the one that he dyed of a diſeaſe called Saint *Anthonies* fire, the other of that called Saint Fiacree, which is convultions, or extention of the nerves, hee raigned nine yeares, five months, and twenty three daies, not having fully compleated his eight and thirtieth year; his temperature according to the obſervations of phyſicke, promiſed a longer life; he was of a leane and ſinnowie body,

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of

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of a black haire, his limbs well proportioned and active, of ſtature higher then uſuall, his face well ſhaped though ſomewhat long, endowed him with a manlike beauty. England hath had before and ſince his time many worthy Kings, but of perfections exceeding his, none: he was juſt, wiſe, magnanimous, valiant, I would ſay fortunate, if fortune had any abiding place with vertue: he undertooke a difficult warre, in a time when his enemies inteſtine diſſention did facilitate it unto him, he thereby appeaſed his Kingdome, purging it of all its ill humours, he healed it, and made it greater by reducing ſlothfull and vagabond people (the ordinary plagues of common wealths) from idleneſſe and vice, to warfare and honour, hee was ſerved by inclination, and affection; the greatneſſe of his ſpirit, and his heroique actions were the loadſtones which drew unto him his ſubjects love and reverence; he was of an unblameable life, and an enemy to all vice, which may ſerve for a ſufficient teſtimony for whatſoever elſe of good may be ſaid of him: at home he ſpilt no bloud, ſave that of the Earle of Cambridge and his fellow conſpirators; under whoſe aſhes as long as he lived, and ſome while after, all civill wars was buried; and if he uſed ſeverity abroad, armes his enemies obſtinacy, and the lawes of war, muſt ſuffer the blame.

The end of the firſt Volume.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE CIVILL VVARRES OF ENGLAND IN THE LIFE OF HENRY THE SIXTH.

BY the lives of the preceeding Kings wee have ſeene that the Civill Warrs had their beginning from the bad Government of *Richard* the ſecond; that *Henry* the fourth did firſt commence them, and *Henry* the fifth ſuſpend them; but that after 40. yeares Peace they ſhould againe breake forth under *Henry* the ſixth when the Government was eſtabliſhed, Mens minds quieted and appeaſed, is a matter worthy of conſideration, which ought not to bee paſſed over, to the end wee may examine whether this hapned by default of the Subjects or *Prince*, and which of them it was that after the cure of the firſt malady were cauſers of the ſecond. Wee ſhall find Arguments probable enough if wee conſider the different natures of the two laſt Kings. *Henry* the fifth found a Kingdome uſurped by his Father, ſo exaſperated by the deaths and confiſcations of many, as he would never have beene able to have ſetled and maintained a Peace had not his valour caus'd him to be fear'd, and his vertue belov'd by his Subjects; in all the time of his life he met with no other Conſpiracie then that of *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, which was ſuppreſs'd as ſoone as undertaken, not for that *Richards* Heires were Children (ſince that *Edmund Mortimer* lawfull Heire to the Crowne outliving him, pretences were not like to be wanting to any one who durſt have moleſted him) but for that *Edmunds* fearefull, (or were it peacefull) nature, the tender yeares of ſuch as were to ſucceed him, the ambition of great ones allured by honours, and inriched by forraigne Warrs, and that another King could not better their private conditions, nor rayſe the publike honour to a higher pitch; were the true cauſes which did ſuppreſſe alterations: being dead the fortune which did accompany him during his life, did not for a long time forſake him in the perſon of his Sonne; inſomuch as in his infancy and two ſucceeding ages he was by his Subjects ſerved without contradiction,

Henry the 6.

out of hopes that together with the Kingdome he had Inherited his Fathers vertues; his tender yeares priviledged by his owne comlines, and the love of others, had not afforded them time to dis-deceave themselves in what concerned vallour and wisdome, (vertues in him of much expectation) whil'st the bright sunshine of other vertues dasled the Eyes of the wisest, for malice it selfe cannot but confesse that *Henry* the sixth was one of the best and holiest Kings that ever *England* had: if goodnes alone without the helpe of other vertues were only required to the office of a King; but there is difference betweene the vertues of private Men and of Princes, what is sometime to be praysed in the one, is to be blamed in the other; not for that the faculties of operation bee not from the highest to the lowest uniforme in all, but that being diversified by the differing condition betweene Princes and Subjects, they produce contrary actions, according as the condition of those who operate is contrary, and as the wayes and imaginations of God are not such as are those of Men: so (all due and reverent proportion being given, if any proportion at all be to be given) the conceptions and proceedings of Princes ought not to bee such as are those of private Men. Very morall vertues, though the same in all Men are not in them considerable, but with a particular difference, for that becomes them, and they may do that, which becomes not us nor may wee doe. *Henry* was a good Man, but no good King. Hee was borne with good intentions, but of himselfe simple. Conditions plausible in a private Man, misbecomming him that Raignes, and in all cases harmefull, for as wisdome without goodnes is a meere infirmity, so goodnesse without wisdome is a meere defect. Were it not the part of wisdome to put us upon those actions which in reason wee ought to doe, but only to make us simply or meerly good, he would have had no need thereof; nor yet they who are naturally given to be good. Those who imagin'd all vertues, though differing in name not to differ in Office, but that they all were so many wisdomes, did not perhaps beleeve amisse; experience shewes us that without wisdome fortitude is rashnes, justice, severity, and temperance disorder, other vertues are common or indifferent to all Men; this of wisdome in Princes is singuler. The goodnes of *Henry* the sixth was a Cloyster life goodnes, but as the affections of a King doe not befit a Clergie-man, so doe not the affections of a Clergie-man befit a King. Wee are borne under two Lawes, the one of God, the other of Nature; the which though distinct are not incompetable, if wee do embrace the former which hath no other end but the spirituall health, the choice is good, and much the better, if it be accompanied with contempt of the World, and mortification of the Spirit. If the second, (in which Princes are comprehended, and which joyned to faith doth not exclude saving health) to command and to Raigne requires active Spirits, as farre differing from this contempt and mortification, as ought a Clergie-man differ from the lively and ready resentments which are requisit in him that commands. The foure Beasts which are described to have Eyes before and behind, ought to serve for a type to *Henry*,

Apoc: Cap: 4°.

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Henry the 6.

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The Conditions of affaires in both Kingdomes at *Henry* the fifths Death was ſuch, as by reaſon of the good directions he left, could not be amended. His Subjects were ready to obey, drawne by the glory of ſo many famous Victories, and by the profit which accrewd unto them by ſo many conſiderable acquiſitions. In *France* the home diſcentions of that Kingdome, the wiſdome and vallour of the Duke of *Bedford*, and the good Commanders and Souldiers which waged Warre under him nouriſhed hopes of more happy proceedings. And the two Brothers, Unckles to the Infant King free from jealouſy and evill intelligence (the Duke of *Bedford* remaining chiefe in *France* with the Title of *Regent*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter* commanding in *England* under the Title of *Protectour*) did conſpire, not only to preſerve what they had gotten, but to acquire more: but the cauſe being tane away, the effects cannot continue. *Charles* the fifth King of *France* dyed within leſſe then 3. Moneths after King *Henry* the fifth, who being incapable of Government, and govern'd by his Wife a revengefull Woman, and bad Mother, had by her meanes alienated his Kingdome, deprived his Sonne thereof and ſet diſſention among his Subjects to the increaſe of *Englands* greatnes. *Philip* Duke of *Burgony*, who (according to the Councell of deceaſed *Henry*) was to be inſnared by allurements, was by *Gloceſter* diſtaſted, driven there-

Henry the 6.

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Henry the 6.

unto either by ambition, or love, or both. Whereby Men may learne not to build too much upon their owne knowledge, but to watch over their ſelves, every little intreſt being ſufficient to change us to the worſe. Since *Gloceſter*, a good and wiſe Prince, ceaſed to be ſo when he ſuffer'd himſelfe to be tranſported by his paſſions and private intreſts, ſeldome meeting with publique reſpects, thoſe who looke after the one abandon the other, or elſe do ruine both the one and the other together, with the State and themſelves as did he. Theſe were the true cauſes of the *Engliſh* retrogadations in *France*; civill diſcentions in *France* had eſtabliſh'd the *Engliſh*, and the reconciliation betweene the Duke of *Burgony* and *Charles* the ſeaventh was their ruine. So as though the recomencement of the Civill Warres be chiefely aſcribed to the loſſes in *France*, yet ſince they began not till the King was growne a Man and that the Affaires of *France* were little better then quite loſt, there would have beene no liklyhood of any diſorders in *England*, if things had ſucceeded well, and the Sonne had beene like the Father: for in the ſame manner as the one ſuppreſt the Conſpiracie of the Earle of *Cambridge*, and thereby wonne reputation, the other might have quell'd the Duke of *Yorkes* audacity, and have preſerved his Kingdome: but the Sword wherwith *Scanderberg* cut off arm'd limbs was not of the ſame temper when manag'd by another Hand, and therfore the reall difference is, that wheras the Earle did Juſtle with a ſtrong and fierce Lyon, his ſucceſſors encountred with

1422 a weake milde lowly Lambe. King *Henry* was proclaymed King when he was about 8 Monethsold, the Duke of *Exceter* and his Brother the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* were deputed for the Government of his perſon, and the Queene his Mother for his Diet, whilſt the Duke of *Gloceſter Protectour* of the Kingdome, took care for all things which might make for Peace at home, or Warres abroad; the Infant King was brought from *Windſor* to *London* to be ſhowne in full Parliament; his Mothers boſome was his Throne, and generall acclamations ſerv'd as the earneſt penny of obedience. Ayds were willingly contributed for the perſervation of what his Fathers worth had won. The Duke of *Bedford* on the other ſide ſurpriſed by the diſadvantageous Death of *Charles* the ſixth (which hapned in October the ſame yeare) and by his being forſaken by many who had formerly followed his Standard to follow the *Dolphin* (who was proclaymed King by the Name of *Charles* the ſeaventh) knowing how contrary to their naturall affections that obedience was, which thoſe who remained with him had ſworne to the King his Brother; did in a ſolemne Aſſembly cauſe new Oaths to be taken in the behalfe of the now Heyre, a thing readily obtained but very irreligeouſly obſerved, and had it not beene for the power and authority of the Duke of *Burgony*, a Prince of great Poſſeſſions and attendance, the affaires of *England* would not have laſted ſo long as they did; but they grew worſe and worſe according as he ſlackned his vigilancy therein by reaſon of *Gloceſter*, and the City of *Orleans* wherewith he was not truſted; by reaſon of the death of his Siſter who was Wife to *Bedford*, and by his totall alienation, when having appeaſed his anger againſt *Charles*, the lives

of

of those first Warriers who were his friends did cease. *Henry* in *Paris* was likewise proclaymed, and sworne King of *France* and *England*, Monyes were there Coyned with his stampe and the Armes of both the Kingdomes, whilst *Charles* of more yeares but lesser power, and excluded from the Metropolitane Citty, possessed nothing: on the other side the *Loire* save the Countries of *Berry*, *Foreſt*, *Bourbonne*, *Lyons* and *Auvergne*, the greatest part of *Poicton* and St. *Onges* did submit to him, in consideration that the Nobility of those parts depended on him, or else that they Neighbourd upon him: these parts were reduc'd to such a point, that one part of their Territories being under him, the other under the *English*, they were necessitated either by complying with the one faction, to offend the other, or else to declare themselves partiall for the one of them, conformable to the intrest of their possessions. On the other side of the River, hee held the Countries of *Mayne* and *Anjou*; some few places in *Champagnia* and *Picardie* being forced to tollerate the insolencies of his owne Souldiers, for not being by reason of his poverty able to pay them, they paid themselves by rapine and extortion upon the poore people, afflicted and impoverished by all sides. The *Count de Fois* had recovered *Languedoc* for him from the Prince of *Orange*; and as for *Guienne* the *Count Cominges* by inclination, and *Count Arnigniac* for hate to *Burgony*, by reason of the Constable *Arnigniacs* ignominous Death in *Paris* neare his Bulwarkes. All which effects proceeded from the Subjects love, for who shall consider his undisolvable difficulties, will find he could not possibly have overcome them without the resolv'd patience of those who did obey him; who were constrained to indure not only Hostile injuries, but likewise the injuries and rapine of such Souldiers as were their friends, who being uncorrected and undisciplind were more of damage to them then was the Enemy; hereunto may be added that they had no Prince of the bloud to uphold them

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The Dukes of *Orleans* and *Burbon* were Prisoners in *England*, the Duke of *Anjou* resolute upon the recovery of the Kingdome of *Naples*; and *Burgony* their inexorable Enemy: but to dispute the contrary, 'tis likely that was not so much the love to *Charles*, as the hatred to the *English* which made them willing to suffer so much: for being but a yong Man about 22. yeares of age he could not have obliged them by benefits, nor in those yeares have given such proofe of himself, as to cause him to be desired: 'tis rather to be beleev'd that being born their presum'd King, their desire to exclude the *English* was that which did only foment their affections. All Nations do naturally abhorre being subjected one to another; the diversity of Language, Customes and Humours, causing the reciprocall aversion and hatred which wee find in them, and if there were no other reason, for that it is a kind of wretchlesnes (though not alwayes) to be overcome by Strangers, was a prevalent cause of making him be belov'd, he being the Naile by which the other of the *English* Empire must be driven out.

When *Charles* had understood his Fathers Death, and caused his Obsequies to bee celebrated, in *Espalles* (a small Castle in *Overgnie*, where

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where he then chanc'd to be, after one Dayes Mourning, he causeſed him ſelfe to be ſolemnly proclaymed King: and going from thence to *Poictiers*, he was with Title of ſolemnity Crowned: *Reems* a place antiently deſtinated for that Ceremony was by the Enemy forbidden him; ſo as *France* had now a divided Crowne, not eaſie to be peiced together, ſince two did equally intitle themſelves King. Whilſt it was eaſie for *Charles* to peece the divided minds of ſuch, who either were not incumbred or wavering in *Burgony's* faction, whence it inſued, that to preſerve what the *Engliſh* had wonne, or to augment it, depended now no more upon the hope of ayd from *France*; but upon the proper ſtrength and Councell of *England*: upon Councell that they might keepe *Philip* firme unto them, for friends by reaſon of their paſſions are changeable; upon ſtrength, ſince the obſtacles which dayly increaſed by the going over of ſo many to the adverſe party were by no other meanes to be removed.

After the two Kings Death skirmiſhes were made in all parts, wherin certaine petty places were taken and retaken, not worthy to be mention'd in ſtory. The *Pariſeans* had ſent a ſolemne Embaſſy into *England* to require ſpeedy ſuccour againſt the injuries done by *Charles*. The *Engliſh* Writers ſay this Embaſſy was ſent to cloake under this pretended zeale the treaſon which they were a hatching, how to yeild themſelves up unto him, which whether it were ſo or no cannot abſolutely be ſayd: but *Du Pleis* perverting the times, and mentioning the Conſpiracy before the Embaſſy augments the ſuſpition; they were ſent back loaded with promiſes, the effect wherof the *Engliſh* did better make good, then did the *Pariſians* their Faith.

Charles was by this time come to *Rochell* (being ſomwhat ſtartled at ſome forces rayſed by the Duke of *Brittany*, beleeving it to be done to his prejudice, and contrary to what was lately agreed on betweene them during his Fathers Life) where ſitting in Councell, part of the Chamber fell downe, which with certaine others indamag'd *John* of *Burbonne*, *Seigneur de Preaux* he himſelfe being in evident danger, had he not beene ſuddenly drawne from thence. At this time happned the ſurprizall of *Ponte de Melone* under the Conduct of *John de Greiville*, who ſlew as many *Engliſh* as he found there: as likewiſe their puniſhment who truſting upon the Duke of *Bedfords* abſence had appointed time and place for *Charles* his People to enter *Paris*, a plot which very well might have ſucceeded, had not the Duke by his making haſt hindred them for comming upon them with good forces; unexpectedly he put many of them to Death, ſome few eſcaping by flight: and now no longer truſting them, he put ſtrong Garriſons into the Citty and parts adjacent, wherof ſome yeilded themſelves, and ſome he tooke in. He ſent for the recovery of *Ponte de Melone*, *Thomas Mountaigue* Earle of *Salisbury*, a man (according to the witnes of ſuch Writers as are not *Engliſh*) to be compared to whoſoever of the Antient *Romans*: and together with him the Earle of *Suffolke*, the Lord *Scales*, the younger Lord *Poinings*, and many others. This place was beſeiged all *January* and *February*, thoſe which were within the Towne defending themſelves valiantly upon the

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the hope of ſuccour, which to the number of 6000 was Muſterd together upon the confines of the Dutchy of *Berry*, under the conduct of the *Count d' Omale*, *Count de Buchane* and the Vicount of *Narbone*; but being come within 6 Leagues of the Enemy, and ordered in Battell array, there fell ſuch diſorder amongſt them, that they returnd; disbanded the greateſt part of them, being defeated by the *Engliſh* which were at *Chartres* and thereabouts, the which when thoſe of the Towne underſtood, they grew into ſuch a fury, as throwing downe in the ſight of the Enemy *Charles* his Collours which were ſet upon the Gates, they tore them in peeces, as alſo all his other Enſigns, curſing thoſe who had perſwaded them to ſhut themſelves up in that Fort, upon perjur'd Oaths of ſuccour; they yeilded themſelves their lives only ſaved, the which was denied to ſuch as had ſerved *Henry* the fifth, to thoſe who had ſworne the finall Peace; to thoſe who were Complices in the Death of the Duke of *Burgony*, and to ſuch Souldiers as were *Scotts*, *Iriſh* or *Welſh*, together with *Melene*; they ſurrendred all other Forts which were in their hands, amongſt which were *Marchuſe* and *Monliere*, thoſe who would ſweare fealty and Homage had their liberties granted them without Ranſome; the which all of them almoſt did; in particular *Greville*; mov'd thereunto as I beleeve by his beleeving *Charles* to bee dead at *Rochell*, for when hee knew the contrary hee was not long in forſwearing himſelfe.

This meane while *Arthur Count de Richmond* Brother to *John* fift Duke of *Britanny* eſcaped away from the Earle of *Suffolke*, Lord Lieutenant to the King in *Normandy*, with whom ever ſince the Battell of *Agencourt* he had beene Priſoner. A civill liberty was permitted him upon Oath and promiſe not to depart, the which as long as the King lived was preciſely obſerved by him, not liſtning to his friends who had ſundry times offered to backe him if he would fly away, now thinking that by reaſon of the Kings Death, he might with ſafety to his honour eſcape, he fled; pretending himſelfe to be free from his Oath, as perſonall to him that was dead: but who ſhall well obſerve it, ſhall find that bare promiſes not aggravated by curteſies no wayes due nor inforced, as was this the largnes of his Impriſonment, are of as much force in morall affaires with Princes and amongſt ſuch as are Nobly borne, as is an Oath in Religion, eſpecially when as pretenſions not dying with the King, they together with their eſtates remaine in title and in ſubſtance intire unto their Succeſſours, if when the King dyed he had beene cloſe Priſoner, he could not (without a note of folly) have ſaid himſelfe to be diſoblig'd from his promiſe; ſo as having eſcap'd hee ſeem'd to repent that reſolution, which though at all times requiſite was then the more to be eſteemed of, as it was now the more blame worthy, ſince his owne Death, and not the Death of any other was only able to acquit him of his Oath and promiſe made. His firſt flight was to his Brother in *Britanny*, from thence to his Couſin *Philip* in *Flanders*, from whom he received a Commiſſion to procure a Parley betweene him, *Britanny* and *Bedford*, ſo as being return'd from his Brother and having concluded the Interview,

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Bedford went to receive them upon the confines of *Normandie*, all three of them comming into an appointed place where *Philip* ſtayed expecting them, the Confederacy which was contracted betweene them was confirmed by a double Marriage, the one betweene the Duke of *Bedford* and *Anne* the younger Siſter to *Philip*, together with the County of *Artois* in portion, in caſe they ſhould have any Iſſue: the other betweene *Count Richmond* and *Philips* eldeſt Siſter, Widdow to the *Dolphin Lewis*. This being done *Burgony* and *Richmond* withdrew themſelves to *Arras*, *Bedford* to *Paris*, and the Duke of *Britanny* to his owne Country, to whom *Bedford* paid 6000. Crownes for his expences in that journey. The inconſtancy of the Dukes of *Britanny* in their friendſhip may ſeeme ſtrange to ſome, being ſubject to often and momentary changes: but who will examine paſſages from the time that that State grew litigious will not wonder at it. I have thought good to give you a ſhort breviat thereof for the better underſtanding of the Hiſtory, and to eaſe the Reader of the paines of ſeeking that in others which I ſhould have omitted.

John the third Duke of *Britanny* who dyed without Iſſue, married his Neece *Jane* of *Britanny* (Daughter to *Guy* his next Brother but now dead) to *Charles* of *Blois*, ſecond Sonne to *Guy* of *Chatillion Count de Blois*, and *Margaret* Siſter to *Philip* the ſixt King of *France*; to the end that ſhee being the true Heire, other Woemen having beene formerly Heires to that Dukedome, ſhee might have a Husband that might defend her. When he was dead *John Count de Montfort* his third Brother (who during his life had no wayes oppoſed his Neece) pretended by prerogative of ſex to be Heire unto the State: ſo as *Blois* relying upon *France*, and he on *England*, they had fierce Warre together for 23. yeares, in which time 200000. Men were ſlaine in that quarrell. To *Count Montfort*, (who as not having intirely poſſeſſed *Britanny*, was not numbred amongſt the Dukes therof) did his Sonne *John* ſucceed, named *John* the fourth, after that *Charles de Blois* ſlaine in a great Battaile left him poſſeſſor therof. The King of *France* who could not by force take from him his Eſtate indeavour'd to weaken him by Interpoſition. Hee agreed upon this with the Widdow, and the Sonnes of *Charles* the Defunct, who renounced their pretenſions to the Dutchy and he his pretences to the Vice-county of *Limages*, reſtoring unto them (together with other obligations) the County of *Pointevere*, an agreement which laſted not long among ulcerated minds. The Duke beſide theſe had two other great Enemies; *Beretrand de Gueſchin* and *Oliver de Cliſſenne* his naturall Subjects, who having betaken themſelves to the ſervice of *Charles* the fift againſt the *Engliſh* proved ſo gallant Men, that both of them one after the death of the other were Conſtables of *France*; ſo as they having drawne unto the Kings pay the greateſt part of the Lords and Commanders of *Britanny*, who under their command had fought againſt *Charles de Blois*, they left the Duke quite bereft of Captaines, and Military affaires, and but badly obeyed by his Subjects, who were naturally inclin'd to the *French*, ſo as wrought thereunto by gratitude (*Edward* the third being his Father in Law who had put him into his

his Eſtate) and by neceſſity (the King of *France* being his Neighbouring powerfull Enemy) hee turned ſometimes one way ſometimes another, till being abandoned by his Subjects, it behoved him to retire himſelfe into *England*, forſaking his Countrey leaſt he ſhould be made Priſoner by them; not for that they hated him, but for that they hated his friendſhip with the *Engliſh*, whom they thought to be the cauſe of their ruine, being at laſt aware that the King of *France* moleſted him, not out of the pretended ſuſpitions, but to bereave him of his Eſtate, they ſent for him backe a little before the Death of *Charles* the fift; wherby hoping now to be in quiet, to pleaſe them he renounced his friendſhip with *England*, and ſided with *Charles* the 6^t^, who ſucceeded to *Charles* the fift. *Cliſſonne* who was of greater power with the now King then he had been with the former, finding him without his leaning ſtocke, Ranſomed *John Count de Pointevere* from his Impriſonment in *England*, upon whom (as Sonne to *Charles de Blois*, and *Jane* of *Britanny* Heire to *John* the third) the pretences to the Dutchy fell, and Marrying him to one of his Daughters, he began under that pretext to trouble him againe, the which though it were done under the name of the *Count de Pointevere*, yet it being the forces of *France* which did moſt oppreſſe him, he was forced to betake himſelfe to his accuſtomed Protection of *England*, without the which as he could not preſerve himſelfe being ſurmounted by *France*, ſo could he find no peace to affie in with *France*, being betrayed and diſobeyed by his Subjects, at laſt having reconciled himſelfe to *Cliſſonne*, and both of them being dead, *John* the fift his Sonne (he of of whom wee now ſpeake) brought up in *France* under the Government of *John* Duke of *Burgony* Sonne in Law to *Charles* the ſixt, would have beene conſtant, if the *French* had knowne how to conceale their deſire of taking from him his Eſtate; a thing which he deſerved not, for he had ſundry times given them proofes of his good will, eſpecially when being come to *Amiens* with 10000. fighting Men, two dayes before the battell of *Agencourt*, he ſent to the Commanders to deſire them to ſtay for him, the which to their Coſt they would not doe, his Brother the *Count de Richmond* being there ſorely wounded and taken Priſoner. *France* by this and other loſſes growing into a bad condition. *Henry* the fift being powerfull in *Normandy*, and he having beene treacherouſly made Priſoner by *Pointeveres* Bretheren, and ſet at liberty by his Subjects, and knowing by certaine of the Kings and Dolphins letters which came into his hands, that it was they who had beene the boutefeu's (to boote that it made not for him to have ſo puiſſant an Army upon his confines) he made agreement with *Henry* and afterward forſooke him, being naturally inclyn'd to the other ſide, at laſt the two Kings being dead; to comply with *Philip* of *Burgony*, he condeſcended to this laſt confederacy with the Duke of *Bedford* at *Amiens*. The following inconſtancies will be by this ſtory manifeſted, one thing only remaines to be ſuperficiouſly knowne, that *Britanny* was never at quiet, till ſuch time as (*Lewis* the twelfth having Married *Anne* the laſt Heire, of whom came *Claudia* and *Renete*; the latter Married to *Hercules* the ſecond Duke of

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Ferrara, the former to *Francis* the first King of *France*) shee was by the said *Francis* united to the Crowne of *France*.

The Duke of *Bedford* made but small abode after his returne to *Paris*, for having assembled a great number of Souldiers, he went to celebrate his Marriage at *Blois* in *Champania*, whether his Wife was brought accompanied with a great number of the chiefest Ladies and Lords of *Burgony*; the Marriage being consummated and the solemnities over, he brought her along with him, not forbearing by the way as he came to besiege *Pons* upon the Seene which he tooke by assault, putting the defendants to the Sword, so as his Wife amidsts armes and bloud was brought to *Paris*.

The Earle of *Salisbury* was gone to besiege *Montegulionna* a little Fort but of much inconvenience to the Neighbouring parts: for being hardly to be taken, for Garrison (though not of above 120. Men) was become very insolent: he spent there 6 Moneths, having indeavoured, though in vaine, at his first comming to take it by assault. This meane while *William Stuart* Constable of *Scotland* was come into *France* with 3000. *Scotts*, with whom together with certaine others that were added unto him by *Charles*, he went to besiege *Crevant* a place which held for the Duke of *Burgony* whose Mother (he being himselfe in the *Low Countries*) gave order to *Tonlongonne* his Marshall to succour it, having advertis'd the Regent *Bedford*, that he might doe as much on his side. *Salisbury* was comanded to assist in this succour, so as leaving Men sufficient to continue the siege, he joyned himselfe with *Tonlongonne* in *Auserres*; and being come within a quarter of a league of *Crevant*, they lighted making their Horses be led aloofe off from the Army, to the end that they might rely upon their Souldiers Armes not their Horses leggs; they marched slowly up unto the Enemy that they might not tyre themselves being much incumbred by the Sunne, which in *July* seem'd to them (being arm'd) and in *March*, to be very hot. The *Scotch* Campe was augmented by 600. *Spanish* Horse sent thither by *Charles* under the Conduct of Marishall *Severac* to boote with whom was come the *Count de Vantadore*, and many others; these were placed upon an advantageous Hill, by which the *English* were to have come if they had taken that way, but coming another way, they could not joyne Battell for the River *Jona* was betweene them. Such was the will they had to fight as drew them downe into the plaine, keeping themselves in readynes, the one nor the other side not doing any thing for almost the space of 3. Howres. The first that mov'd were the *English* and *Burgonians*, as those who were come with a resolution to fight, they set upon a Bridge defended by the Enemy, and having wonne it passed forward, whilst those of the Town sallyed forth to second them, the Battell was fought with vallour, resolution and hatred, but the *Scotts* who had placed themselves in the Forefront of the Battell, being almost all slaine or taken Prisoners (amongst the number of Prisoners were the Constable and the *Count de Ventadoure*, each of them with like misfortune having lost an eye) and the *French* set upon behind by the Garrison of *Crevent*, the Assailants wonne the field having slaine 1200. of the Enemies,

and

and taken 400. Prisoners. This Victory, to boote with the freeing of *Crevant*, was accompanied with the taking in of *Cussi Chasteau de La Roche Schartres* upon the *Loire*, *Mondidiere*, *Abbeville*, and *Han* upon the *Soame*. This is the relation made by *Monstrelette* and the *French* Writers. The *English* Writers who do particularly name the chiefe of those who were slaine or taken Prisoners, affirme: that their Men past the River, forcing not only the Bridge but the Foords: that besides the chiefe Men whom they name, and the ordinary Souldiers which they put not into this number, they slew 1800. *French* Gentlemen, 3000. *Scotts*, amongst which the Lord of S^r. *Johnstonne* and 12. Knights whose names they relate, and tooke 2200. *French* Prisoners all Gentlemen; that on their side were slaine 2100, amongst which S^r. *John Gray*, S^r. *William Hale*, S^r. *Gilbert Halsull*, and S^r. *Richard Madocks*. *Boetius*, and *Buchanan* speake nothing at all of this: let the Reader beleeve as he listeth. After this bickering the Earle of *Salisbury* return'd to his Siege of *Montaguliome* where he found that the defendants of 120. that they were, were reduc'd to 30, the rest having forsaken the place, to the end that the Victualls might hold out the longer to those that remained; but when they had eaten all their Horses, they could not though yeelding up the Towne save their lives without the summe of 22000. peeces of Gold by them there called *Saluti*, which they obliged themselves to pay, leaving foure of the chiefest of them for their security. On the contrary side the Marishall *Tolongonus* at his returne found not foretime with so smiling an aspect, for beleeving that by Monyes he had corrupted the Captaine of a Fort called *la Busiere*, he was abused through too much beleefe; for whilst he went to actuate the bargaine, the Captaine having fitly placed two Ambushes brought him together with 11. others into the Castle, where taking him Prisoner he at the same time caused almost all those that were without to be slaine, and had it not beene for the Imprisonment of the *Count de Ventadoure*, for whom he was changed, he had not beene soone set at liberty. This Yeare in the Moneth of *July* was the first Sonne of *Charles* borne, who in his due time succeeded him in his Kingdome by the name of *Lewis* the 11. a phantasticall Prince and almost ever rebellious towards his Father, so as whilst he thought to have beene at quiet being free from the *English* Warres, he gave against his Sons turbulencies; which brought him to his end before his time, marcerated by jealousy and slaine by suspition: His birth notwithstanding (so uncertaine are wee of future events) brought unto him great cause of joy; for the pledge of a Successor increaseth the Subjects love: he was howsoever a great Prince, who proved successefull in the rules of dissimulation, rather borne together with them then learnt of any other. *Ghirard de Hallian* describes him to be malicious, wary, cruell, and full of Cousenage.

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In *England* this meane while it was resolv'd to give libertie to *James* the first King of *Scotland*, after 18. yeares Imprisonment; which caused to the first mover therof (since home hatred, not love nor Charity had moved him to indevour it) instead of gratitude, unhappy successe, and an ignominous end.

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Robert Duke of *Albany*, Governor of *Scotland*, being dead the yeare 1420. (juſt 15. Yeares after the Death of his Brother *Robert* the third) his Sonne *Mordecay* ſucceeded him in the Government, one who reſembled his Father in the profuſe ſpending of the goods of the Crowne amongſt the Nobility, to the end that forgetting the Priſoner King, they might be content with the preſent condition, and was like the King his Unckle in his Children; for having neither ability nor wit to cauſe himſelfe to be obeyed by them, he was through deſparation, and deſpite reduc'd to ruine at the ſame time, both them and himſelfe. Of the 3. (for 3. they were) *Walter* was the moſt inſolent, although they ſhar'd all alike in haughtines and diſreſpecting others. Pride and the neglect of Inferiors was by them eſteemed gravity, and what became them; and ſuch inſolent actions as ariſe from them proper and naturall to Men of royall Lynage, and to generous and magnanimous Hearts. *Mordecay* had often times admoniſhed them, but becauſe in ſtead of reaping fruite therby, he was laugh'd at by them, he tooke no further care therof, placing all his diſlikes upon the backe of Patience, till ſuch time as the burthen grew too heavy for him to beare. He very much lov'd field ſports, eſpecially Hawking, and having one Day an ex'lent Faulkon on his Fiſt, *Walter* did with ſuch incivility require it on him, as he denying it, the other ſnatcht it from his hand, wrung off the necke, and threw the Carkaſſe at his feete: at which the Father being incenſed, ſayd unto him, that ſince he had in vaine uſed all meanes poſſible to bring him to obedience, he was reſolv'd to find out one whom both his Sonne and he ſhould be forced to obey, and he effected his words; for a Parliament being immediatly called, the Kings freedome was reſolv'd upon, Embaſſadors were choſen and ſent into *England*; where their requeſt was maturely conſulted on; thoſe who were againſt it alleadged; that having beene detained ſo many yeares, his Captivity was by him to bee eſteemed an injury never to be forgotten, and for the which he would take preſent revenge, ſince *England* was now buſied abroad, that being at liberty he would regulate the diſorders of *Scotland*, the Governors authority not being ſufficient to quench the contentions which Day by Day grew greater among the great ones, nor to remedy the Thefts, Murders and Rapines, which as it were by repriſall was committed by the common People; ſo as ſince nothing could prove more advantageous for the affaires of *England*, all alteration was pernitious. Others being of a contrary opinion, affirmed his Captivity was ſo unlikely to raiſe in him any ſuch conceits, that it was rather by him to be accounted the originall of all his good fortune, ſince that living there ſafe from his Unckles ſnares, he was falne into the hands of two Kings, who proving Fathers to him in education, were not therfore much commended by ſuch, who preferre what is uſefull to what is honeſt; who argue that a worſer reſolution could not have beene taken then to have perfected wiſdome by ſtudy, and ſtrength by the exerciſe of Armes in a Prince of ſo ſublime inclinations; whilſt to do well they ſhould have brought him up in all common vices, and have made him effeminate amongſt the worſt of converſations:

converſations: that to have done otherwiſe was as much as to expect what befell him, who nurs'd up a Snake in his boſome which when it had recover'd his heate ſlew him, that had preſerv'd it: fitting conſiderations for Tyrant Princes, but not for ſuch as were ſo given as were theſe two Kings; for if the one by making him Priſoner, the other by detaining him had had reſpect to their owne proper intreſts, they would have treated him as an Enemy; but their having inrich'd him with ſo vertuous education, not to be loſt neither by liberty nor Impriſonment, was ſo rare and unparalell'd an example, as he beyond all others was ever to acknowledge ſuch. The Duke of *Gloceſter* who thought there could bee no better meanes then this to joyne *Scotland* and *England* and ſever it from *France*, concluded his freedome ſetting a fine upon him of 100000. Marks, and giving him for Wife *Joane* Daughter to the Earle of *Somerſet*, Couſin-german to *Henry* the fift, and Neece to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* whom he loved, ſo as having payed part of his Ranſome with his Wifes Portion, and given in Hoſtages for the reſt (the which was afterwards payed by the Subjects in ſo good a manner as that they ſeemed not to be therewithall any whit aggreived) he went his wayes nobly waited upon to his confines by his ancient friends, by his new allyes and richly preſented by his Father in Law. Being come into his Kingdome he found it like a Ship toſſed by the Seas. Nothing remaining for maintenance of the Crowne ſave only the Cuſtomes, the reſt was all ſquandred away and beſtowed upon particular Men by the two ſucceeding Governours: *Robert* the Father, and *Mordecay* the Sonne, to the end that not minding his returne they might adhere unto them: to publique grievances private ones ſucceeded; the firſt complaints were againſt *Walter*, who was Impriſon'd; and after him *Mordecay* and *Alexander*, *James* who was the third growing hereat mad, thinking to redreſſe evill by evills, aſſaulted *Dumbartaine* a populous Citty, where letting looſe the raines unto his fury, he put Men, Women and Children unto the Sword, none being excepted from this Cruelty ſave ſuch as fled: being by the King purſued, he fled into *Ireland* leaving his Father and his Brethren in the Hangmens hands, who were ſhortly after beheaded. He carried himſelfe towards *England* as did his predeceſſors, notwithſtanding his Allyment, Oaths, and benefits received; wherof the *Engliſh* Writers accuſing him, and the *Scottiſh* recriminating mov'd by paſſion, they leave the ſtory and fall to invective ſpeeches, whereas the accuſers ſhould conſider, that as our underſtanding works diverſly in us according to the diverſity of our temperatures, ſo Princes who are the ſtates underſtanding, worke only according to the intereſt of ſtate which is their temperature. Obligations and curteſies things apart and externe give place to this interne inſeparable diſpoſition, in like manner as deſire gives way to nature, in that which by nature cannot bee otherwiſe. It made not for *Scotland* that *England* ſhould bee Maſter of *France*, ſince they might then feare their owne ſubjection. *Henry* the ſeaventh bound to the *French* in having receiv'd ayd from them againſt *Richard* the third (as wee ſhall ſee) forbore not, notwithſtanding to worke according to the temperature of his ſtate,

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ſtate, doing what in him lay to keepe them from making themſelves Maſters of *Britanny* being a place farre of, and disjoyned from his Kingdome, whereas *Scotland* being neare and Contiguous was fitter for Invaſion, yet was he not blamed for this: the firſt law of States is indemnity and ſelfe ſafety. Neither would the *French* have formerly moved in his behalfe not being any wayes offended nor moleſted by *Richard*, had they not hoped by nouriſhing Civill Warres to better their affairs, an end which tooke away the Obligation, for Princes can hardly oblige one another, ſave for their particular intreſts; it may bee alleadged that his ſworne homage ought to have oblidg'd *James* to have kept his word. In conſcience he ought to have done: but yet ought he not ſo to be upbraided as if he had done what never had beene done before; the *French* accuſe *Edward* the third for that having done homage to *Philip* the ſecond, hee awhile after layed pretences to his Crowne, the pretenſion not ariſing ſince but before his doing of homage; if the one bee excuſed the other ought to bee ſo likewiſe, neceſſity inforced *Edward*, he ran hazard not doing it to looſe what ever he held in that Kingdome, having as then neither forces nor intention to make his pretences, nor is it likely he ever would have had without the favour of the Emperour, Duke of *Gelders* and of his neighbouring Provinces, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Hannault*, *Juliers*, *Leige* and *Collen*, I was willing to alleadge this Example paſſing by the many others which in like caſe I could produce, for that I thought the ſincerity of my pen did require it: but the reſt are not for all this to be excuſed. There is no State ſo innocent but for what concernes promiſe (and by no meanes excuſable as this) is beſmeared with blemiſhes blacker then is the blackeſt Coale, never to be waſhed off but by the Water of Oblivion: and in that promiſcuous generality I accuſe none, I only accuſe and condemne Reaſon of State, the generall Idoll of all Governments. *Buchanan* who upbraides the *Engliſh* with having undone whatſoever of good they had formerly done unto *James*, by loding him with ſo inſufferable a Ranſome, do's them much injury, for neither does *Hector Boetius* blame them for it, neither could *James* being a King be tax'd at leſſe. *David* one of his Predeceſſors paid the ſame ſumme to *Edward* the third and *John* King of *France* three Millions of Gold, beſides the Provinces which he bound himſelfe to reſtore, ſo as there was no injury done to *James* being taxed with the like ſumme as a King of *Scotland* formerly was, and ſo farre inferior to a King of *France*: for what remaines, the Fatherly and Brotherly piety of *Henry* the fourth and *Henry* the fift in giving him ſuch inſtructions as made him prove the moſt famous and vertuous King that ever *Scotland* had, frees them from all calumny, and makes it appeare, that ſince therin they had none of the common intreſts of State ſpoken of but rather the contrary, it did proceed meerly from the magnanimity of thoſe two valiant and excellent Princes.

Ten thouſand Souldiers were come from *England* to *Paris*, juſt at ſuch time as the *French* had made themſelves Maſters of two important places. *Campaigne* equally diſtant from *Paris* and *Amiens*, and

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Crotoi a place of consequence on the Sea side upon the Coast of *Picardie*. The Earle of *Suffolke* was sent by the Regent to recover *Compaigne* accompanied by the *Meßieurs de Ligni* and *de Lilliadam* with whom he incamped himselfe on both sides the River *Oiſe* incompassing the Walls thereof with Souldiers, Trenches and Artillery to the end that he might the easelier and the sooner winne it: but he was likely to have lost there many men and much time had it not beene for a happy exigent which hee luckily layd hold of Sir *John Falstaffe* an *English* Knight, had not many Dayes before taken *Gerolumus Raymond* surnamed *Mariolanus* Prisoner, a valiant Captaine, who having formerly commanded those Souldiers, who were now shut up in *Compaigne* was by them passionatly loved. Hee made him bee brought from *Paris* to the Campe, and putting him in a Cart, they presented him to the sight of the besieged with a rope about his Neck, threatning to put him to death if they would not surrender themselves; they had not much adoe to prevaile with them, for those of the Fort thought it bootlesse to trouble themselves with the maintaining of a Fort which not being succour'd was to be lost; they surrendred the Towne, their Captaines life and liberty preserved, and in their owne behalfes their Lives, Horses, Armes, and Baggage. *James de Harcourt Charles* his Lievetenant Generall for that Province was he who defended *Crotoi*, one of his best and most inriched commanders, this Man having lost *Noel* a Castell belonging to himselfe, surrendred by those who did defend it; and *Rues* a place not to be defended, being abandoned had put himselfe into this Towne with intention to indure the Siege, which *Paul Butler* an *English* Commander layd to it by Sea and Land, by Shipping and Land forces, brought from *Normandy*; he defended it from *June* till the midst of *October*: but both of them being weary, not so much in respect of the time they had spent but for what in all appearance was of longer duration, either for the ones atchievement or others succour, capitulation was made for the surrendring of it up upon the third day of *March* ensuing, alwayes provided if in the three first dayes of that Moneth the Regent nor those that should be by him sent to receive that place, should not bee by him or some other of *Charles* his forces defeated; the Siege being raysed and all Articles observed the place was surrendred up upon the appointed day, none appearing in the succour therof. *Harcourt* himselfe being dead, whilst practising wiles upon a strength belonging to Monsier *de Partene* his Wives Unkle, and coveting the lives of others he lost his owne. The Duke of *Gloceſter* was intent in the execution of his Office, when fortune to crosse the good way he was in, threw upon him *Jacheline* of *Bauiers*, Countesse of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Hannault*, Mistris of *Frisia* and Wife to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, who flying from her Husband got into *England*, a business which to bee well understood must bee taken from its beginning. *Henry the 6.*

The house of *Bauaria* was come into the possession of the said Provinces inherited by *Margaret* Wife to the Emperour *Lodovic* the eighth of *Bauaria* by the death of *William* the fourth his Brother who

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was Maſter thereof ſlaine by the *Fryſons*, leaving them to his Sonne *William* the fift, who becomming mad and without iſſue they fell upon his Brother *Albertus*, to whom did ſucceed his Sonne *William* the ſixt Father to this *Jacoline*; who was the laſt ſhee of the Houſe of *Bavaria* commanded in thoſe Countries. Now ſhee having beene Married to the Dolphin of *France* and left by him a Widdow, her Father *William* would have her to Marry (a diſpenſation being to be procured from the Councell of *Conſtance*, there being then no Pope) *John* Duke of *Brabant*, her Couſin-german for *Margaret* her Mother was Siſter to *Anthony* Duke of *Brabant*, Father to *John*; *William* dying before this Marriage was concluded, *John* of *Baviers* Biſhop of *Leidge* his Brother and Unckle to *Jacoline*, hoping by the Title of *Guardian* to worke himſelfe into the Government of theſe States, wrought ſo with the Emperour *Sigiſmund* (though hee formerly aſſented to the aforeſaid Marriage) as that the diſpenſation ſhould bee denied unto her: and giving up his Biſhoprick (held by him the ſpace of 27. yeares with much Warre and Bloud) into the hands of *Martin* the fift lately choſen, hee went into *Holland*, where by aſſiſtance of ſuch as ſided with himſelfe, Maſter of certaine places, threatning Warre unto his Neece if ſhee would not ſubmit unto his Guardianſhip: ſhee and her husband were advertis'd of her Unckles ſiniſter proceedings in the Councell; and having obtained the diſpenſation from the new Pope, it was by the Emperours importunity redemanded, when alleadged the evills and Warres which were thereupon likely to enſue. *John* of *Baviers* had received a Copy of the revocation before the Originall came, and had ſent it them to ſtop their proceedings, but it being by them rejected, as not authenticall, not comming from the Pope, they Married themſelves, the Husband being 16, the Wife 17 yeares old: this Marriage was ſhortly after confirmed by the Pope himſelfe, declaring that the revocation being ſurreptitiouſly obtained, the diſpenſation was in its firſt vigour, ſo as they might continue without any ſcruple in the ſtate of Matrimony wherein they were. *John* of *Baviers* falling in this deſigne intreated and obtained a diſpenſation for himſelfe likewiſe to Marry, not having in his ſo many yeares of Epiſcopacie exceeded the degree of Deacon, he Marryed *Elizabeth* Dutcheſſe of *Luxenburg* Neece to the Emperour *Sigiſmund*, from whom he obtained in Feefarme all the territories belonging to *Jacoline* as falne to the Empire, *William* being dead without any Heires Male, not remembring that they had deſcended to the Houſe of *Baviers* by Female ſucceſſion; but he was ſtoutly oppoſed by thoſe States who objected unto him; that as they did not acknowledge any one but her for their Princeſſe, ſo he himſelfe had acknowledged her for his, by doing homage to her for thoſe Lordſhips which he poſſeſſed. That Women were not there excluded ſucceſſion when the caſe had ſo falne out; that for this they had Letters and approbation from former Emperours, nor was this the firſt; with theſe proteſtations they declared themſelves his Enemies; and *Hannault* more then all the reſt, ſince ſhee had no dependancie upon the Empire; but the Warre which for this cauſe the Duke of

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Brabant waged with them ended ſo favourably for him, that beſides having granted him by Tytle of inheritance divers Countries in *Holland*, he was declared Lord Lievetenant for 3 yeares with Soveraigne authority in all the reſt, *Hannault* only excepted. So as having now reduc'd the whole arbitratorſhip unto himſelfe he did ſo worke upon the ſaid Duke partly by wiles, partly by ſnares, as that he did not only prorogue unto him his tytle for 7 yeares longer, but by his inſtigation became an Enemie to his Wife, and by taking from her and changing her attendants, did ſo much incenſe her that to bee rid of him ſhee retired her ſelfe into *Hannault* accompanied by her Mother, and afterwards her ſelfe alone into *England*, where the Duke of *Gloceſter* incited either by love or out of the hopes of ſo great States fell upon a reſolution of Marrying her. For the which ſome apparant reaſon being to bee given, they pretended the diſpenſation to bee invallid, and ſhee cauſed the Duke of *Brabant* by his Proctors to bee cited to *Rome*, ſhee demanded that the Marriage might bee declared null; a buſines wherewith the World was ſcandaliz'd, and which above all others troubled Duke *Philip*, joyned by Father and Mother in the ſame degree of Conſanguinitie to them both; for he and *Brabant* were Sonnes to two Brothers; he and *Iacholina* to Brother, and Siſter: by which kindred he afterwards became Heire both to the one and the other. But becauſe the Progreſſe of this buſines fell out the next enſuing yeare I will reſerve the relation thereof to it's proper place; having enlarged my ſelfe herein out of a beleefe that others might have the ſame curioſity that I had; for not finding in the ſtoryes which treat hereof, the Light I did deſire to ſee; what moved *Gloceſter* to Marry another Mans Wife, I could find no ſatisfaction ſave in the Hiſtory of *Holland*.

John Poole Brother to the Earle of *Suffolke* had the Government of *Auranches* in *Normandy*; who thinking he lived but idlely in his garriſon, gathered together about 2500 Men, taking them from their appointed garriſons to *Anjou*, wherwith making excurſions even to the Towne of *Angiers*, he burnt the Suburbs thereof, ſpreading himſelfe every where about to the much prejudice of the Countrey, till ſuch time as loaded with prey and Priſoners he intended to returne. But adverſity cauſing waryneſſe, and proſperity the contrary, as his men were marching out of file and in diſorder, and doubting nothing; they were ſet upon by *John de Harcourt Count* of *Omale* and *Charles* his Lievetenant in the two Provinces of *Anjou* and *Maine* accompanied by the Viſcount of *Narbonne* the Baron of *Coulouſes*, *Ambrogius de Lora* Monſier *de Larchet*, by *Andrew* and *Guy de Lavall Britons*, who together with the comminalty of thoſe Frontiers were gone to joyne with him, making about the number of 6000. Men; with theſe he gave upon the others who were in diſorder, mingled with their Carriages and Priſoners, and (not without ſome difficulty) defeated them: 300. of them being left dead upon the place, and 600. taken Priſoners, amongſt which their Conductors, the reſt ſaving themſelves by flight. *Hallian* and *Argentres* ſay that the number of the dead were 1400, a difference of no ſmall conſideration, having obtained this victory

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hee passed on forwards hoping by the good luck hee had therein to take *Auranches*, wherin he failed; so as firing the Suburbs of St. *Lo*, he returned to *Mayne*; but fortune which ballanceth her adventures, that shee may seeme to be just, though indeede shee be not so, did by contrary events put life into the one party, and mortifie the other: for the Bastard *de Baume*, and Monsier *de Craignar*, making the like incursions into the Countrey of *Macone*, were unexpectedly met by *Matthew Goches*, who having with him a number of *English* not inferior to them, set upon them, and did so behave himselfe as that the *French* were almost all slaine: the Bastard of *Baume* having done all that a brave Souldier, and Commander could, seeing there was no other help, clapt spurrs to his Horse to save himselfe; but *Goches*, who was upon as fleete a Horse as he, overtooke him at the Castle Gate, where he thought to have entred, and tooke him Prisoner, presenting him to the Earle of *Salisbury*, who to incourage the rest, did together with the Prisoner give him one of the best Horses he had.

The *English* possessed all *Normandy*, except Mount St. *Michael*, a Fort situated upon the top of a Mountaine, in a little Iland named by the same name, some two leagues distant from the continent, and some three leagues from *Auranches*, unaccessable, and not to be wonne but by Famine; they had layed siege thereunto, debarring them of being come unto by any, or of going forth themselves, so as it was impossible to Victuall it, the Sea being guarded by many Shipps: the Duke of *Britanny*, who could not brooke the losse thereof for feare least the *English* forces might advance to his prejudice (not minding the late capitulations at *Amiens*) resolved to rayse the siege: the chiefe of this enterprise was Monsier *de Beufort* Admirall of *Britanny*, the principall authors, *William Monfort* Cardinall of *Britanny* and Bishop of St. *Malo*, *Messieurs de Limbour*, *de Montalban*, and *de Coutchen*; who having armed a good number of Ships in the Haven of St. *Malo*, filled them with Souldiers and Bow men, having made all this preparation with such secrecy, as they were upon the Enemy before he was aware. Terrible was the bickering, navall fights not being subject to escapes or retreats, and much lesse the *English* at this time blockt up by the *British* Vessells, and fast tyed by their owne Anchors; they grapled together but came not to handy blowes by reason of the *English* Shipps fight, so as having a long time labour'd with Weapons, Fire, and Arrowes, the *Britons* who were well provided of Souldiers had the Victory over the *English*, who were but meanly stor'd with men, designed only for the safeguard of the Shipps, they slew them almost all, together with the Matriners and Pilotts, some few only escaping by saile. *Argentres* sayes that the besiegers seeing their Men lost, and not daring to expect the Enemies landing fled away, abandoning their Houlds; had it beene so, t'would have beene by the assistance of an ebbing Sea, for otherwise being in an Island and without Shipps, they could not have saved themselves. The *English* Historians make no mention of this, nor many *French*, those that do, write it thus; that the Admirall of *Britanny* having sunke some of the *English* Vessells he gave chase to the rest, and that the besieged joyning with those

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thoſe that came into their ſuccour, aſſaulted the beſiegers, defeated them, and freed themſelves from them; but that eſcaping to *Ardenon* 3000. paces diſtant from the Mountaine they there built a Fort, from whence iſſuing forth they had many skirmiſhes with the garriſon; and that the Baron *Colonſus* having agreed thereupon, with thoſe of the garriſon, came at an appointed time and ſlew above 200. *Engliſh*, taking S^r^. *Nicholas Burdet* Priſoner, a rich and valiant Knight; a Narration much differing from that of *Argentres*, who relates it ſomewhat obſcurely, but yet ends it, the reſt giving it no end at all, neither can it bee gather'd from them, if beſides the 200. that were ſlaine, or 240. according to *Giles*, any others remain'd: beſides they name not any one head in this expedition; which they forget not to doe in buſineſſes of leſſe conſequence.

This meane while Victories and loſſes were had by both ſides, but not equally, worthy notice, and therefore rather to be pointed at then deſcribed. *John* of *Luxenburg* beſieged *Guiſſe* a place belonging to *Renato D' Anjou* Duke *de Bar*, and Brother to the King of *Sicily*; who forbore to ſuccour it being ſo adviſed by the Duke of *Lorraine* his Wives Father; for they ſhould both of them have put their States in too great danger, if they ſhould have declar'd open Warre with two ſuch potent Enemies as were *England* and *Burgony*; ſo as they thought it the leſſer evill to ſuffer it be loſt, then to hazard the reſt; the defendants did what they could to defend it under the command of *John de Proiſi* their Captaine, but not being ſuccour'd they ſurrendred the Towne: it fell otherwiſe to *Sadone* in the County of *Vertu*, which being beſieged, threatned and taken by force by the Earle of *Salisbury*, met with the laſt of ruines, being ſackt and the Souldiers almoſt all ſlaine: but ſuch were the *Burgonians* Inſolencies under *John de Luxemburg*, and ſo inſufferable even to ſuch as ſided with the Duke, as they reſolv'd to make an Aſſembly at *Roie* where having conſider'd their condition, and expoſtulated their injuries they reſolv'd to change ſides: but all would not doe ſo, not that they did not deſire it, but for the danger they were likely to incounter: thoſe who declared themſelves for *Charles* were *Muſſieurs de Longeville*, *de* St. *Simone*, *de Maillis de Reicourt* and others; ſome of which falling afterwards into the Enemies hands were ſeverely put to death: being this meane while all baniſhed, they furniſh'd their owne Habitations and Governments with good garriſons, entring into mortall Warre with the *Engliſh* and *Burgonians*: to ſuch as accuſed them of breach of faith, they anſwer'd, that it made more for them to have an open declar'd Warre, then to indure the inſolencies of ſuch, as under title of friendſhip and defence did every where commit injuries, roberies, and contumacies. A good example to Princes not to ſuffer the Dogs which are to defend their Houſes, turne Wolves amongſt their Flocks. But the incorrigibleneſſe of Military men proceeds not alwayes from them; it is impoſſible that Souldiers be well diſciplin'd in long and Civill Warres, eſpecially if their Commanders bee avaritious; ſuch inconveniences have beene and will bee, no remedy being to bee had for it. For where Warres grow inveterate, and where hatred together with damage

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doth increaſe, humanity growes there corrupted or is totally loſt; Hee not being allowed of for a good Souldier who is not brutiſh. Piety, conſcience, and other *Chriſtian* affections are lull'd aſleepe by extortion, violence and the habite of being imbrued in bloud.

Charles had ſent *Reynauld de Schartres* Archbiſhop of *Rheims* his Chancellor in company of the Earle *Douglaſſe* into *Scotland* to raiſe there 5000. men, with the which being return'd into *France*, hee brought along with him the Earle *Boughan* his Sonne in law, and *Iohn Stuart* conſtable of *Scotland*, to all which *Charles* gave divers poſſeſſions the better to incourage them to ſerve him. To *Douglaſſe* and his Heires-male, hee gave the *Dutchy* of *Touraine* in fee farme: though others write, hee did but pawne it unto him; Hee Earle *Bowhan Lo.* conſtable but neither of them injoy'd theſe honours long, to *Stuart* he gave the Lordſhip of *Anbenny* which is by his poſterity poſſeſt to this day, and to captivate their good wils, and make the *Scottiſh-men* partiall in his behalfe, hee tooke a 100. of them for the guard of his perſon, an inſtitution to this day maintained by the Kings his ſucceſſours. Hee had likewiſe a little before this receaved an ayd of 1000. foote and 600. lances from *Philip Maria* Duke of *Millan*; theſe forces being added to his owne, hee made up the body of an Army conſiſting of 18000. men, (not counting thoſe who were diſperſed abroad in other Provinces;) Hee made uſe of theſe men as of a marching *Machin*, conducted by gallant and experienced Commanders; neither was hee long in ſetting them on worke, though with ill ſucceſſe.

1424. The *Count Richmond* had at this time forſaken the confederacy made at *Amiens*, by reaſon of ſome diſtaſt hee tooke at the Duke of *Bedford*; but what the buſines was I find no where ſpecified ſave by *Serres*, who taxing the Duke of too much haughtines, ſayeth that the *Count* being gone unto him to receave ſome charge worthy of him and his affinity; Hee found him ſo hard and intractable, as that being accuſtomed to the affability of the King of *France*, hee tooke diſtaſt thereat, and returned backe with a reſolution of trying all meanes hee could to put himſelfe into *Charles* his good opinion, and to indeavour that the Duke his Brother ſhould doe the like. The garriſon of *Fury* (a place belonging by inheritance to *Ambroſe de Lore*, and which being taken by *Henry* the fifth was given in gift to this *Count Richmond* with all the emoluments thereof) underſtanding his revolt, declared themſelves for *France*. *Bedford* layd ſiedge unto this towne, the which defended it ſelfe till ſuch time as a myne being ready to play they yeelded, the Caſtle remaining yet untaken, which after ſome dayes ſiedge agreed likewiſe to ſurrender it ſelfe, if it were not ſuccoured on the day of the aſſumption of the virgin *Mary*. *Hoſtages* were given hereupon, and the Captaine was permitted to advertiſe the King thereof, this place was of great conſequence to *Charles*, which had it not beene, his reputation would have inforced him to ſuccour it, for it was a kind of defiance to bee advertis'd thereof by the conſent of the enemy. Reſolving then upon

upon it, hee charged the Duke of *Alanſonne* to ſuccour it, yea though hee ſhould hazard the battaile: *Alanſonne* obeyed, marching towards it with the aforenamed Army; being come neare to the Towne, hee ſent 40. Horſemen to ſurvay the Campe; but ſuch were the relations hee heard, as hee thought it the leſſer evill to looſe *Iury*, then to hazard a battaile. A reſolution which diſpleaſed the reſt; hee notwithſtanding tooke on his way towards *Vernuille*, preſenting himſelfe before it in ſo brave and ſtately manner, that it not being to bee doubted, but that hee came from *Iury*: whether it was knowne hee was gone to raiſe the ſiedge, hee eaſily made the inhabitants beleeve, that he had defeated the Duke of *Bedford*, ſlaine his men; the Duke himſelfe with ſome few being eſcaped on horſebacke. A tale which bearing with it a ſeeming likelyhood; was eaſily credited; the place yeelded it ſelfe up unto him; and t'was a purchaſe which properly belonged unto him, for hee had not long before obtained it from *Charles*. The Caſtle of *Iury* this meane while not ſuccoured, *Gerard de Palliere* as hee preſented the keyes unto the Duke, ſhewed him a letter ſigned and ſealed by 18. Lords, wherein they promiſed him to come upon the preciſe day, with a reſolution to fight and raiſe the ſiedge: afterwards hee added, that ſince they by falſifying their promiſe had given him ſo great a wound, hee found no other ſalve whereby to heale it, but by making their breach of promiſe knowne. To which the Duke replied, that ſince they would not daigne to come to him, hee would goe to them, with a reſolution to end all diſputes by Armes. Hee commanded the Earle of *Suffolke* to follow him, who taking with him 600. horſe, went to *Bertrille* where hearing of the loſſe of *Vernuille*, hee by poſte advertiſed the Duke thereof; who marching forth-with thereupon ſent word to *Douglaſſe* that hee intended to dine with him the next day, that therefore hee deſir'd him to expect him, and ſee that dinner were ready. *Douglaſſe* anſwer'd, that being come from *Scotland* of purpoſe to viſit him; hee would not faile in preparing for him the banquet hee deſir'd; but neither was *Douglaſſe* nor any of the other Captains minded to give battaile, for *Iury* being loſt, the thing for which they fought, they ſhould not doe well to hazard prepoſterouſly, and without neceſſity againſt a victorious enemy: thoſe forces which were *Charles* his onely ſtay and ſupport, and that doing otherwiſe they ſhould at leaſt make good the place of advantage wherein they were; having *Vernuille* upon their backe, their ſouldiers likely to grow freſh with reſt, and weary if they ſhould travell; But the Viſcount of Narbonne ſhewing what ſhame they were to undergoe, if they ſhould not abate the edge of *Bedfords* bravado's, cauſed his troops take armes in a tumultuous manner (compos'd of Provincials gaſcons and men of *Tholouſe*, all good ſouldiers) ſaying, that if the wiſeſt would not follow him, hee could doe no leſſe then goe alone to defend with the hazard of his life the honour of *France*, ſo as mov'd thereunto by ſhame they all confuſedly followed him, and were by the event too late taught, that reſolutions contrary to reaſon have beene ſeldome ſeene proſperous they made one onely Battalion of

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of their men, placing 1000. horſmen upon each ſide of their flankes and 400. of thoſe that came from *Millan* in front to annoy the enemies ordnance, to the end that they being opened the groſſe battell might the eaſier enter. The Duke of *Bedford* was not diſpleas'd with this order, for finding himſelfe to bee inferiour to them in number, it behooved him to make one onely ſquadron of all his men; Hee placed bowmen on their flancks and front, ſecured by certaine ſharpned poles, which faſtned in the earth with their points outward, ſerved for pikes againſt the ſhocke of the horſe; Hee made no uſe of horſe, but cauſing them to bee faſtned together by the raynes and tailes, hee made them ſtay in the Arrere of the battell with the Pages, Servants, Carriages, and Baggadge guarded by 2000. bowmen; the fray endured 3. houres without any diverſity of fortune; the 400. horſe which could not open the *Engliſh* troops (though they did a little trouble them at their firſt aſſault) paſt forward toward the carriages thinking to find leſſe obſtacle there, whilſt the reſt of the horſe, infeſting the enemies flankes, wrought ſo much, as having put them in ſome little diſ-order, they cryed out victory, whileſt they had no ſhare at all therein; for the ſecond files houlding cloſe together firmed the former, and the bowmen by their ſhooting did ſuppreſſe the hopes of their ſuppoſed advantage, ſo as the *Engliſh* having withſtood their firſt brunt, and paſſing from defence to offence, charged hot upon them, whileſt the horſe galled by the bowmen were the firſt that fled, the 400. that were gone againſt the carriages being galled by a thicke ſhowre of arrowes, were conſtrained to betake them to their heeles: purſued by the Archers, who freſh and free from the cuſtody of the horſe joyned themſelves with the reſt, letting fly at the enemies Battalion, who weary, wounded, and in diſ-order remained; the greateſt number of them ſlaine upon the field, and thoſe who fled towards the Towne (the gates whereof were ſhut leaſt the enemy might enter in with the reſt) found in the ditches thereof death and ſepulture; thoſe who betooke themſelves to the open fields did better; it was well for them the enemy had no horſe; and that they were buſied in the taking of Priſoners. Amongſt the reſt, the Duke of *Bedford* himſelfe fought bravely and manfully. This battle hapned in the month of *Auguſt* 1424. the day being uncertaine, it being diverſly ſaid to have beene on the 8. 16. 17. and 28. but I beleeve it hapned on the 17. ſince it is by moſt part ſo affirmed, and becauſe the night after *Iury* was rendred, the 16. the Duke went from thence and came on the 17. to *Vernuille*, the way being not above 5. leagues. I was willing to note this variety not for that the buſines doth deſerve it, but ſince wee are to meete with others in more ſubſtantiall affaires, particularly in the calculation of yeares, no man may wonder if ſometimes to follow one, I diſſent from the reſt, according to the *Engliſh* Writers witneſſe, by the teſtimony of the *Heraulds* of both Nations there was ſlaine of *French* and *Scots* 9700. and 2100. of their men. *Monſtrelet* names but 1600. *Engliſh*, and betweene 4. and 5000. of the others, the greateſt part whereof were *Scots*;

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Paulus Emilius 5000. *Giles* and *Belleforeſt* 4000. *Alleyn, Chartier, Cheſnes* and *Dupleix* 4500. *Argentres* is hee alone, who differing from the reſt affirmes them to have beene 7000. *Dupleix* ſayeth, that as the *Engliſh* make their owne loſſe to bee leſſe then it was; ſo they make their enemies loſſe to bee greater, wherein hee is deceaved; for ſince they confeſſe it to bee 2100. they make it to bee 500. more then hee or the others; it is true that *Polidore Virgill* numbring the loſt *French* to bee about 5000. adds, that the common report was that the number of dead and Priſoners amounted to 15000. but this hee doth not affirme for truth, ſo as in ſuch diverſity it will not bee hard for us to gueſſe at the truth from the totall number of both their Armies. For ſince the *French* write, that their Army conſiſted of 18000. and the *Engliſh* but of 98000. it followes, that if the number of the dead on their ſide did not exceed 4. or 5000. and of the *Engliſh* 2100. there ſhould yet remaine of their men alive betweene 13. and 14000. and of the adverſary 7700. ſo as after the battell their number was the greater by 5. or 6000. but let us take thoſe 6000. and let us give them to *Salisbury* to content *Serres*, and let us ſuppoſe, that the *Engliſh* Army was 15800. all this granted wee ſhall find, that if the number of their dead were 4000. the number of thoſe who remained was yet greater by 300. if 4500. leſſe by 200. and if 5000. leſſe by 700. a difference in like caſe of ſmall moment, beſides it is not to bee beleev'd, that ſo valiant a Nation would have quitted the field, unleſſe they had loſt ſo many as without blame might have made them inferiour to their enemy; and their Writers thinking thereby to ſuſtaine their reputation withdraw from it, ſince it makes more for them to have beene overcome fighting and dying upon the place, then to have yeelded the field and fled away whileſt they were as many in number if not more, and if reply bee made that from theſe the 3000. ſhould bee withdrawne, who were left under *Ramburres* to make good *Vernuille*, thoſe muſt likewiſe bee ſubſtracted from the *Engliſh* who were left to guard *Fury*, and the Caſtle, places lately recovered from the enemy, and which in reaſon were not to bee kept without a good garriſon; Moreover the battell was begunne with 2000. Archers leſſe, without the which the fight was a long time maintained; neither were they to have quitted the guard of the baggage and horſe which was their charge had it not bin to have aſſiſted their Companions; an act onely to bee expected from experienced Souldiers, who well verſt in their occupation, and fit to command knew, how to ſerve unanimouſly and to purpoſe uncommanded. Wee muſt then beleve the number of the dead ſpecified by the *Engliſh* to bee 9700. to be the true number; the cheife, whereof were the counts of *Omale*, *Tonnare*, *Ventadoure*, and the Viſcount of *Narbon*; together with a great number of the nobility, whoſe catalogue is diverſly ſet downe by *Monſtrelette* and *Belleforeſt* of Priſoners; the Duke *D' Alanſonne*, the Baſtard of *Alanſonne*, the Mariſhall *Fajette*, *Gaucourt*, *Puis* and many others of name: together with 200. Gentlemen and ſome Souldiers; the body of the Viſcount of *Narbonne* being found amongſt the dead, was cut in quarters,

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ters, and the quarters hung up upon Gallowſes; for they uſed him being dead as they would have done, had hee beene alive, for that hee was one of thoſe who murdered *John* Duke of *Burgony*; The chiefe of the *Scotts* that dyed, were *Archibald*, Earle *Douglaſſe*, who together with his life loſt, the Dutchy of *Furaine*, for his Sonne, the Earle of *Wintonne*, dyed with him; and the Earle *Bowhan* Conſtable of *France*, who (as ſome write) injoy'd, not that charge above 100. houres, together with theſe there dyed 9. Knights 2700. Gentlemen of quality. The Duke of *Bedford* was this day abandonned by many *Norman* Cavaliers juſt as the Battels joyn'd, who fled over to the contrary party, to whom they adjudged the victory by reaſon of the inequality of the numbers; ſome of which falling afterwards into his hands ſuffered condigne puniſhment; and the reſt loſt what of command they held under him. But S. *Railes* diligence did much comfort *Charles* his misfortune; for had hee not taken care to aſſemble together ſuch as were eſcaped, hee had beene wholly deſtitute of Souldiers. *Steven de Vignolus* called *la Hire* did the like, for conſidering in what condition his King was without Souldiers, Commanders, and Princes of the bloud (all of them, being all moſt Priſoners to the *Engliſh*) Hee quitted *Vitres* and other places in *Champagnia* to joyne his troopes with the others. *Charles* had not any time before beene in a worſe condition, *Monſieur de Rombarres* deputed to the cuſtody of *Vernuille* with 3000. men (as hath beene ſaid) yeelded it up two dayes after comming all of them out of the Towne, their Lives, Armes, Baggadge, and Horſes ſaved. Hee likewiſe was of ſome comfort to the common apparent ruine. The Duke of *Bedford* who after ſo happy ſucceſſe had withdrawne himſelfe to *Roan*, and from thence to *Paris* ſent the Lord *Scales* with 2000. men, accompanied by Sr. *John Montgomery*, and Sr. *John Falstaffe* to annoy *Anion* and *Mayne* where though a number of Caſtles yeelded unto them; yet this ſeeming but a ſmall affaire (the neighbourhood of theſe two Provinces being dangerous for the ſafety of *Normandy*, and requiring greater effects) the Earle of *Salisbury* with 10000. fighting men went to beſiedge *Mans*; the *Metropolitane* of *Maine*, battering it in ſuch a ſort, as throwing to the ground, the Houſes, Walls, and Toures thereof: Hee wonne it to his obedience, and giving the command thereof to the Earle of *Suffolke*, and the *Lieutenancy* to *Falstaffe* hee paſſed forward to S. *Suſanna* defended by *Ambrogius de Lore*, aſſaying it on that ſide, which hee thought fitteſt for aſſault, but having got no good thereby, (the Walls being manifully defended) Hee bethought himſelfe, how to have it without ſo much bloud. Hee played upon it with his Ordnance two whole dayes together, ſo as having layd flat its, defences and reduc'd it to ſuch a point as that it was not able to endure any other aſſault, they were inforced to ſurrender,

render, paying ſome certaine monies, and the Garriſon comming forth onely in their Doublets, their lives ſaved. From hence he went too before *Forte Barnardo* where being advertiſ'd by the *Gaſcons* of *Alanſons* Garriſon, how they had made agreement with *John de Villiers* to ſell unto him that place for 400. Crownes, hee ſent thither the Lord *Willoughby* and *Falſtaffe* with 2000. Souldiers who ſurpriſed the purchaſer, whilſt he thought to have made his entry with 200. Horſe and 400. Foote, which hee had brought to guard the place, they ſlew him, none of the reſt eſcaping, ſave 25. thankes to their Horſes heeles. The place which hee beſieged being then yeelded up unto him, together with a many more hee frighted *France*, which thought fortune too partially favourable unto him. *Henry the 6.*

At this time *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March*, formerly deprived of his liberty died at *Trimmes* in *Ireland*; whereupon his juſt and lawfull pretences fell upon *Richard Plantaginet*, ſonne to that *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, who by the commandement of *Henry* the fift, was beheaded at *Antona*, wee ſhall ſhortly heare newes of his claime; unfortunate to him the King and kingdom, for though he turned *England* topſey turvy, he did not notwithſtanding compaſſe the government thereof; the which was reſerved with better fortune for his ſonne. This his death was accompanied by the death of *John Mortimer* his Couſin, who accuſed of treaſon to the ſcandall of all men ſuffered the puniſhment of the Law, his faults being beleeved to bee calumnies, and himſelfe brought to ſo ignominious an end for that alone, which by vulgar Politicians is called Reaſon of State.

The ſame reſolution which (as wee have ſaid) made the Duke of *Gloceſter* marry *Jacoline* of *Baviers* contrary to the Law, made him likewiſe reſolve to take up Armes againſt him, who of all others was moſt requiſite for the friendſhip of *England*; neither could hee after the firſt errour forbeare committing of others, for he was inforced to recover for her; her poſſions injoy'd by the Duke of *Brabant* her legitimate husband; the which hee now (pretending himſelfe to be the like) muſt account his. Neither thought he that he ſhould neede any great forces, ſince *Hannault* which was to be the ſeat of the warre was thought to favour him, for the people of the Country had alwayes ſided with their true and naturall Princes, ſo as both of them imbarking themſelves at *Dover* with 5000. fighting men conducted by the Earle Marſhall, they went to *Calis*. Duke *Philip* according to appointment formerly made with the Duke of *Bedford* was come for this cauſe to *Paris*, and after having friendly diſputed it amongſt themſelves they framed an agreement to be accepted of by both parties, the Duke of *Brabant* did not refuſe to accept thereof, but *Jacolina* and *Gloceſter* did, who ſaid they might goe to take poſſeſſion of what was their owne, without the interpoſition of others. A reſolution which did inwardly wound the brother, who foreſaw the evills that were to enſue thereupon, and did touch *Philip* to the quicke, being intereſſed in theſe ſtates and Princes by neighbourhood and pretenſions; beſides he thought *Gloceſter* did too little value him, whilſt the *Engliſh* ought rather to ſet an eſteeme on him then on any other. Neither did hee

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forbeare to say to *Bedford* that since his brother would not condescend to the agreement made between them two, he was not to be blamed if he should imploy all the forces he had in the behalfe of *Brabant* against *Gloceſter*, to the which *Bedford* knew not what to reply, no reason being to be given for his actions, who not respecting friendship, equity, nor publik interest is resolv'd to pursue his owne Caprichies. *Gloceſter* passed through *Artois* into *Hannault*, where he and his wife *Jacolina* were received with all expressions of obedience, all the Lords and Gentry of the Country comming into their service, except the Counts *Conversan*, *Angebert* and *Anguiere*, and *John de Fumont*, who were the onely men that with their Townes and Fortresses observed the oath they had formerly taken to the Duke of *Brabant*, who growing more powerfull by reason of the concourse of men from *Artois* and *Flanders*, (for *Philip* had made it be proclaimed that such as were obliged to weare Armes should goe to his service) he began the warre to the great incommoditie of the Country, the which growing cooler towards their Princes would have shewed some effects, had not not their places of chiefest importance beene in the power of the *English*. *Gloceſter* did not beleeve that *Philip* would have opposed him, but hearing of the Proclamations, and seeing the effects, hee made his grievance knowne unto him by letters, which though in some sort modest, yet were they not void of injury, for he had let fall from his pen, that in his Proclamations there were many untruthes; whereupon *Philip* replyed that hee had taken upon him the defence of his Cousin the Duke of *Brabant*, as by reason hee was obliged; by accepting the Articles of that agreement which *Gloceſter* refused to doe; whilst both law and conscience required that the deciding of the question should bee expected from *Rome* where the cause did yet depend, but that passing by these particulars as not belonging to him, hee would answer onely to that which reflected upon his honour. That therefore hee would have him know, that in his Proclamations, hee had given out nothing of untruth, and consequently willed him to recant his assertion, which if hee would not doe, hee challenged him to single combate, either before the Emperour or the Duke of *Bedford*, who being his Brother was not to bee refused for a Iudge. *Gloſter* accepted the challenge appointing S^t. *Georges* day for the time, and the place to bee before the Duke of *Bedford*, if hee would bee the Iudge, otherwise before the Emperour. Those of *Brabant* this meane while who with their *Auxiliaries* made up a body of 40000. men, besiedged *Brame* in *Hannault*, wherein was a Garrison of 200. *English*, after 8. dayes houlding out, necessity drew them to capitulate; they were suffered to come forth with part of their Baggadge, and the City was fined to pay a certaine somme of mony in ransome of their lives and goods; but whilst the *English* were ready to come forth, the common People entred tumultuously in at Sundry places, putting most of them to the sword, and together with them some of the *Citizens*, and not satisfied with bloud, they sacked the City, and set it on fire, reducing it into ashes. The commands and intreaties of their leaders were of no availe, who had much

much adoe to ſave the few *Engliſh* that were left; and becauſe the tenet of the challenge was, that there ſhould bee a ſuſpenſion of Armes to ſhun the effuſion of ſo much bloud (the quarrell being to bee ended by the two Princes) no other hoſtility enſued at that time, ſave that *Gloſter* being come to *Braine* thinking to have come time enough to have ſuccourd it; there was much appearance of comming to blowes; for thoſe of *Brabant* apprehending this arrivall put themſelves in battell Aray, and a battell had certainely enſued, had not the greateſt number, of the common ſort runne away; leaving their weapons in the highwayes; ſo as the Count Sr. *Paul* and other commanders were much perplext, being expoſed to the mercy of the enemie; but the Duke finding that *Braine* was taken and burnt, ſo as there was no remedy, and not knowing any thing of the other diſ-orders thought no further on it, they all retired; they to *Bruxzels* and hee to *Mons*, from whence hee went to *England*, to provide all things requiſite for the *Duell*. Hee much againſt his will left behind him, his pretended Wife, wonne by the intreaties of her Mother and Subjects, all of them ſwearing (the City of *Mons* in particular wherein ſhee remained) to defend her againſt whoſoever ſhould annoy her, the which they did not make good: for hee had no ſooner turn'd his backe, but *Hannault* being ſet upon, *Mons* yeelded to *Brabant*, and the Princeſſe was delivered over into the hands of *Philip*, by whom being ſent to *Gannt* with appearing reſpect, but in effect a Priſoner; ſhee bethought herſelfe how to make an eſcape by the ſecreet aſſiſtance of her Subjects, cloathed in mans apparell ſhee got to *Zealand*, and having receaved 5000. men from the Duke of *Gloſter*, ſhee entred *Holland*, where being fought withall and beaten, ſhee loſt 3000. this meane while the buſines being decided in *Rome*, and the firſt marriage declar'd legitimate, the other voyd; *Gloſter* did wholly abandon her, ſo as finding herſelfe ſingle againſt ſo powerfull enemies, ſhee was enforced to give way to fortune, and to yeeld *Hannault* to her Husband (from whom ſhee was for ever ſeparated) together with *Holland* and the reſt, under the Tittle of Governement: ſhee oblig'd herſelfe to *Burgony* not to marry againe without his conſent as long as *Brabant* lived; but being herein as in all other things inconſtant, and having ſecreetly marryed the Lieutenant of *Zealand* (a marriage misbecoming her quality) ſhee ſo highly offended *Philip*, as having detained her Husband, to free him, ſhee was enforced to new conditions, and about the 36. yeare of her age, being deprived of her poſſeſſions dyed for meere greefe, this was her end. Her marriage with *Gloſter* was unluckly to them both, ſhee thereby loſt all ſhee had; and hee was thereby the cauſe, not ſo much of the loſſe of *France* to the *Engliſh*, as of the increaſe of the Duke of *Burgundyes* power in the *Low-countries*; *Philip* after his Fathers death, came to the Government of *Burgundy*, *Artois*, and *Flandres*; few yeares after by the death of two Brothers *John* and *Philip*, hee came to the Dukedomes of *Brabant* and *Limburgh*; by the death of *Iacholina* to the Earledomes of *Haunault*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, and to the Seigniory of *Friſland*: Hee by Armes wonne the Dukedome of

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Luxenburg from thoſe who deſcended from the Emperour *Sigismund*, and purchas'd the Dukedome of *Namures*, ſo as if hee had continued in his enmity to *Charles*, and friendſhip with *Henry*, hee was likely to have beene the deſtruction of the one, and the eſtabliſhment of the other. But humaine affections the more ſubject they are to paſſion, the more prone are they to change, they made him friend unto his enemy, and a bitter enemy unto his friend. Naturall hatred prevailing more then caſuall; eſpecially when beleeving our ſelves to bee the benefactors and obligers: Wee doe not thinke our ſelves to bee ſufficiently recompenced according to our owne deſerts.

The *Duell* betweene the two Princes was this meane while by the Duke of *Bedford* and his councell annulled, whileſt the Duke of *Gloſter* having receav'd advice of the invalidity of his marriage, married *Elianor* daughter to the Lord *Cobham*, a Lady formerly loved and knowne by him, this match caus'd more ſcandall then did his former, and proved much more infortunate to him.

1425. The defeat of *Vernuille* with the loſſe of ſo many Lords and chiefe Commanders, as it had much Indangerd *Charles*, ſo were the difficulties of making new proviſals wonderfully great. His ruine was certaine and ſudden, the remedies thereof ſubject to the length of time, the loſſe of the conſtable did moſt of all incommodiate him; a new one was of neceſſity to bee choſen, but as there were many, that did pretend thereunto; ſo was there none that was fit for the imployment. The preſent occaſion required not onely an expert warrier, but ſuch a one as ſhould bee of power and ſhould have followers out of *France*, conditions which were not found in any of his ſubjects: and for this reaſon was the late Earle *Bowhan* choſen, as hee who if need ſhould require, was not likely to faile in new forces from *Scotland*. After long conſultation, hee pitcht upon Count *de Richmonde*, the cauſes moving him thereunto were, that hee had beene brought up in the Wars from his Child-hood, and upon all occaſions ſhewed himſelfe to bee valiant, ſo as hee was rightly ranked in the number of the chiefe warriers of that age, that at all times hee had ſhewed himſelfe to leyne more toward the *French* then the *Engliſh*; that the Nobility of *France* were not likely to deny him obedience being ſo great a Prince, that together with the Nobility of *France*, hee would bee followed by that of *Britany*; that, if hee could not ſo farre prevaile with the Duke his Brother, as to make him declare himſelfe for the *French*, hee might at leaſt divert him from the *Engliſh*, and free *France* of the jealouſies, they had of him, that the like was to bee hoped from *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*; for being no leſſe his friend then Parent, there was none more fitter then hee to ſowe the ſeeds of that reconciliation, from which was to bee expected the expulſion of the *Engliſh*, the peace of *France* and his owne eſtabliſhment: but as hee did wiſely reſolve upon, ſo did hee inconſiderately begin this buſines, for this not being to bee treated of without the Dukes conſent; Hee ſent unto him *Monſieur D'Omale*, and together with him *Iohn Louvet* Preſident of *Provence*, who was

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by him hated to death, as being one of those that had advised his imprisonment; so as having given him a coole audience, he roundly answered, that if his brother would he might accept the offer, but not by his consent; and likely he was to have treated him ill favourdly, had it not beene in respect to him that sent him; the which being by *Charles* conceived, he intreated the Queene of *Scicily* to goe her selfe in person to him, giving her for an Assistant *Tannigues d' Chaustean*; who being better received, then were the former Ambassadors, the businesse was referred to the Councell. The Duke had no reason to trust the King, knowing that his delay would make him equally enemy to the *English* and to *Philip*, which could not but oppugne his interests. For though hee had broken the confederacy at *Amyens*, that he might accord with him, yet was he not at enmity with them nor linck't to him, save onely that hee might remaine a Neuterall: the troubles caused unto him by *Charles*, and *Charles* his father in times past kept him in perpetuall suspition, neither did he looke for any better were *Charles* in prosperous condition, for the Kings of *France* have alwayes sought how to molest the Dukes of *Britanny* in their prerogative and soveraigntie, chusing them for brethren in their miseries, that they might partake with them therein, and never owning them in their prosperitie, unlesse it were to insnare them; never reasonable nor just, but in adversitie and neede, besides he had not forgot, that at the taking of *Chantonceaux* he had met with some of his letters (though he denied them) wherein hee assured the two brothers of *Pointevers* of his protection, when under pretence of feasting him, they invited him to their house; and afterwards kept him many moneths prisoner in Irons, so as such a friendship could not bee esteemed advantageous.

In effect it had made for him that *France* had beene perpetually agitated, for being respected by both sides (each of them needing his friendship) he remained safe and free, whilst wanting leasure to worke his ruine, they ruinated one another, but that which most of all perplext him, was the new affinitie betweene his brother and *Philip*, which did not permit him to resolve on any thing that might displease him. 'Twas notwithstanding concluded that the Count should goe himselfe to treat thereof, upon condition that his returne might be secured by equivolent Hostages, and that *Philip* should bee therewithall contented; to whom Ambassadors were forthwith sent, who brought backe his consent upon certaine conditions. And *Charles* having put into the Counts custody (besides the foure townes, *Lusignan*, *Chinon*, *Loches* and *Meung*) *William Albret* and the bastard of *Orleans* to be Hostages in *Britany*, went to *Angiers*; where the Count accompanied by many of the Nobilitie met him, for what belonged unto the charge offer'd unto him, he at the first did with much modestly excuse himselfe, alleadging his unexperience in the affaires of *France*; afterwards he seemed willing to accept thereof, if his brother and the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Savoy* were contented. *Anedens* the eighth (the first that bore this title) was Duke of *Savoy*. His interests with the Duke of *Burgony* were the friendship contracted betweene

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tweene them by reason of their antient jealousie of the greatnesse of *France* after that *Dolpheny* was united to *France* and their neare affinitie. *Amedens* his wife, who was daughter to *Philip* the faire, being Aunt to *John* father to the present *Philip* surnamed the good, the Count having with this resolution taken his leave returned to *Britany*, and having surrendred up the Townes and Hostages went with his brothers approbation to speake with the aforesaid Dukes, from whom he obtained their desired assent. At *Chinon* hee received the sword from *Charles* according as the custome is, upon condition that tne Bishop of *Cleremont*, the President of *Province*, the Bastard of *Orleans*, his sonne in law *William d' Avegour* and some others who had a hand in the Duke of *Britanies* imprisonment should bee banished the Court. *Tannignes de Chasteau* whom *Philip* beleeved to have given the deaths wound to his father, was of the number of the banished. *Charles* was hardly brought to this, for hee valued this faithfull and valiant gentleman as his Father, and although hee promised all this, yet would he not have observed it, neither in those nor this, had not necessity inforced him. For having given order to the new Constable to raise forces in *Britany*, and having sent to *Savoy* to the same effect, he was absolutely denyed by those Princes for that hee had not observed what hee had promised. Whereupon *Tannignes* more respecting his masters necessitie then himselfe, advised him not to love the favour of such Princes, and service of great men by keeping with him contrary to his promise people of so small consideration as were he and the rest. And though the aforesaid Princes beleeved amisse, (at least for what concerned himselfe for 'twas not hee that slew the Duke of *Burgundy*) yet the mischiefe would fall upon him, that as times should alter; Hee might recall them, whilest for the present, hee was to preserve the good will of his Parents, and of such whose service might bee usefull to him. Hee onely desir'd him, that being growne old in his service, hee would take such order, as that hee might not perish for want of food, wherein *Charles* did not onely satisfie him, but suffering him much against his will to depart: Hee assured him, that as long as hee lived, hee would account him as his Father. Hee gave unto him *Beauciere* for his place of abode, together with the Government and emolument thereof; 15. Archers well payd for his Guard, pensions well assign'd, and confirm'd unto him the office of Provost of *Paris*, the which though in the enemies hands was of reputation and profit unto him. The President of *Provence* did not willingly withdraw himselfe as did *Tannignes*, but much against his will into *Province* leaving two Daughters very well matched the one to *Monsieur de Ioyense*, the other to the Bastard of *Orleans*, who went along with him, and afterwards forsaking him return'd to Court; and though hee had formerly bin hated by the Constable, was afterwards favoured by him, by reason of his *Valour*, who shall consider what wee have related in this present affaire will thinke it farre from likelyhood of truth, for *Charles* intending to advantage his party against *Philip* by making *Richmond* Constable who would not accept of it without *Philips* consent; *Philip* did ill

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in conſenting thereunto, and worſe in agreeing, that *Savoy* and *Britany* ſhould furniſh him with ſouldiers, receiving no other ſatisfaction for it, but *Tannignes* baniſhment from Court; but one of 3. things in my opinion cauſed him to doe it; either that being diſtaſted by the *Engliſh*, hee was not well pleaſed with their advancements, or that having his thoughts bent upon *Facholina's* territories (where it behoved him to attend) and *Charles* being in bad caſe by reaſon of his loſſe at *Vernuille*; Hee reſolved to give him a breathing time, to the end hee might not be made a pray by the *Engliſh* and hee have no ſhare therein, or elſe that he did it to leade the way to that reconciliation which enſued ſhortly after, and that the Conſtable had already begunne to treat with him, which is the moſt likely, but if it were none of theſe wee muſt ſay that the actions of Princes are like the workes of nature which are ſeene but not knowne. *Henry the 6.*

The firſt advantage *Charles* reaped hereby was the alienating the Duke of *Britany* from *England*. To this end he ſent unto him *Muſieurs de Treves* and *de Luſa*, intreating him that ſince hee had baniſhed thoſe whom he had reputed his enemies. Hee would as a Parent and kinſman aſſiſt him with men againſt the *Engliſh*, who advanced every day more and more to the ruine of the Kingdome. This Embaſſie being conſulted upon and oppugned, he reſolv'd againſt the opinion of the major party to ſuccour him; beleeving that the miſchiefe hee had ſuffered was occaſion'd rather by thoſe Councellors which govern'd him, then by *Charles*, ſo as deſirous to ſpeake with him mouth to mouth, before any reſolution ſhould be taken, they met at *Lanmeurs*, where they tarried ſome dayes, and departed the one and the other infinitely ſatisfied. The Duke at his returne rayſed a good body of Souldiers and gave them to his brother, who joyned with the *French* Troopes; whilſt the Earle of *Warwicke* beſieged *Pontersoune* and inforced it, if not ſuccour'd by ſuch a day (which it was not) to ſurrender. He placed there a Garriſon, which not ceaſing to make inrodes into *Britanny* cauſed the Conſtable to march thither. He beſieged it, forced it, ſlew all the *Engliſh* and demoliſh'd it, from thence he came to S. *Jaques de Beveron*, a place of no great circuite, a little before fortified by the *Engliſh*; but fortune did not ſmile upon him here, as it did in the former exploit, for the beſieged not onely defending themſelves againſt the beſiegers violence, but offending them by perpetuall ſallies, and skirmiſhes did abate their firſt furies: to which may be added the Souldiers want of pay, which ſhould have beene adminiſtred by *Mounſieur de Fae*, who injoyed what of favour and authority the Preſident of *Provence* held under *Charles*, ſo as the Conſtables proteſtations of not being able without pay to hold the Souldiers together, either being not liſtned unto, or not regarded, he reſolved to try his fortune by a generall aſſault before the Army ſhould disbaind; which according to the *French* calculation conſiſted of 20000. according to the *Engliſh* of 40000. and becauſe he knew that the Earle of *Suffolke* and Lord *Scales* were in a neighbouring towne, he ſent 2000. men, to the end that they might be impeached if they came to ſuccour the towne; but theſe men having gone a good way, not diſcrying any 1426.

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any enemy as indeed there was none (for *Suffolke* had had no notice of this the Conſtables laſt reſolution) they returned backe with flying colours, and in Battle array, when theſe who were ſcaling the Walls beleeving them to be enemies, tumbled downe from the Ladders, following thoſe who at the foote of the Wall, out of the ſame beleefe threw away their Armes and fled to ſave themſelves. The defendants who were of the ſame beleefe ſallyed forth at two ſeverall places towards the River ſide, and charging them home forced them to throw themſelves into the water, where according to the *French* Authors, betweene 6. and 700. men were ſlaine; but according to the *Engliſh*, what by water, what by ſword above 4000. forſaking their Tents, Artillery and all manner of proviſions; and the Conſtable being abandoned by the *French*, who in great diſorder and without leave taking, returned to their owne homes, retired to *Britanny*, more worthy to be comiſerated then blamed.

The *Engliſh* Court, the towne of *London*, and the whole kingdome was at this time full of troubles by reaſon of the contention ſprung betweene the Duke of *Gloceſter* and his Unckle the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Alterations not to be wondred at, for as thunder proceeds raine, and the conjunction of two diſmall Planets the malignity of their influence, ſo were not *Henries* misfortunes to fall out without the precedency of many diſorders, which though (ſeverally conſider'd) were of no great moment, yet being joyned were ſuch as cauſed his ruine: the diſtemperatures of a ſtate being like to thoſe of humaine bodies which if languiſhing are almoſt alwayes mortall the natures of theſe two contenders were hard to be reconcil'd, the one would be obeyed the other could not brooke command: the Biſhop pretended that ſince the Gouernment of the King appertained to him, the Duke had no reaſon to inſinuate himſelfe thereunto, though he were nearer of blood and of greater authority, but whether this or ought elſe were the cauſe of their hatred, 'tis moſt certaine the Biſhops pride and ambition was moſt hatefull. His mighty maſſe of riches procured him not onely hatred but envy likewiſe; an evill which as it cauſed one part of the Nobility to wiſh him well, ſo wrought it a contrary effect in the reſt, which drawne either by the condition of his birth, as of blood royall; by the reverence of his calling as of Biſhop, by the ſpendor of his attendants, as being ſerved by none but ſelected men, and by the fulneſſe of his tables which exceeded all others) did adhere unto him, ſo as the Citie being thus divided, the chiefe Magiſtrate who had the care thereof, was conſtrained to keepe a great guard therein day and night, the ſhops were all ſhut up, hourely fearing leaſt ſome contention ariſing amongſt the partakers, they ſhould fall to pillage, which was the onely end of the pooreſt ſort of people, which were the apteſt to doe miſchiefe. The Biſhop failed not to juſtifie his cauſe to the Duke of *Bedford*, writing vnto him, that if hee did not immediatly come to *England* his brother would bee the cauſe of much miſchiefe which he prayed God to withſtand; he intreated him to make haſte, for that the affaire in *France* could not proſper if thoſe of *England* did amiſſe, this newes made a great impreſſion in the Duke,

Duke, ſo as deputing the Earle of *Warwicke*, who was but a little before come thither with 6000. men, His Lieutenant in the Regency of *France*, hee went together with his Wife to *England*, and came to *Lancaſter* where the Parliament was at that time called. The firſt action hee did was to blame ſuch Lords as had ſided in this difference (not naming his Brother or Uncle to whom his diſcourſe tended,) who drawne by their venome had ſtir'd up the People to the danger of the King and Kingdome, and utter ſubverſion of the affaires in *France*, hee exhorted them to lay aſide their paſſions, and take to them more moderate and civill thoughts. *Gloſter* did not forbeare for all this to preſent in full Parliament, his complaints againſt the Biſhop. Firſt, that *Richard Woodville* Lieutenant of the Tower had by the Biſhops inſtigation denyed him entrance. Secondly, that hee was reſolv'd to lay hands upon the King, and carry him from *Eltham* to *Windſor* without the Kings conſent, or conſent of the Councell. Thirdly, that when as hee had reſolv'd to hinder him herein; Hee had cauſed the Bridge to bee ſhut up upon him, cauſed the chaines to bee drawne, and placed men armed with bowes, arrowes, and all other manner of weapons in the chambers, windowes, and corners neare about to hinder his paſſage, and to kill him, and as many as were with him. Fourthly, that hee had beene told by *Henry* the fifth, as hee lay aſleepe in the great chamber at *Weſtminſter* in his Fathers time, by the barking of a Dog, a certaine man was diſcover'd behind the hangings, who being queſtion'd by the Earle of *Arundel*, ſaid, that hee was placed there by directions from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to kill the Prince in his bed, and that being removed from thence, hee was immediatly drowned in the *Thames*. Fifthly, that he had told him likewiſe, that his Father in his latter times being troubled with grievous indiſpoſitions, the Biſhop ſhould ſay unto him, that ſince hee was no longer fit for government, hee ſhould doe well to transferre both the government and Crowne upon him. The Parliament was not eaſily brought to beleeve the circumſtances of this accuſation, eſpecially when the Biſhop gave in his anſwere; To the firſt hee ſaid, that before the Duke of *Gloſter* went to *Hannault*, hee and the councell good reaſons moving them thereunto had ordered, that the Towre of *London* for the time to come ſhould bee victualled and munition'd as other forts uſe to be. That after his being gone to *Hannault*, the Citie being in apparent danger, threatned by libels and ſeditious ſpeeches, particularly againſt ſtrangers (the greateſt part whereof were for this cauſe fled) the councell fearing a rebellion had appointed *Richard Woodville* to be Lieutenant of the Towre (who to boote with the great affiance the deceaſed King had in him was Chamberlaine and Councellor to the Duke of *Bedford*) with directions, that during this his charge, hee ſhould not ſuffer any one whoſoever to enter therein that was ſtronger then himſelfe, without particular commandement from the King or order to bee given by the Councell: that the Duke at his returne diſliking this order would breake it; Hee pretended to enter and inhabite there being offended, that *Woodville* denied him entrance, and that the Biſhop had

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advis'd him so to doe, the which hee did not deny; his reason being that the Duke desiring *Richard Scot* Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver up into his custody one *Randall* a Frier convict of treason against the late King, and who had bin some yeares Prisoner; *Richard* not able to deliver him without order from the Councell, nor to refuse his delivery without offending the Duke, desired him to send him such a command as might serve for his discharge, the which the Duke denied to doe; saying his commandement might serve for a sufficient discharge: so as the Bishop seeing him so farre exceed the limits of his authority, and not knowing where it would end, could not chuse but give *Richard* this advice, so much the more, for that after his returne from *Hannault*, hee had not forborne to allure some of the People, saying, that if they had beene ill dealt withall in his absence (as hee understood they had) they should bee so no more now that hee was present: and that as for the Tower, which was reinforced to keepe them in awe (as who should say, they were not loyall) Hee would find a remedy for that, if they so pleased. To the second, that hee never had any intention to lay hands upon the King, much lesse to take him from where hee was, to governe him otherwise then, till then hee had beene, unlesse it were by the resolution of the Councell; that such a thought could no wayes availe him, but rather prove harmefull and dangerous to him, the which hee offered to make good in time and place convenient. To the third, that hee denied not to have done as much as was alleadged, but not to the end as was objected, that hee had beene certainely inform'd ever since the last Parliament at *Winchester* of the great ill will the Duke bore him; which made him resolve not to bee there, to shunne the evils wherewithall hee was threatned, that evident signes were seene of this, that certaine people of base condition being assembled together on the *Thames* side, where boates use to land, were heard to say, that if they should meete with the Bishop in that place, they would throw him into the River; and that the Sunday before *All-Saints* day, the Duke being demanded by the Councell, concerning his ill will to the Bishop, hee said it is true, and that it might bee his reasons should bee seene one day in writing, that the next Munday by the Dukes commandement (no reason being given for it) the *Citizens* were all night in Armes, saying injurious things against the Bishop; that commandement was likewise given to the Courtiers to bee with the Duke by 8. in the morning armed, that on Tuesday hee gave directions to the Major and Aldermen to send unto him 300. Horse-men to waite upon him, whither hee was to goe, which was (as it was said) to remove away the King without the Councels knowledge, all which being manifest signes of this the Bishops danger, hee resolved to prevent him, as it is lawfull for every one to defend himselfe so as if he had fortified the Bridge to the end it might not bee forc't, it was not done with any intention of damnifying the Duke or any others, but to keepe himselfe from being damnified, since hee was not the assaylant but the defendant. To the fourth and fifth, that hee had bin true and loyall to all Kings, which

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if hee had not beene *Henry* the fifth, a wiſe King would not have truſted him ſo much as hee did. Hee offered to prove this; the proofe to bee ſuch, as is wonted to bee granted to perſons of his ſtate and condition; that herein hee humbly intreated the Duke of *Bedford* and all the lords ſpirituall and temporall of that Parliament, ſince they were the lawfull Judges for the adminiſtration of juſtice, eſpecially in this caſe, and becauſe the aforeſaid letter written to the Duke of *Bedford* ſuffered a ſiniſter interpretation, hee interpreted it according to its naturall ſence, the end for which it was written, not admitting of any other. *Henry the 6.*

If this buſines had hapened betweene private men, or that it had beene judgeable where *Lex talionis* is practiſed, it would not have beene ſo eaſily ended; but being betweene two great Lords almoſt equall in authority bloud, and followers, and where hee who layes treaſon to anothers charge, though calumniouſly undergoes no puniſhment, but the hazard of ſingle *Duell*, the remedy was eaſy, the condition of the times, the neceſſity of peace at home, and the evils which by doing otherwiſe were likely to enſue, being conſidered, for the cure of a Fiſtula differs from the cure of a wound, the one as ſoone as cut, muſt bee ſuddenly cloſed, the other being newly made muſt bee kept open to the end it may purge. But there was no probability in this accuſation, the 3. firſt articles though they had ſome ſhew, yet was there no proofe of them, and that appearance wiped away by a more ſolid recremination; the fourth and fifth not to bee ſpoken of, ſince the dead are not call'd to witneſſe, nor cited before Earthly Tribunals, they were alleadged onely to make the party accuſed ill thought of, not that there was any reaſon to condemne him for them. Moreover it is not likely, that in *England* where the accuſation witneſſes, defence and judgement are all made in publique and in face of the Court, an acceſſary ſhould bee privately drowned by night, the King not being advertis'd thereof, the party not delivered up into the hands of juſtice, nor confronted with his accuſer: whileſt the Prince who could not love the Biſhop, ſeing the ill will hee bore him had ſo large a field to revenge himſelfe in by Iuſtice, not being withſtood either by any intereſt of feare, or want of proofe, the caſe being cleare, the guilty convinc't, the fault inexcuſable treaſon in the higheſt degree; The order which was taken in this buſines was to ſweare all the Lords as well Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall, to proceed therein without paſſion and with ſecreſy, it was by them put over to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Exceter* and *Norfolke*, the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Worceſter*, and *Bath*, the Earle of *Stafford*, the *Lo. Privy Seale* and the *Lo. Cromwell*, who after having made them promiſe to ſtand to their judgements as well themſelves as their adherents; *Gloceſter* in the word of a Prince and ſonne of a King, and the Biſhop in the bare word of a Prieſt, they framed certaine words which they were to ſpeake one to another, cauſing them, (the King being preſent) to come to the Parliament. The Biſhop (ſeeming much grieved at the ſcandalous ſpeeches layd to his charge) preſſed much either to bee declared innocent, of what hee ſtood accuſed con-

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concerning the two laſt Kings (ſince hee was not, nor could not bee convinſt thereof) or elſe that he might be permitted to juſtifie himſelf, and being gone out of the houſe, to allow them time to conſider, hee was ſhortly after cald in againe, and *Bedford* in name of the whole houſe ſayd unto him, that upon the examination of his requeſt, the King and all the Lords declared him to be an honeſt man, and faithfull to both the Kings, which declaration was ordered to bee regeſtred amongſt the Acts of Parliament, then ſaying the conceived words one to another, and having ſhaken hands, the buſineſſe was ended, and they pacified.

The King was willing to witneſſe his gladneſſe of this accord, by ſolemne mirths and Court ſolemnities, he created *Richard Plantagenet*, ſonne to the Earle of *Cambridge*, beheaded at *Antona*, Duke of *Yorke*. This title ceaſed in this family, through the death of *Edward Plantaginet*, ſlaine in the battle of *Aiencourt*, elder brother to the forenamed Earle of *Cambride*, and not to bee ranſomed by this *Richard* his nephew, and next heire, without his being reſtored in blood as now hee was, this was hee who afterwards depoſed the King, and who was the firſt cauſe of exturpating the houſe of *Lancaſter*, having boldneſſe enough to conteſt for the kingdome with him, and to lay claime thereunto in full Parliament, as wee ſhall hereafter ſee in its due place; neither was hee likely to have arrived at ſo immenſe a bouldneſſe had he not beene promoted to this honour, and honord by thoſe high places of truſt which by the King he afterwards was. But God governes things here below by meanes contrary to wordly reaſon, for whilſt men fooliſhly beleeve that good turnes make paſt offences be forgotten, examples ſhew us that the correſpondencies due to vertue and reaſon, ought not to be expected from men, but ſuch as the intereſt of profit dayly produceth profit is that alone which ſurpaſſing vertue or reaſon ſpurnes at any other gratitude, the which though it ought not alwayes to be ſuppoſed, 'tis notwithſtanding a want in judgement to thinke otherwiſe in great offences; eſpecially ſuch as were theſe of this *Richard*; on whom no benefit being to be conferred, which was not inferior to the kingdome uſurped from him, it was the chiefeſt of all others to chalke out vnto him, the wayes to the conqueſt thereof, and by conferring upon him honors, riches, and power, to indow him with an ability of doing what he did. An errour whereunto the beſt of men are onely ſubject, who expect not that from others which they themſelves would not doe, this creation was accompanied with another of *John Moubray*, who being Earle Marſhall was made Duke of *Norfolke*, which title was unluckily enjoyed not above three yeares by his Father, who died in *Venice*, being baniſhed for *England* the firſt yeare of *Henry* the fourth, this ſolemnitie was concluded by the order of knighthood, which the Duke of *Bedford* gave into the King, accompanied by 35. great Lords, or ſome of great Families, and the liberall contribution, which by way of ſubſidie was given in Parliament in conſideration of the warre with *France*, no one City being exempt from the payments of monies or rayſing of ſouldiers. At this time the Duke of *Exceter* died,

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a man of great wiſedome, who having no ſonnes made the King his heire, though beſides the Biſhop, his brother, and the Counteſſe of *Weſtmerland* his Siſter, hee had by her a great many Nephewes. *Henry the 6.*

Richard Beauchamp Earle of *Warwicke*, whom the Duke of *Bedford* had left his Lievtenant in *France*, was not this meane while faultie in what belonged unto his charge. for entring the County of *Maine*, hee tooke there many townes, and being returned to *Paris* met with this newes of his, being choſen to the government of the King in place of the deceaſed Duke of *Exceter*, though he went not into *England* till a good while after, advancing in the meane while by his ſervice in *France* his Kings, his kingdomes and his owne reputation. *Alanſonnes* liberty who was taken priſoner at the battell of *Vernuille*, was by the Duke of *Burgundies* meanes, (*Bedford* being at *London*) procured; his ranſome came to 200000. Crownes: Faire offers were made unto him if hee he would forſake *France* and cleave unto *England*, in particular, much of what hee was to pay was proffer'd to bee remitted him, but no offer promis'd, nor benefit could ſever him from his affections unto this King and Country. Hee ſould unto the Duke of *Britanny* (not being otherwiſe able to pay ſo great a ſumme) the Barony of *Fugures* for 80000 peeces of gould called *ſalati*, and 38000. which he was moreover to give him, for the which hee pawned unto him the two Rubies of *la quaglia* and *Eſtampes*, and the two brothers, famous Iewels in the houſe of *Britanny*, the which being repawn'd by him and the reſt made good out of his owne monies hee return'd into *France*. The Duke of *Bedford* went thither likewiſe with a great many Souldiers, having taken requiſite order for the affaires in *England*. Hee was waited upon to *Calis* by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, I know not whether in reſpect or to receive the Cardinalls Cap which was ſent to him from *Rome*; the new diſcenſions councelling him perhaps to doe ſo. This Prelate had coveted the being a Cardinall ever ſince *Henry* the fifths time; but that King much miſliking his ambition, forbid him to endeavour it; that rub being now out of the way, the preſent King a Child, and though *Gloceſter* his enemy yet *Bedford* his friend, there was none that withſtood him therein. Hee receiv'd therewithall the faculty and title of Legat, which added to his incombes, ſo as looſing his former name, he was through all the kingdome ſtiled the Ritch Cardinall.

The *Count de Richmond* this meane while endeavoured by his valour to repaire the ill fortune hee met withall at his entrance into the Conſtableſhip. In *Anior* he tooke *La Methe* upon conditions, and the Caſtle of *Gollerande* by aſſault. In *Maine Ramfort* by compoſition, and *Malicort* by force, where hee ſlew the *Engliſh* and hung up the *French* that defended it. On the other ſide Sir *John Hothall* an *Engliſh* knight paſſing betweene *Mans* and *Alanſonne* with 20. Horſe was ſet upon by a Captaine call'd *Monceau* who had with him a troope of 120. fighting men; the *Engliſh* lighted from off their Horſes in the midſt of the highway, where they were ſet upon, and where there was no helpe, but a reſolution either to overcome or die, they ſo behaving themſelves,

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ſelves, as that killing many of them and putting the reſt to flight, they tooke *John Sorret* priſoner, a Brittiſh Gentleman, and returned ſafe to their Garriſon; but the daily inrodes that the *Norman* Garriſon made into *Brittanny* made the Duke thereof, reſolve to ſhut them up within their owne limits, by fortifying *Ponterſonne*. To this worke together with the Conſtable came *Meſieurs de Caſtelbriand Beaumaneir, Lohac Caſtelghironne, Montalbon, Belforte, Charte, Roſtrenan, Balliere*, and others of *Brittanny*; the Conſtable of *Scotland, John Onſcart, Walter Bruſacke*, and other *French* Commanders; theſe comming by night to deſcry the *Engliſh* fortifications, they were purſued by ſuch as were within, with danger of being but ill treated; but as ſoone as the Conſtable had fortefied *Ponterſonne*, hee went from thence leaving *Mounſieur de Roſtrenan* Captaine thereof, and under him *Mounſieur de Belfort, John Veyer* and *Ouſcourt*, who doing as they had beene done by, did by incurſions paſſe on to *Auranches*, doing all the miſchiefe they could; but thoſe of the Garriſon not induring to bee braved underneath their walls, ſallied forth, and had likely to have retired with loſſe, had not 400. *Engliſh* led by *Mounſieur de Noveſtres* come unexpectedly to their ayd, who charging *Roſtrenon* tooke him priſoner, and together with him 140. others, not above two being left dead upon the field. This chance made the Duke of *Britanny* ſend *Muſieurs de Caſtelbriand* and *Beaumaneir* to command *Ponterſonne* in *Roſtrenans* place. I have deſcribed this action according to *Argentres Hall*, and the other *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, aſcribe the glory onely to the Garriſon of *Auranches*, not mentioning *Noveſtres* nor any others that came into their ſuccour. So as being almoſt alwayes likely to meete with the like diſcordance, likelihood ought to open unto us the way to truth which by writers is with paſſion ſhut up, for no Iudge can injoyne us to beleeve one rather then another, unleſſe the one relation be held Canonicall the other Apocriphall.

Ponterſonne was a thorne in the Duke of *Bedfords* ſide, for it was a place whereby the enemy was much commodiated for the annoyance of *Normandy*, and his men hindred for doing the like to *Britanny*, ſo as reſolving to quit himſelfe thereof, hee ſent thither the Earle of *Warwicke* accompanied by the Lord *Scales* and many others who layd ſiege unto it with 7000. men the firſt day of Lent. *Belleforeſt* and *Argentres* writes that the Duke of *Britanny* knowing it was not able to hold out would have it abandoned, that ſo together with the towne he might not looſe the people that were in it, that the *French* and *Scots* withdrew themſelves from thence leaving onely the *Britans* there, who contrary to their Princes command would defend it, but it is hard to be beleeved that the Duke having purpoſely ſent his brother to fortefie it, aſſiſted by ſo many Lords, and the worke of three nations, *France, Scotland* and *Britanny*, ſhould afterwards repent it, as if no places were to bee defended ſave ſuch as are inexpugnable, and that to buſie the enemie in a long ſiege as was this, ſubject to ſo many contingences, eſpecially of being ſuccour'd either from *Britanny*, which was Contiguus with it, or from *France*, were a matter of no advantage; beſides it is not probable but that he ſhould have foreſeene the

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the enemy would assay it, it being a place so contrary to his designes; and much lesse that the *Brittish* Garrison abandoned by the *Scotch* and *French* should dare to defend it, contrary to their Princes command: but howsoever it was the Earle of *Warwicke* besieging it, and those within valiantly behaving themselves, as well by defending it, as making often sallies, the siege was brought to that passe, as that the assailant wanting both meat and munition, and not having wonne one foote of ground, the Lord *Scales* was inforced to goe his wayes with 5000. men (*Monstrelet* sayes but 500.) to provide for necessities for the Campe, accompanied by Sir *John Harplay* Bayliffe of *Constantine*, Sir *William Breerton* Bayliffe of *Caen*, Sir *Ralfe Tassonne*, and Sir *John Carbonall*.

The Duke of *Britanny* who had made a generall *Muster* of all his Horse and Foote, and chosen out a part thereof under the command of *Mounsieur de Castelgironne*, *Hanandaye* and the Viscount of *Belliers*, leaving the rest, entertained a proposition made by the *Baron* of *Coulonnis* a *Norman*, to surprise the Lord *Scales* at his returne, in a place which he knew fit for the purpose. Hee gave the charge thereof to the above named; who guided by *Coulonnis* made an Ambuscado of 6000. men (*Monstrelet* saith but 1500. in a place called *la Bassecourt*, neare unto a Bridge, betweene *Pontersonne* and the plaine over against *Monte* Saint *Michael*, where the Lord *Scales* and his men were furiously set upon; this place as it was the more advantageous for the assailants, so was it the lesse proper for the assailed, who were beset on the one side by the enemy, on the other side by the sea, so as inanimated by necessity and danger, and despairing of all other hopes, then what they should by their Swords receive, they did in close files and on foote so well defend themselves, as that the *Britons* could never open them; but this their first heate being abated, and being withstood by an unexpected and stout incounter, they began to give backe, and then to runne away, being followed at full speed by their enemies, who were gotten againe on Horsebacke, the number of those who were slaine and taken prisoners was about 1100. amongst the dead were the *Baron Coulonnis*, the inciter to this enterprise, *Messieurs de Castelgironne*, and *de Hananday*, and amongst the prisoners the *Viscount de Belliere*, and many other Gentlemen. So as the Lord *Scales* loaded with victualls, munition, and prisoners, came with much honour and praise to the Campe. The Constable went afterwards to perswade the Duke his brother to succour the towne, but could by no meanes worke him thereunto, for his experience upon this occasion had proved unto, that to hazard a battell might be his ruine; for by loosing it he should loose Dukedome, whereas the enemy was to loose nothing but men, so as *Pontersonne* being for three moneths space well defended, and not succoured, surrendred it selfe in *May*, the Garrison marching forth with their Armes and baggage. Which as soone as the Duke of *Bedford* understood, he went from *Roan* to enter *Britanny* with a powerfull Army; and likely he was to have done good, had he not beene perswaded to accept of the Duke of *Britannies* offers: who being too weake to incounter with him, *Pontersonne* his chiefe hold

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hold being loſt, his hopes but ſmall of being ſuccoured by *Charles*, hee himſelfe not knowing what to doe, his *Peeres* and People affrighted, having nor proviſions, nor forces, no courage, but full of apprehenſion and danger; hee was compell'd to ſend unto him, that pardoning what was paſt hee would bee pleas'd to grant him peace. *Bedford* yeelded thereunto unwillingly, and as ſome will have it by bad advice; but in my opinion very diſcreetly; if wee conſider the uncertainety of events. For the garriſons of *Britanny* (give the conqueſt granted) would require a great many people, not to bee made uſe of elſwhere: Countries ſubdued are ſubject to infidelity, and chiefely *Britanny* which naturally ill inclined was to bee thought ſubject to the leaſt puffe of alteration, ſo as joyning it by this meanes unto himſelfe, or if not ſo, cutting it off from the enemy. Hee might upon all occaſions, like *Polipheimus* keepe it for his laſt bit. Moreover hee could not have deſired more honourable nor more advantageous conditions. For the Duke oblig'd himſelfe to renounce all former confederacies made with the Kings of *France*; to obſerve the treaty of peace betweene the two Kingdomes; and to doe homage to King *Henry* (as ſoone as hee ſhould have croſt the *Seas*) in the ſelfe ſame manner as the Dukes his predeceſſors had done to the Kings of *France*, requiring but 3. monthes ſpace after requiry. The Biſhops and Barons of *Britanny*; bound themſelves to the obſervance of this treaty, together with the Dukes two Sonnes *Francis* and *Richard*, the Chapters, Cathedrall Churches, Citizens and all thoſe who amongſt the meaner ſort of gentry were of any name, ſo great was the feare, wherewith the one was inforced, the others ſurpriſed, foretold (as *Argentres* will have it) by a terrible earthquake which ſhooke the whole Country of *Nantes* ſome few *Monthes* before.

Small things and but of ſmall importance were done during the ſeige of *Ponterſonne*; *Nicholas Hanſonne* one of the garriſon of S. *Suſan* plundered the Country of *Anjou*: Hee tooke *Ramfort* before the Captaine thereof knew of his comming, hee ſlew and tooke as many as hee found there. A number of the *French* on the other ſide aſſembled to ſuccour *Ponterſonne*, went to regaine *Ramfort*, they beſieged it the ſpace of 10. dayes, and Articles being made, that the defendants ſhould come forth with their Armes; Horſes and other proviſions, they returned, abandoning their firſt deſignes. *Meſſieures de Raiſe* and *Beumanoir* tooke *Malicorne* and the Caſtle of *Iude* in the Country of *Maine*, by aſſault treating them according to the Lawes of places taken by force; they ſaved the lives of none ſave ſuch by whom they might reape advantage; being gone from thence and *Ponterſonne* ſurrendred, the above named *Hanſon* ſurpriſed S. *Lorance de Mortiers*, the Captaine thereof being gone to heare Maſſe in a neighboring Church, and returning home, not knowing, that the Towne was taken, hee was tane priſoner, but thoſe who followed him ſav'd themſelves. *Falſtaffe* the Governour of *Anjou* and *Maine* having almoſt at the ſame time taken the Caſtle of S. *Oven* by compoſition went to lay ſiege to *Grieville*, a place not to bee taken by force, but wanting victuals they treated on a ſurrender, if they ſhould not bee

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ſuccoured by ſuch a day. *Falstaffe* himſelfe went to advertiſe the Regent thereof, who ſuddenly came into the field hoping to fight, if the *French* ſhould come; but they appeared not, though not farre off, being taught to bee circumſpect by the battle of *Vernuille*. *Grieville* which this meane time was victuall'd deny'd to make good their treaty, and the *Engliſh* not likely to reape any good by tarrying long there, rayſed the ſiedge, hanging firſt in ſight of the Caſtle their hoſtages their friends and fellow ſouldiers. *Henry the 6.*

The Regent at his returne from *England* had given the charge of thoſe men, which he then brought along with him, to the Lord *John Talbot*, who afterwards proved one of the moſt famous Captaines in all the *French* warres. His name lives there yet amongſt them, who never read his ſtory: before that by his worth hee atchieved greater titles of honour, hee was of moſt noble bloud, Sonne to *Richard Talbot* Lord of *Goderick Caſtle*, who in his time had fought valiantly under *Henry* the fifth. *Camden* ſpeaking of him cals him *Englands Achilles*. His warlike humour cannot bee better deſcribed, then by the Latin inſcription on his ſword, on the one ſide of which was read *Sum Talbotty*, on the other ſide, *Per vincere inimicos meos*. The Regent thought fit to conferre upon him the Government of *Anion* and *Maine*, fitting *Falstaffe* with ſome other charge. The firſt thing hee did after having receaved his command was the taking in of *Lavat*, wherein *Monſieur de Loac* and other People of account, being caſually at that time, they bargained for the liberty of their Perſons and goods, paying therefore 100000. Crownes, none of the leaſt uſefull things in thoſe times. The Regent this meane while being advertis'd that *Montargis* was not well provided for, ſent thither the Earle of *Suffolke*. This place was not onely oportune, but neceſſary for him, in reſpect of the neerneſſe thereof to *Paris*, and for correſpondency with *Philip* (which though it were ſome what leſſened by miſtruſt, yet did it remaine entire their reciprocall intereſt, making them appeare outwardly friends, though their private diſtaſts made them bee inwardly otherwiſe) then becauſe it opened unto him the way to the taking of *Orleans*, the winning whereof would bee the totall ruine of whatſoever *Charles* poſſeſt. The Earle obeyed, accompanied by his Brother Sr. *John Poole*, and Sr. *Henry Baſſet* together with 6000. Souldiers, but finding the place well defended by good Souldiers and ſufficiently victuall'd, though not for a long ſiedge, hee thought it raſhnes to undertake the taking of it at firſt by force, ſo as pitching his campe, hee divided it into three parts, as the River *Loinge* upon which it ſtands, breaking out into certaine branches and mariſhes inforced him to doe; and to the end, that his quarters might have meanes of communication and ſuccouring one another, hee built bridges in the fitteſt places, hoping for want of victuals to make it yeeld: whileſt the Earle of *Warwicke* tarrying at S. *Matelin d'Archamp*, to withſtand the ſuccouring of the Towne, truſted too much to himſelfe, not beleeving ſuccour could bee brought by any other way then that where hee was, whereas if hee had made uſe of ſpies, neceſſary officers for a commander, he had not beene deceau'd. I will

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alleadge two examples to this purpoſe, the which though in latter times and not appertaining to our hiſtory may notwithſtanding alwayes bee of uſe. The great Captaine *Conſalvo* being by his owne King brought backe into *Spaine* and purſued by ſuch as envied him, was requir'd to give an account of his disburſments in the conqueſt of the Kingdome of *Naples*; the firſt, Item of his accounts was, in Spies one Million, which when *Ferdinand* read hee tore the leafe and would read no more. A great Prince who I forbeare to name (though I could not name him, but with much honour) who was wont to defray his houſe with not above 20000. crownes ſpent 400000. crownes in Ambaſſadors, and ſpies, beleeving that ones owne ſtate cannot bee ſecured without a perfect knowledge of that of others; the generals Judgement on which depends both good and bad reſolutions, is beſt inlightned by ſuch inſtructions as hee by this meanes receaves, and therefore prodigality which is alwayes harmefull in a Prince is commendable if thus imployd. Had *Warwicke* beene of this opinion, ſuccour had not come unmet withall, and *Montargis* had not beene ſaved. This ſiege laſted two *Monthes*, before that *Charles* could thinke how to raiſe it, the Court contending with the Kingdome in diſorders: and as *Monſieur de Giac* had ſucceeded in the authority of preſident of *Provence*, ſo did hee likewiſe in greedineſſe and pride. Pride and avarice bereave men of their underſtanding, ſo as not profiting by the example of other men, they are not aware, that a ſinguler favour without worth or merit, hath beene and ever will bee with Princes ſlippery and precipitius: and that to aſpire without reaſon, and to grow rich whileſt other men grow poore, beſides that it is hatefull, is of ſo perverſe and obſtinate a quality, that it brings men rather to death, then moderation. The Conſtable after the unfortunate ſiege of *Beveronne* was come to the King and complaining, that the detaining of the Souldiers pay was the cauſe of his loſſe, requir'd, that *Monſieur de Giac* might give an account of thoſe moneyes, which for this purpoſe was rayſed from the people. But *Charles* not minding this buſines, giving ſignes that hee made more account of the *Giac* then of him; the Count was ſo highly incenſt, as ſetting aſide all reſpect, hee caus'd *de Giac* to bee taken by night from his Wives ſide, to bee carried elſwhere put into a Sacke and drown'd. *Camus de Beaulier* who ſucceeded in affaires with the like arrogance was not long after ſlaine in the Kings owne houſe, by a Souldier of the *Mariſhall Boſſac* who thruſt him through the throat with a dagger. The Conſtable could not brooke neglect, eſpecially from ſuch people; but hee was not therein to bee praiſed, though hee had ſufficient cauſe to doe ſo; Princes ought to bee wrought upon by perſwaſion not violence, and who in any other manner ſeekes to pervert order or government, doe rather aggravate then take away offences, ſince errours ought rather to bee tollerated in Princes, then ſuch violent remedies in ſubjects, as are rather to bee termed revenge then Iuſtice. The King was highly netled at theſe outragious inſolencies, ſo as being much diſpleaſed with him, hee was the more confirmed in his ill will towards him, by the bad offices of *Monſieur*

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de Tremulle a former favorit of the Conſtables, and by him brought into favour with the King. The Court being thus turmoyld *Montargis* ready to bee loſt, the forces which were to bee ſent thither but weake, ſome will have it, that the Conſtable framed excuſes to ſhunne the employment, being poſſeſt with feare by reaſon of his late bad ſucceſſe, and much more by the ill will, that *Charles* bore him. But *Argentres* ſayes, hee was at that time gone into *Britanny*, and it is to bee beleev'd could not well brooke his ſight. The charge of this ſuccour was then generouſly undertaken by the Baſtard of *Orleans*, who had along with him the beſt captaines of all *France*, amongſt which *John Stuart* a *Scot*, *William D' Albret*, *Goucourt*, *Guitri*, *Greville*, *Villiers*, *la Hire*, *Santreglie*, *Giles de* S. *Simon*, and *Walter Broſſard*, together with 1600. Souldiers, carriages, and victuals; the firſt thing hee did was to advertiſe the beſieged of his comming. The *Engliſh* ſay, hee went thither by night, the *French* by day, the which if it were ſo, they ſhould doe well to ſhew how hee paſt their Paliſadoes and Trenches; for the *Engliſh* (by what wee read of them) are not wont to ſuffer themſelves bee ſlaine and to runne away at ſo cheape tearmes, eſpecially when they were more in number then the enemy, as likewiſe, that the feare of being ſtopped by the Earle of *Warwicke* and looſing of their proviſions might have detained the *French*. For firſt, hee was lodged not farre from them, and then it is not likely, that hee wanted *Sentinels* by day, and that the Horſemen did not their duties in fit places, who were there of purpoſe to withſtand whoſoever ſhould venture to ſuccour or victuall the Fort. If it were by night nothing was impoſſible. The beſieged had ſo blockt up the Waters as that they overflood the Bridges and made them impaſſible; they charged the two neereſt quarters which were *Pooles* and *Baſſet's*, nor had they much trouble to enter them, for the enemies were all aſleepe, great was the ſlaughter they there made. *Poole* ſaved himſelfe by ſwimming over the River on horſebacke; and *Baſſet* paſt over the River likewiſe with 7. more in a little boate, others, in paſſing over a Bridge, which overburned with the waight of water; and thoſe, who were upon it broke were drowned, ſo as 1500. were ſlaine and drowned. This worthy obſervation that the *French Authours*, who in all their actions count more *Engliſh*, then the *Engliſh* doe, in this alone count fewer, for whereas the *Engliſh* ſay, they were 6000. they will have them to have beene but 3000. whileſt there is no likelyhood, that two great Lords as were *Warwicke* and *Suffolke* ſhould bee ſent with ſo few men, to beſiege a place ſtrongly ſcituated, and likely to bee ſuccoured, if they ſhall ſay, they came with ſo few, becauſe they thought to ſurpriſe it. I will allow it for good, if when they found the contrary, they had returned backe, but making a formall ſiedge for almoſt the ſpace of 3. Months, they had beene out of their wits, if their numbers all that while had not beene augmented, ſo as it is not probable, that they ſet upon them by day, and that afterwards the *Engliſh* fled away favoured by the night (as they write) but rather (as the others ſay) that the two Earles the day being come preſented battle, putting

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themſelves in order before the Towne Walles, but that they were refuſed to bee fought withall, anſwer being made that they were victualled according to their deſigne, which was as much as they cared for; the *Dane* was gratiouſly receav'd by *Charles*, as hee well deſerved; for though the action were done by night, yet was it according to reaſon of warre; ſo as having done what a wiſe and valiant commander ought to have done, He would have beene thought raſh in doing otherwiſe.

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free betweene *Paris* and that Citie, hee tooke the Towne of *Fanville* by assault, and five dayes after the Castle thereof by composition, causing some to bee put to death there, as having forsaken the side they had formerly sworne unto. *Bogeances* having yeelded it selfe, hee caused Proclamation to be made, that all priviledges and goods should be preserved unto such as would acknowledge *Henry* for their King. *Ferguo* and *Meung* by reason of this offer, brought in their keyes. He tooke *Nogunt*, *Retrou*, *Puisset*, *Rochforte*, *Bertanwurt*, *Touri*, *Mompipeo*, the Tower of *Pleuviers* and other places; hee presented himselfe before *Orleans*, the 12. of *September* *Charles* had sent to the defence of this Citie, *Mounsieur de Busacke*, and *Mounsieur de Faiette*, both Marshalls of *France*, the Bastard of *Orleans* (who commanded in chiefe during this siege) *William Stuart* Constable of *Scotland*, *William Albret* Lord *d'Orvall*, *Mussieurs de Guicourt*, *Tovars Chavigni Greville*, *Chabannes*, *Ponton de* S^t. *Treigle*, *La Hire*, *Valperga* an *Italian*, and *Luis de Vancourt* together with 1200. Souldiers, *Luis* of *Bourbone* Count *Cleremont* went thither likewise uncommanded. The inhabitants pull'd downe all the suburbs of the Citie, amongst which 12. Parish Churches, foure Monasteries, places of pleasure, Gardens, Orchards, and whatsoever else could hinder the sight of the besieged, or bee of service for the Besiegers; within the Towne they spared not for any fortification or fence either to secure themselves from the besiegers, or whereby to be lesse exposed to their batteries, the Earle could not pitch his quarters unmolested with continuall skirmishes, which was the Souldiers daily exercise for three weekes together; but without any remarkable effect; Fortune disdaining to shew her countenance in things of so little moment; but the Bastard having made a salley forth by the gate of the Bridge, and being entertain'd with like bravery, he lost many of his men, and had many of them taken prisoners; He made head againe at the great Tower upon the end of the bridge, from whence he was beaten backe, leaving the *English* masters of the Tower, which was presently given into the custody of *William Glasdale*. This secured the Bridge, which was the safest way for victuals and succour. The Earle built many Forts round about, and especially over against the gates; so as the Citie being little lesse then girt about seemed to be in a desperate case, not able without difficultie to be furnish'd with victualls or re-inforced with defendants, though the Citizens upon all occasions did voluntarily performe the duties of Souldiers; but this Tower a purchase so appearingly advantageous was the losse of *Salisbury* and the ruine of this and all other enterprises; for blowes from heaven are like lightning, which wounds where it is not expected. The Tower had a bard window in the highest part thereof in the very face of the Citie, where the Captaines went oft times to discover such places as were most subject to danger, and where the Earle of *Salisbury* accompanied by Sir *Thomas Gargrave* and *William Glasdale* came to looke out. A Canoniere observing that many people used to appeare at that window, levell'd a piece of Canon against it, and going to dinner, left order with his sonne, that if hee should see any one at that window hee should give fire unto

unto it, which juſt as the Earle came thither hee did; the Bullet broke the Iron barres which gave upon the Earles head, ſtriking out one of his eyes, and bearing away one of his Iawes, and wounded *Gargrave* ſo ſorely, as that he died thereof two dayes after; at eight dayes end the Earle dyed likewiſe, leaving one onely daughter behind him; whoſe ſonne ſhewed himſelfe (though to the publique loſſe) to be deſcended from that gallant man; no death was ever more lamented. The Souldiers beleeving that in his loſſe, all was loſt, as indeed it fell out; for the good fortune of the *Engliſh* declined from that time forward, even to their being wholly driven out of *France*. The Duke of *Bedford* who was mainely ſenſible of this newes, deputed the Earle of *Suffolke* in his place, and made the Lord *Scales* and Lord *Talbot* and Sir *John Falſtaffe*, chiefe under him in that Campe; they did what they could, not to looſe the enterpriſe together with their Generall, but their worth could not withſtand the change of *Fortune*. *Henry the 6.*

The firſt day of the yeare they eſſayed to ſcale the Bulwarke before the gate Saint *Renard*, which being ſtoutly defended, they retired; the ſecond day the Citie was ſuccour'd with ſome ſmall proviſions brought by the Admirall *Callant*, who waded thorough the *Loire*, in a ſeaſon which being extraordinarily dry, though in the midſt of winter ſuffer'd them to paſſe and repaſſe without danger, and in his returne meeting with ſome troopes that went a freebooting, he ſet upon them, defeated them, and retired ſafely. The Campe ſtood in great neede of Victualls, Artillerie and munition; wherefore they ſent Sir *John Falſtaffe*, Sir *John Ramſtone* and Sir *Philip Hall* with ſome Forces to the Regent to convey ſome unto them; they were furniſhed with a great many Carts and Sumpters, the Regent adding to their ſmall numbers *Simon Moſier* Provoſt of *Paris*, together with a part of the guard of that Citie, and ſome of his owne Domeſtiques, which in all made up 1500. not counting thoſe who waited on the Carriages; they marched in good order, not meeting with any obſtacle, till being come to *Rounray* they might diſcover betweene 9. and 10000. of the enemy, the *French* ſay betweene 4. and 5000. *Stowe* but 4000. led by the Duke of *Bourbonne* to ſuccour *Orleans*, but as hee was deceav'd in the perſon of the Conductor, taking the Father for the Sonne (for the Duke of *Bourbonne* was then priſoner in *England*) ſo was hee deceiv'd in the number; though I doe not beleeve they were 9. or 10000. for ſo great a number would have beene ſufficient to have fought with the beſiegers Campe. But were they more or leſſe, they flew upon the *Engliſh*, as if aſſured of victory, for their Troopes being aſſuredly great, and having nothing to hinder them, the enemy incumbred, fewer in number and weary with Marching, they beleeved them not onely not fit to fight, but neither yet to put themſelves in defence. The *Scottiſh-men* who were better acquainted with the *Engliſh* and knowing the effect of their arrowes, knew how to bee thereby leaſt damnified adviſed to fight on foote, but they were not liſtned unto, ſo as every one following their owne fancy much diſorder enſued. *Falſtaffe* at the appearance of this cloud, was together with all his men lighted 1429.

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lighted off horſebacke, and making one firme body of them, fenced them about with the carriages, and planted his wonted ſtakes expecting to be ſet upon as he was; but buſineſſes were ſo carryed that after much ſhooting & many handy blowes, the great number of the enemy vaniſhed, ſome of them being ſlaine, ſome retiring in good order, and ſome taken priſoners; the cheefe that were ſlaine were the Conſtable of *Scotland*, and his Brother *Muſieurs d' Orvall*, *Chaſteau Brune*, *Montpix* *Werduſan Duray*, *Grave*, and ſome ſixſcore gentlemen more, part *French*, part *Gaſcons*, the reſt almoſt all *Scots*: the *Engliſh* count 1100. priſoners; *Dupleix* but onely one and he a *Scotchman*. *Serres* accuſes Count *Clerement* (whom he formerly called the Duke of *Brabant*) of want of courage, for that frightned at this blow, he and his men went their wayes abandoning the beſieged, which *Guitres*, *Gancourt*, *Greiville*, *Villiers La Hile*, and S. *Raigle* did not, reſolving all of them to ſee the end thereof under the Baſtard of *Orleans*. The *Engliſh* came unto the Camp with their expected carriage, & with their unexpected priſoners & becauſe the proviſions which they brought conſiſted much of Herrings, it being Lent, the *French* entitle this incounter the Herring day. This defeat did much perplex the beſieged for all their reſolution of well defending themſelves; for though generous hearts in adverſity do not goe leſſe in courage, yeare they diſtemper'd by eminent dangers; for where courage pretends the two diſtinct offices of Captaine and Souldiers, it pretends ruine; for wiſedome ought onely to regulate, ſhe being the onely lawfull egger on, or withholder, of what ever generoſitie or fortitude, ſuch qualities as were required in a good Souldier, were not wanting in the Baſtard of *Orleans*, and the Inhabitants abounded in all ſuch conditions as a Prince can deſire in his people; in love to him, in hatred to their enemies, and in reſolution amongſt themſelves, rather to ſuffer the worſt of evills then ſuffer themſelves to be governed by forrainers, yet wee are neither *Numantinians* nor *Saganthians*. Chriſtian religion forbids it us, but as wee muſt dye when one *Humidum radicale*, or radicall moiſture failes, ſo the yeelding unto others doth conſequently follow the want of forces, and bad fortune. *Charles* was weake, his helpes deſperate, he wanted Souldiers, wanted Captaines, a many whereof were ſlaine in this battell; the Citie full of people, victuals growne ſcarce, and dangerous it was to expoſe themſelves to the laſt of dangers; the defendants lives was not the onely thing in queſtion, but their wives, children, goods, and country to which ones dutie is performed, when all is done that may be; the ſurpluſſe is not generoſitie but impotency of minde repugning it ſelfe, for all this, they could never pitch upon the reſolution of yeelding themſelves unto their enemy, though it were impoſſible for them to hold out many weekes, but no underſtanding is more ſpeculative then that of Priſoners; Theſe were no better, ſhut up in an expectation of ſpeedy death or ſervitude; they bethought themſelves to offer up the Citie, upon condition that it ſhould be delivered into the hands of the Duke of *Burgony*; for if this offer were accepted of, they were to remaine under the command of a *Frenchman*, a Prince of the blood, and though an enemy, not ſo of his

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owne inclination but by paſſion, and this much abated of its firſt fervency, and if it ſhould not be accepted of, it was likely by reaſon of the diſtaſte this refuſall would cauſe in him, to procure an alienation in that Duke from the *Engliſh*, as though not immediatly, yet not long after it did; to this purpoſe Embaſſadours were ſent to the Regent with two propoſitions, the firſt that the towne of *Orleans* might bee held as a Neutrall, alleadging that it was no reaſon the juriſdictions of their Duke, now priſoner in *England*, ſhould be moleſted contrary to the articles agreed upon betweene the Crowne of *England* and him; the ſecond, that if this might not be granted, that the towne of *Orleans* might be aſſigned over into the hands of the Duke of *Burgony*, a friend and confederate of *England*, as upon theſe conditions it ſhould be; to the former the Regent anſwered that the Duke of *Orleans* was not taken priſoner upon conditions, but in the battle of *Agencourt*, wherein there was no treaty, neither of life nor livelihood, that therefore that which they pretended unto was ridiculous and new, ſince his juriſdictions as thoſe of an enemy, and as thoſe which in all actions of enmitie tooke part with *Charles*, were ſubject to the lawes of Warre, and lawfully to be oppugned: To the ſecond that *England* having undertaken this enterpriſe at a great charge, and with the loſſe of ſo many great commanders and Souldiers, no other body having contributed, hazarded or loſt any thing therein, to require of them to inveſt a third party therewithall, defrauding themſelves thereof was an unjuſt and an indiſcreet requeſt, and not to be granted; this negative diſpleaſed *Philip*, but if hee herewithall incited his Councellors to anger (who pretended themſelves to be treated withall like fooles, ſince that they having framed the net by turning the kingdome of *France* upſide downe, others injoy'd the fruit thereof.) Hee did it againſt reaſon, for *Philip* would have done the ſame: Thoſe who accuſe *Bedford* of folly, that being able to have wonne *Orleans* he loſt it, for not being willing to truſt it in a friends hands, doe judge by the event, after the which any man may be wiſe. A towne abandoned by reaſon of the Kings impotency, without victuals, without munition, which parlied, which offered it ſelfe; a battle formerly loſt againſt all rule or reaſon, and therein the loſſe of ſo many Captaines and Souldiers: to make *Philip* more powerfull, with whom for paſt diſtaſts they were to proceede with more caution; to open unto him the way of making himſelfe maſter of all ſuch places as could not bee made good; to make him Arbitror of *France* that hee might diſpoſe of it at his pleaſure, after that he had intended his owne ends, added ſo many Provinces to what formerly poſſeſſed by him, the *Engliſh* by waging warre with *Charles* having diverted all his oppoſitions, without the which he could not have inlarged his territories, and at this preſent yeeld up *Orleans* unto him, was to make them be rather reputed weake then wiſe. I deny not but that he might have done better to have yeelded it unto him, but am onely thereunto drawne by the event contrary to the preceeding apparances and foreſight, wherein if a man erre he is not to be blamed for it, but if it had beene poſſible that a contrary event might have ſhewne us, how *Philip* would have

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behaved himselfe having gotten *Orleans*, we would then perhaps bee of another opinion; 'tis true that one onely reason, and that a great one, contradicts what hath beene formerly said. *Bedfords* wisedome ought to have beene regulated according to that of the deceased King his brother, who by his last will having left the Regency of *France* to *Philip* if he would accept thereof, he was unjustly dealt withall to be now denied a Towne, not coveted by him, but offered unto him as a surety, when hee mought have had the whole and would not, and this so much the more, for that his trusting of him in this, had been able to have sweetned all past dislikes, and to have made him as formerly an intire friend.

Thus all return'd to their owne former affaires; the Embassadours to *Orleans*, the *English* to the continuation of their siege, wherein but very little was done; the Souldiers on both sides spared themselves; those within, that they might not lessen themselves being but few, and those without, hoping that time and hunger might effect that, which till then by all their machinations and assaults they could not doe: but they were both deceived, though in a different manner: luckily the besieged, for the evill they expected and apprehended turn'd to good; unluckily the besiegers, for the confidence of that purchase was turned to the not looked for losse of that place & others. *Charles* was advised to retire himselfe, for the losse of *Berry* and *Tourraine* being granted if *Orleans* were lost, he might by tarrying undergoe many dangers, especially the being besieged in some place or other; the which if it should happen, hee should hazard, together with his liberty, the losse of that title which he yet was possessed of, the preservation whereof depended upon the preservation of his person. They counsel'd him to goe into *Daulphine*, for from *Grenoble* a safe place, he might by the succours of the Count of *Province* King of *Sicily* his cousen, the Counts *de Foix Armigniac* and *Cominges* defend *Lionois*, *Auvergnia* and *Languedoc*: but such as were of a contrary opinion sayd, that to passe over the River *Rhone*, and abandon the Provinces situated on the other side, was the way to undoe him; for if in the midst of so many dangers hee should abandon his subjects, what could they doe but abandon him? that to trust Fortune was to be his last resolution: Being thus in doubt what to doe, hee was succoured by one *Jane d'Arc*, a meanes unexpected by him, nor foreseene by such as looked for new events; this womans story is full of extravagancies and controverted not onely betweene the two contrary parties, but betweene the *French* themselves. Of these two former the one affirmes her to be a virgin, a Saint, sent by God to deliver that kingdome; the other gives her out to be unchast, an heretique, a sorceresse, a witch, and for such a one condemned; the third dissenting from the latter in the last Articles, doe the like from the others in the former; for they beleeved her to bee unchast, and raised up by the craft of some great ones, who not able to cheere up mens cast-downe hearts by any arguments of worth, thought to raise them up by superstition, which prevailes much in calamitous times. With these I side, finding no reason to make me beleeve the former, nor sufficient

ent proofe to make me admit of the ſecond's opinion, all of them ful of uncertainty and paſſion. I know, it is not lawfull for us to examine the works of God, but it will bee granted me, that it is not onely lawfull, but neceſſary to ſearch out whether any humane action, reputed the handyworke of God, bee ſo or no. Shee was borne in *Lorraine*, in the Pariſh of S. *Rhemes*, her Parents peaſants, her exerciſe was to feed ſheepe (*Paſquiere* ſayes to ſpinne and ſowe) her age, ſome ſay 18. ſome 20. ſome 22. (*Paſquiere* ſayes 29.) her inclination (according to *Du Pleix*) pious, confirmed by the Hermitage of *Maddona de Beaumont* neare the place where ſhee dwelt, devoted (next to God Almighty) to the Virgin *Mary*, to the Angels *Michael* and *Gabriell*, and to S. *Catherine* and S. *Margaret*, who having oftentimes appeared to her, did reveale unto her that S. *Charlemaine* and S. *Lewis* had prayed to God in the behalfe of her King *Charles* the ſeventh for the delivery of the Citie of *Orleans*, after the which the *Engliſh* ſhould bee overcome and beaten out of *France*; that the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould ſhortly recover his liberty; that the *Dolphin Charles* ſhould bee crowned in *Rheims*, wayted upon by her; that here upon putting on mans apparell, ſhee ſhould goe to find out *Charles*, procuring a commande of Men, Horſes and Armes to fight in his ſervice; that in the execution of theſe commiſſions ſhee preſented herſelfe before *Robert de Baudicourt* Governour of *Vaucolore*, who though hee did not at the firſt beleeve her, yet convinc't by her conſtant aſſeverations, he made her (clad like a man) bee conducted to *Chinon*, where the King then was, to whom the buſines ſeemed the leſſe ſtrange, for that hee had beene formerly foretold by another Virgin called *Mary* of *Avignon*, who was likewiſe vers't in revelations, that hee and his Kingdome after much calamity and affliction, ſhould by the means of a Virgin bee freed from the tyranny of ſtrangers; that hee cauſed her be brought into his chamber, where but meanly apparell'd himſelfe, he was converſing with Princes & great Lords richly attired, which ſhee not eſteeming, addreſt herſelfe immediatly to *Charles*, repreſenting unto him with much confidence, for what cauſes God had ſent unto him; that being examined by certaine divines touching her faith, revelations, life, and cauſes of her journey, ſhee did ſatisfie them with ſuch ſimplicity, modeſty, and reſolution, as that they eſteemed her ſent from God for actions of great importance; that being ſearched by divers Midwives in the preſence of the Queene, the Queene of *Sicily*, and other Ladies, they found her to bee a Virgin, whereupon ſhee was afterwards called the Virgin or Maid of *Orleans*; that ſhee much deſired to have a ſword which was found in the Church of S. *Catherin de Forbois* in *Touraine*, buried with the aſhes of a Knight behind the Altar, the which being marked with three Croſſes and ruſty, the ruſt fell all forthwith off, no meanes or art being uſed; that a Horſeman meeting with her and underſtanding that ſhee was the Maid of *Orleans*, accompanied his lewd thoughts with ſome fowle words and blaſphemous ſpeeches, whereupon ſhee ſaid, O miſerable man that thou art, who art at deathes doore, and doſt blaſpheme God; that within one houre after hee being in a

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River, fell off his Horſe and was drowned; ſo as by ſo many ſignes of the grace of God as ſhin'd in her, reſolution was taken to give her men and victuall's to releeve *Orleans* under the conduct of *Mußieurs de Rieux*, *Mariſhall de Cullant* Admirall of *France*, the King having given her Horſe and Armes for her owne Perſon, and deputing for her guard one *Dolon* an antient Knight, one of his Councellors, and Sheriffe of *Beaucaire*. This relation is made by *Du Pleix* a moderne Writer, who complaines of his not being therein beleeved, as if it were as much to bee beleeved as an Article of faith. Hee agrees in many things with them that are of his opinion, in ſome things hee ſayes more then they; as the miracle of the Horſman, and the cleanſing the ſword without art, to the which hee aſcribes the marke of three Croſſes, but they three flower de-luces on both ſides: likewiſe they ſay not, that it was buried with a Knight, but hung up with other ruſty ſwords and priſon Irons, which by devotion or vow were found in that Church. *Giles* and *Belleforeſt* write, that *Baudicourt* was not well ſatisfied for what concern'd her till the hearing day, at which very time ſhee told him that *France* had receiv'd a great defeat, and that it would receive many more, if hee would not take order for the convaying of her unto the King; ſo as hearing that that loſſe had hapned the very day ſhee had foretold it him, hee thought hee ſhould offend God, and doe diſ-ſervice to the King ſhould hee not ſend her, and therefore diſpatch'd her away ſuddenly; that ſhee ſaid ſome things to the King which were never by him retold to any, but that laying aſide all melancholy, hee ſeemed ever after to bee exceeding joyfull, that when ſhee demanded the aforeſaid ſword of him, hee asked her how ſhee came to the knowledge thereof, and whether ſhee had ever beene in that Church, or no; to the which ſhee anſwered, No, but that ſhee knew it by divine revelation, and that there withall ſhee was to drive out all his enemies, and to lead him into *Rheims* to bee annoynted and conſecrated; and to ſtrengthen their teſtimony they produce *Mieres* a *Flemiſh* Authour; who, though he bee accuſed of falſehood and partiality againſt the *French*, they will yet have him in this to bee on their ſide, and to ſay the truth, but tis a ſtrange thing, that the *Engliſh* differ not in this, and the *French* doe. *Waſſeburg*, *Paradine*, and *Hallian*, write diverſly of her, to whom *Argentres* may bee joyned for a fourth. I will relate what *Hallian* ſayes of this in his hiſtory, and in his booke intituled, Touching the eſtate and ſucceſſe of affaires in *France*. His words are theſe, "The miracle of this Woman, were it true or falſe, did "much incourage the depreſſed hearts both of King, Lords and "People; of ſo great power is religion and ſometimes ſuperſtition; "for ſome thought her to bee a Wench belonging to *John Baſtard* "of *Orleans*, others to *Monſieur de Baudicourt*, and others to *Lentruille*, "who being wary, and knowing the King to bee ſo moap't as that "hee neither knew what to doe nor ſay, the people to bee ſo dejected "as that they were not to bee cheered by any humane hopes, they "bee-thought themſelves how to make uſe of a falſe miracle, as a "meanes which infuſeth courage and ſtrength into men, and which

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"makes men, eſpecially ſuch as are ſimple, more then is true; the "people being ſubject to beleeve ſuch ſuperſtitions: ſo as they are "not to bee condemn'd who beleeve her to bee a Virgin ſent by "God, nor yet they which beleeve otherwiſe. Theſe noble men ſpent "ſome dayes in inſtructing her in all ſuch things as ſhee was to an- "ſwer to the demands the King might likely make her, and ſuch "as in his preſence they would aske of her, for they themſelves were "to interrogate her; and to the end ſhee might know the King from "among the reſt, ſhee never having ſeene him, they oftentimes made "her contemplate his picture, and failed not to bee preſent the day "that ſhee was to come, being themſelves to bee Actors in this bu- "ſines. The firſt, that askt her what her buſines was, was the *Baſtard* "of *Orleans* and *Baudicourt*; ſhe anſwear'd, ſhee would ſpeake with "the King: then they there preſenting ſome of the Lords that were "there preſent for the King, ſhee ſaid, that was not hee, for hee was "hidden behind his bed, whither ſhee went to find him; and a little "while after hee adds, This invention of counterfeit and fained reli- "gion was of ſuch advantage to this Kingdome, as that it infuſed "hope into men that were before depreſt by deſpaire. Hitherto *Hallian*. Now that this was rather to bee beleeved then the other re- port, *Argentres* ſeemes to denote, where ſometime after hee makes her incounter with the Conſtable. *Monſieur de Tremuille* was by the Conſtables meanes brought into favour with *Charles*, and hee like an ingrate perſon had wrought the Conſtable out of favour with him, made him bee forbidden the Court, diminiſhed his penſions, given order to the Citie to ſhut their Gates upon him, and to the Captaines to fight with him; the which the wiſeſt ſort thinking to bee ſomewhat hard, the Maid willed it ſhould bee put in execu- tion; but the contrary opinion prevailing, ſhee went along with others to meet him, who did him this honour not onely as being a Prince, but as being Conſtable, and their ſuperiour; ſo as being informed of her bad offices, as hee came to ſalute her, ſaid, Jane, I underſtand you would have fought with mee; I know not what you are, nor by whom ſent, whether by God or the Divell; if by God, I feare you not, for hee knowes my intentions as well as yours: if by the Divell, I value you much leſſe, therefore doe the worſt you can, I defie you. Whereby is plainely ſeene, what opinion was held of her; and that having failed upon this occaſion, as in many others, ſhee had no Spirit of revelation, for then ſhee would not have beene ſubject to ambiguity in the undertaking of things, nor to inconſtancy in the putting of them in execution: For what concernes *Meſſierus* his teſtimony, every man who ſpeakes of other mens actions doth ſay and beleeve what is ſaid and beleeved by a concurrence of Writers, not having heard thoſe who affirme the contrary. Moreover, though hee were a *Fleming* by Nation, yet was hee not ſeparated from the intereſt of *France*; for if in ſome things, hee writ in favour of *Philip* againſt the *French*, hee writ many things wherein *Philip* was not concern'd (as namely this) in favour of them; but the evidence that hee brings of this Woman

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for what concernes *Philip*, ought not make that bee beleeved which hee had formerly written in the favour thereof. Hee brings her forth as ſent by God, but not againſt *Philip*: Hee affirmes that ſhee had not like ſucceſſe againſt the *Burgonians* as ſhee had againſt the *Engliſh*; that ſome ſaid, though ſhee were of power againſt theſe, yet was ſhee not ſo againſt thoſe; as if grace had beene conferr'd upon her conditionally, leſſe towards them, and in abundance towards the *Engliſh*. To witneſſe the which, hee alleadges two caſes: the one, that being gone to the ſiedge of *Senlis*, in the defence whereof, beſides the *Engliſh*, there were many *Burgonians* under the command of *Lilliadam* and *Croy*, ſhee adviſed ſometimes to fight, and ſometimes not, having loſt in ſome ſmall skirmiſhes 300. men, that is as much as to ſay, ſhee had taken *Senlis* if there had beene none but *Engliſh* there; that the like befell her before *Paris* from whence ſhee retreated wounded in her legge. In a word, *Sodome* was ſpared as long as *Lot* ſtayed there; but if it were ſo, I ſee not any reaſon hee had to beleeve much therein, ſince theſe contrary events ſhew the falſhood of her revelations; for ſince errour did enſue thereon, they proceeded not from God, from whom comes no errour: and if hee will have them to bee true, but not obeyed, he will find that the Lord God delivered up a diſobedient Prophet to bee the prey of a *Lion*, and that hee tooke away his grace and kingdome from the firſt diſobedient King. The chiefe reaſons which the *French* produce to prove her being ſent by God, are her requiring that ſword which ſhee had never ſeene, as placed in a Church where ſhee had never beene, and her having ſaid many things in ſecret unto the King, which were never by him retold to any man; the argument of the ſword is very light, for if her comming was by cozenage, other things were effected by the ſame deceit, without the which ſhee was not to bee beleeved in the principall, but the diverſity of writing of the place, of the miracle, of the ruſt which fell off of it ſelfe, and of the diverſity of the marke, there is no man who will not account it a manifeſt ſigne of falshood. I forbeare to mention in the neceſſity of this ſword, the ſuppoſall of ſomewhat of fatality (according to the Ethnickes opinions) and that *France* ſhould bee delivered by the vertue thereof, and not of other weapons, ſmels of a Romanſa and inchantment. The Kings keeping her Counſell doth no wayes take from, but rather aggravate the former ſuſpitions. Hee ſhould have averr'd the fact, at leaſt after her death, ſince ſuch ſecrets appertain'd onely unto himſelfe, and were one day to bee knowne, unleſſe it were that, taken up into the third Heaven as was Saint *Paul*, ſhee had participated ſuch things unto him as are not lawfull to bee told to man. Finally, to cry downe them for Hereticks who doe not beleeve in her, is an apparant vanity: wee are then infidels, when wee have not that ſanctified ſenſe of faith, to the which wee are by faith bound; when the uſuall and dayly workes of God, which march under the name of nature are not received and admired by us, as the workes of his omnipotencie; and when wee doe not beleeve his extraordinary workes, the which being at the ſame time ſupernaturall and

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yet visible(as Miracles) cannot bee denied without infidelity; but such as doe or may depend upon humane cunning or wariness, unlesse the proofes thereof bee more then evident, wee may without any scruple of infidelity, not onely doubt thereof, but absolutely deny them. The true causes why this was so strictly prest were two: that which hath already beene sayd to raise up mens spirits, to the end that out of the imagination of speciall help from Heaven, they might undertake, what their owne faintnesse made them give over; the other, that fraud being turn'd miracle, *Charles* his pretences might bee declared just, and *Henries* unjust, for God doth not protect injustice. *Monstrelet* describing her, as doe the rest, agrees with the *English* in that point of her; having serv'd a long time in an Inne, and that as shee watered Horses, shee rid them without any manner of feare, having abilities not usuall in that sex; the which the *French* deny in words, but in effect confesse, when, describing her entry into *Orleans*, and arming her with white Armes, they make her ride upon a Courser of the same colour, whilest it is to bee supposed, either that shee would not have knowne how to have govern'd him if shee had not formerly practised to ride, or els that shee did it by miracle: to affirme it done by miracle is too much to abuse miracles by too profane boldnesse; if otherwise, it was a couzenage handsomely plotted to chuse out a Woman, which knowing how to do things which other Women usually know not, the simple sort were made to beleeve them as extraordinary, not in the sexe, but in nature.

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The assembly of people and victuall's which were to bee brought into *Orleans* was made at *Blois*, whither the maid came and marched on with the succour. Her *Standard* was borne displayed before her, wherein were painted three Angels, one in one corner, another in another, with a flowre *de Luce* in their hand; in the midst the image of the Virgin *Mary*, opposite to the which stood the third, which presented a flowre *de Luce* unto her. Her intention was to enter fighting, but the Conductors, who did not beleeve it, knowing that the greatest part of the besiegers were on *Beaux* side, left that way and tooke the other of *Soulogne*, as the more safe. When they were come to the River they passed over their victuall's, the *English* not stirring one foote, and entred the City with great applause of the Citizens; but the *English* say, they made their entry by night, favour'd by a darke season, wherein it did both thunder and raine, so as they were neither heard nor seene. The chiefe Conductors returned backe to *Blois* to bring more victuall's and munition which yet remained there, while the *Bastard* of *Orleans* sent for all the forces that were at *Montargis*, *Schattadune*, and other strengths there abouts; with the which, accompanied by the maide, hee went to meet them, and passing by the enemies forts, none of the enemy budging, they entred safely into the City; the easines of this second succour ought not (as I suppose) bee ascribed to a miracle, as well for that the like hath hapned upon the like occasions and in other places, as likewise for that two things did facilitate it: the one, that upon the beleefe of the Maids being sent by God, 7000. *Voluntiers* came flocking to them,

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them, who without this would not have tane up armes for all that *Charles* could either have ſaid or done unto them; the other, for that (as ſome of them do write) they were purpoſely let paſſe out of hopes, that the City would the ſooner bee famiſhed by the increaſe of her number: thus was it twice victualled the night in the former, and the multitude of Souldiers in the ſecond; making the miracle by the meanes of who (nor hoped for, nor expected before) the maide being to doe great matters, ſhee (as a Meſſenger from Heaven) would firſt perſwade her enemies peaceably to depart; by this Letter tranſlated and ſet downe in its owne naturall antient phraſe, as it is more ſuccinctly regiſtred by Serres.

King of England, *doe reaſon to the King of* Heaven *touching his blood royall, deliver up unto the Maid, the keyes of all the good Cities you hould by violence; ſhee is come from God to demand, what is due to the blood royall, ſhee is ready for peace if you will doe her reaſon, paying and quitting what you poſſeſſe; if you doe not this, King of* England, *I am the Head of Warre: in whatſoever part of* France, *I ſhall meet with your people, I will drive them out will they nill they; If they will obey, I will receive them to mercy. The Maid comes from the King of* Heaven, *and if you will not obey her, ſhee will make you ſo great an Hahai, as the like hath not beene heard this thouſand yeares in* France; *for you ought firmely to beleeve the King of* Heaven *will give to her, and her good Souldiers more force then you are likely to have, goe to your owne Country in Gods name, and bee not ſtubborne, for you ſhall not hold* France *by permiſſion of the King of* Heaven, *Sonne of Saint* Mary, *but King* Charles *the true heire ſhall hold it to whom God hath given it, and who ſhall enter* Paris *with a faire company.*

You William Poole *Earle of* Suffolke, *you* John *Lord* Talbot, *you* Thomas *Lord* Scales, *Lieutenants to the Duke of* Bedford, *and you Duke of* Bedford, *who call your ſelfe Regent in the Kingdome of* France, *ſpare the innocent blood, leave* Orleans *in liberty, for if you will not doe reaſon to thoſe, you have done wrong unto; The* French *will doe the braveſt deed was ever done in* Europe, *thinke well upon what God, and the Maid ſayes unto you.*

No man will thinke it could produce any thing but laughter, but by what ſoone enſued, that laughter was turned to an other tone. The *Frenchmen* ſay, that the Trumpetter who brought the Letter, was contrary to the law of Nations detained, and that hee hardly eſcaped being burnt; *Chartier* and *Dupleix* adde, that after the ſiedge, he was found in ſhackles, which whither it was ſo or no, I cannot tell: for the *Engliſh* ſay nothing in this point, and the *French* doe not all agree in one relation, therefore let it bee lawfull for every one to beleeve as hee liſteth; but it is hard to beleeve (if it were ſo) that the rage of thoſe who were driven away, who formerly had a minde to burne him ſhould not provoke them to kill him before they went, ſince they did not depart in ſuch haſt, (as *Chartier* will have them to have done) but that they might have time enough to have done it, ſince it conſiſted onely in the ſtriking of one ſtroake. The beſieged con-

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ſulted what they had to doe, being by the Maiden aſſured of certaine victory, they reſolved to begin with the Fort of Saint *Lupe*, plac't over againſt the gate of *Burgony* and guarded by 400. Foote.

Fortune favoured their forwardneſſe, they ſet upon it the fourth of *May* with ſo much reſolution, as that though it were manfully defended, it was after long conteſtation more manfully gotten, the garriſon was put to the ſword, the Fort burnt, the Artillery and munition brought into the Citie, and ſince *Serres* writes, that the maid was the firſt that entred the towne crying *Monjoy* Saint *Denis* victory; let us grant her this honour, though the reſt who ſpeake of her as the head of the enterpriſe ſpeake not one word thereof. They left the towne the next day, and tooke two Forts, St. *John* and *Londre*, the firſt was eaſily taken, the ſecond not ſo eaſily, where the Souldiers were cut in pieces, and many *French* priſoners recovered, the ſixt day they aſſailed the tower upon the bridge, defended by *Gladiſdale* by them called *Claſsidas*, and highly commended; the fight continued from breake of day till Sunne ſet. *Gladiſdale* was ſlaine together with the Lord *Merlin* and *Poinings* and many Souldiers. The maid was wounded with an Arrow betweene the necke and the backe, but ſhee forbore not though to fight, and to incourage her men, *Du pleix* ſaith, that the Baſtard of *Orleans* ſeeing the ſtout reſolution of the defendants would have ſounded a retreate, but being intreated to the contrary by her, he did not. That having retired herſelfe to her Oraiſons, for halfe a quarter of an houre ſhe returned more couragious then before, emboldening the reſt by her example, and againe, that ſhee having till then beene undervalued by the *Engliſh*, they ſeeing her valour, began now to thinke that there was ſomewhat more then humane in her, which formerly they did not beleeve, and that they were led to this by one of *Merlins* prophecies which foretold that they ſhould be ruinated in *France* by the meanes of a maid. To the firſt 'tis anſwered, that it was by him invented, ſince that hee ſayes that which others doe not, the more to confirme the opinion of her pretended ſanctity; ſo the ſecond that amongſt all *Merlins* prophecies there is not any one ſuch; there is none of any underſtanding in *England* who doe not hold *Merlins* prophecies as invented tales; the diverſity of editions (the one not agreeing with the other, as every one of the compoſitors beſt liked his owne) proves this clearely unto us, but to leave generalls, no hiſtorian mentions any ſuch thing ſave himſelfe, ſo as the *Engliſh* could thinke no otherwiſe of the maid then as of an impoſture choſen for that purpoſe, neither is it they alone that doe beleeve this, for the ſharpeſt ſighted of *France* did and doe beleeve it. Things were brought to that paſſe as hath beene ſaid, to the beſiegers great diſadvantage, ſo as the beſieged purſuing their good fortune, provided to invade ſuch Forts as yet remained in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, the firſt was that of the Lord *Talbot*, who not waiting for them lockt up within, met them abroad, fought with them, and forced them to retire with the loſſe of ſome men and Artillery, but this imported nothing to what remained to continue; the ſiege was dangerous, the Citie was free on the ſide of *Soulogne*, the number of the enemie was in-

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creaſed and daily to increaſe more in number already then were they; victualls could not be inhibited them; to recover what was loſt was impoſſible; ſo as they reſolved to riſe from before the towne, which was no ſooner mention'd, then put in execution: but to take away all appearances that they ſhould be driven away, they reſolved (their Forts being forſaken) to put themſelves in battle array, to expect the enemie to fight with them if they ſhould come, if not to retreat as they did; for the *French* making them a bridge of gold by keeping within the Citie, having expected them the greateſt part of the day, they marcht away in good order, after ſeven monethes ſiege. The Earle of *Suffolke* came with 400. men to *Fergeau*, *Talbot* to *Meune*, and the reſt to other places. *John Chartier* ſayes, that at the end of the the ſiege there were left but 4000. of the *Engliſh*. *Serres* ſayes, that they ſtole away by night in a ſquadron of 9000. and marched towards *Baugences*, but ſince he is noted of falſhood by his owne country men, tis needleſſe for me to endeavour to confute this flight by night, for the reſt relate it as we have done; this was the end of the ſiege of *Orleans*: A game blow, for as in the loſſe there of *Charles* would have runne in danger of looſing his whole kingdome, ſo in the preſervation thereof, the *Engliſh* loſt *France*; the Citizens and Souldiers joy, and the Maids glory is not to be expreſt, the Forts were throwne downe and trenches fild up, and a Crucifix in braſſe was erected upon the Citie bridge, on the one ſide thereof was the effigies of King *Charles*, and another of the Maide on the other ſide, both upon their knees and in Armour, as they are there at this day to be ſeene; and a decree was made that the memoriall hereof ſhould every yeare bee celebrated. The firſt of two evills which forthwith enſued unto the *Engliſh* was weakeneſſe, by reaſon of the death of ſo many of their valiant men; the which, though by them denied, amounted to the number of 8000, as the *French* doe write, as I doe beleeve *Chartiers*, who judged their remainder not to exceede 4000. ſo as being diſmembred that they might place the reſidue in requiſite places; they wanted a flying Army, whereby they might be ſuccoured; ſo as in this their firſt change of fortune they were peece-meale, if not totally deſtroyed; the ſecond, that their enemies increaſed in all parts, and laying aſide their feares, did put on as aſſured a confidence of helpe from heaven, as was the meanes deſpiſeable and of no availe, whereby they thought God, (as hee was wont to doe in his great workes) did ſerve himſelfe; the vulgar doe not truly obſerve the reaſon of their owne obſcuritie in underſtanding God had made uſe of the Maid, if of her ſelfe alone, or together with the beſieged, who could not long defend themſelves, ſhee had freed the Citie; but if wee adde to her opinion (which though a phantome in it ſelfe) is yet of ſubſtance in the elevating of mens ſpirits, and which really brought her 7000. unexpected fighters over and above thoſe of the Garriſon, and thoſe that ſhe brought with her, we ſhall finde that it was not ſhee, but the effects of this opinion which freed them: The Maid departed in great pompe from *Orleans* to meet with *Charles* at *Chinon*, and being by him honorably receiv'd, ſhe obtained from him, ſuch reinforcements as

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ſhe deſired of him. The Court had layd aſide ſolitarineſſe by reaſon of the frequent concourſe of Princes and great Lords; for proſperitie invites, and adverſitie keepes men backe; the firſt thing reſolved upon was the recovery of ſuch places as were ſituated upon the *Loire*, for occaſion was not to be let ſlip: The overthrowing of the *Engliſh* was the ſetting up of *France*. For this purpoſe *Charles* named *Iohn de vallois* Duke of *Alanſonne* for his Lievtenant, whilſt the Baſtard of *Orleans* beleeving to loſe *Iargeau*, without the aſſiſtance of others was inforced to withdraw himſelfe from thence, hindred by the *Loire* which had overflowne all the adiacent parts; but *Alanſonne* being come to *Orleans* accompanied by the *Count de Vendome*, who was likewiſe Prince of the blood, and by the Maid, he together with them went to *Iargeau*, the Earle of *Suffolke* was there with two of his brethren *Iohn* and *Alexander*, they made terrible aſſaults on three parts, ſo as the defendants who were but a few, flocked all to the parts aſſailed; ſo as S. *Traile* perceiving the walls bare where no aſſault was made, had not much difficulty in ſcaling them, nor in cutting in peeces thoſe who fought; amongſt the which *Alexander* was one: They tooke the Earle of *Suffolk*, his brother *Iohn* and many other priſoners, who being brought to *Orleans*, & the victors not agreeing in the dividing of them, they all agreed in the putting of them to death upon could bloud, ſparing onely the Earle and his brother *Avarice* in hopes of their ranſome outvying cruelty, they were at the ſame time re-inforced by 7000. men ſent unto them by *Charles* under the cõmand of *Guy de Laval*, the *Mariſhall Loeac* his brother, *Chavignes de la Towre* & *Vidame de Schartres*; with theſe and their former Forces *Alanſonne* & *Vandome* went to *Meune*, they fought for the bridge and wonne it, wherein leaving a ſufficient Garriſon, they forbore to beſiege the towne till a more fit time, thinking it requiſite for them firſt to make themſelves maſters of *Beaugences*; *Talbot* this meane while tooke *Laval* by ſcaling ladders (formerly wonne by him, but which according to their naturall inclination, had afterwards ſet up their firſt maſters ſtandard) wherein though he found much riches, yet wanted hee the conqueſt of the Caſtle to make it an intire victory. Hither was *Andrew de Laval*, Lord of *Loeac* retired, not out of hopes of keeping himſelfe there, for hee wanted proviſion; but to make a more reaſonable compoſition, ſo as ingaging himſelfe to pay for the ranſome of himſelfe and all that were there with him 25000. Crownes, remaining himſelfe priſoner till ſuch time as that ſumme ſhould either be payed, or ſufficient ſecuritie given in for the payment thereof. *Talbot* placed a Garriſon there, and went to *Paris*, whether aſſoone as hee was come he was forthwith diſpatcht againe, together with the Lord *Scales* to the ſuccour of *Beaugences*, which they were informed was beſieged. Hee preſented himſelfe before it with 4000. men, but found it ſo ſtraitly begirt, as hee thought beſt to retire. To this ſiege was the Conſtable come, accompanied by *Meſſieurs d' Albret*, *Rieux Chaſteaubriand*, *Beaumanoir*, Marſhall of *Britanny*, *Montalban*, S^t. *Giles*, many others 1200. Horſe, and 1500. Foot; wherewith he had ſo enforced *Charles* his Army, as that the enemie was not able to ſtand before them, and though the *Engliſh* make his

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Army to consist of betweene 22. and 23000. yet are they somewhat deceiv'd; for the *French* count 7000. before *Fargeau* (besides those who *Alanſonne* and the Maid brought with them) 7000. who *Charles* sent by *Guy de Laval*, and 2700. which the Constable brought with him: all which as they were formerly wont to run away from the Army, so did they now flock thereunto; for Fortune favouring, they hourly multiplied, the which being perceived by the besieged, and failing in their succour they yeelded themselves, their Armes, Horses, and Baggage being saved. *Belleforest* sayes that for what concern'd their Baggage, they were limitted to a marke a man, and were obliged not to take Armes for the space of ten dayes against the King of *France*. However it was, the two *English* Captaines retreat was more unfortunate, then was their comming, for thinking themselves to be able to force the Tower of the bridge of *Meune*, and be there in safetie, they could not doe it, for they were so closely followed by the whole Campe, as that the Avantguard was at *Meune*, at the same time that they went from thence. They indeavoured to recover *Janville*, but were hindred by those who followed them, so as being come to *Patay* in *Beausse*, and surrounded by the enemy, they resolved to fight; they were furiously set upon by 1400. Horsemen chosen out of the whole Campe, to stay them by skirmishing with them, till such time as the others should come up, who were conducted by *Messieurs de Vignolles* St. *Traille Tilloy*, *Lore*, *Termes* and *Illiers*. *Talbot* seeing himselfe so hard beset, had given order to his men to keepe themselves firme within their sharpned staves, beleeving to be set upon by the whole body of the Army, but this unexpected number of Horsemen charging upon him, there was no time to thinke thereon; the fight was come to that passe as the whole body of the Army comming up, *Talbot* being wounded and afterwards taken, his men had no more minde to fight nor resolution to die; some fled to *Corbuille*, and some to *Meune*. *Janville* would not receive them, for they were mingled with the enemy, which pursued them closely, so as the slaughter was great and but few the prisoners, the chiefest whereof was, *Talbot*, *Scales*, *Hungerford*, all three Barons, and Sir *Thomas Ramstone*. Sir *John Falstaffe* fled from this scuffle without giving or receiving a blow (judging it as I thinke rashnesse to fight at disadvantage against so many in open field) who for his former actions was that yeare made Knight of the Garter. The Duke of *Bedford* incensed at this his flight, took from him his George and Garter, which afterwards by meanes of friends and his alleadging excuses, (which were judged reasonable) were restored unto him, though against *Talbots* will. This brave Commanders imprisonment was of such consequence, as 'twas thought the *English* would never bee able to doe any thing more of moment in *France*, *Janville*, *Meunes* and all other places which the *English* held in. *Beausse* yeelded up themselves, as is usuall in great losses, so as *Charles* did in a short time winne in these parts what he was long in loosing; for to boot with the preservation of *Orleans* (wherein the Earle of *Salisbury*, the principall pillar of *Englands* fortune was slaine) he recovered *Fargeau*, *Baugency*, *Janville*,

ville, *Meune* and all *Beausse*, together with the impriſonment of *Talbot* the ſecond Columne of the adverſe party, all which hapned out of the beleefe, that a baſe woman of a doubted reputation was ſent from heaven to raiſe the one and ſuppreſſe the other. For *France* was ſo diſcouraged before, as none durſt take up armes to defend her, nor is this to be wondred at, for as the underſtanding conceives not but by the ſence, ſo force doth not worke but through imagination weakned by feare, or ſtrengthned by hope; ſo as wee muſt beleeve that the good effects of morall actions doe proceede firſt from good imagination, then from good action, for the latter depends upon the former; Notwithſtanding all theſe conqueſts 'twas diſputed whether *Charles* ſhould bee crowned at *Rheims* or no; the reaſons alleaged againſt it being all of conſequence. Hee was to paſſe by places held by the enemie; on the one ſide *Auxerres*, *Troyes*, and *Shallon* were an obſtacle to him; on the other ſide *Laon*, and *Soiſſons*, and *Gaſtinois*, *Brie*, *Picardie*, and all the Country from *Loire* northward, and to the Sea was in their poſſeſſion. The Coronation was a meere ceremony, whereby the right unto the Crowne was neither given nor taken away. It was not a thing univerſally uſed, the uſe thereof derives not from the Law to make it requiſite, but from neceſſitie (if any there be) to make the Prince thereby knowne unto the people, there was no ſuch neceſſitie in *Charles* his caſe. He was a lawfull Prince by all men held lawfully to be ſo, he was not oppoſed by his own men but by ſtrangers, and if by ſome of his owne, they were thereunto by feare inforced, 'twas not of freewill; but ſay it had beene neceſſary, ſince *Henry* thought it not neceſſary, neither ought he to have thought it; not that the inſtitution was to be changed (for uſe had ſo far prevailed as it was not to be alter'd without ſcandall) but to be changed for a time, for what is deferr'd is not abſolutely taken away, eſpecially where the delay proceeds from wiſedome & good advice, but theſe reaſons did not ſatisfie the Maid, as contrary to one of the three points for which ſhee was ſent: for *Orleans* being ſet at liberty, his Coronation at *Rheims* was to follow, and the driving out of the *Engliſh*, to the end that her prophecies might be fulfilled, as indeed they all were, though not according to her ſenſe the third: for the *Engliſh* were driven out, but not by her, as ſhe threatned them in her letter; *Charles* was waited upon in this his voyage by all the Barons of his traine, except the Conſtable, (whom *Tremuille* was not willing to bee troubled withall) and Count *Fedriac*, who by being friend to the Conſtable was by *Tremuille* oppoſed; yet for feare leaſt being diſcontent they might undertake ſome ill buſineſſe, their denyall was honeſted, by giving commiſſion to the former to guard the frontiers of *Normandy*, and by naming the other Lievtenant of *Guienne*, to the end that being thus parted, their forces might not have communion together. The which being by them well knowne, they accepted theſe charges with like diſſimulation as they were conferred upon him. *Dupleix* notwithſtanding contrary to the opinion of the reſt, will have the Conſtable to goe along with him. *Charles* his Army conſiſted of 12000. men wherewith he arriv'd at *Auxerres*; the *Engliſh* ſay that thoſe Cities demanded

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demanded day for the ſurrendring of them ſelves, if in the meane while they ſhould not bee ſuccour'd and they obtain'd it. But the *French* accuſe *Tremuille*, for that being brided, hee made *Charles* paſſe on without troubling them. Saint *Florentine* did readily yeeld. At *Trois*, they found ſome difficulty, for they wanted things neceſſary to take it by force, ſo as the greateſt part councelled to retire, but the Maid (according to *Belleforeſt*) promiſſing to take it within two dayes ſet the Nobility it ſelfe a worke in making platformes, forts, and trenches, as if all things were ready to force the Towne, whereupon for meere feare they ſurrendred themſelves. The *Engliſh* ſay, it was beſieged 12. dayes; and that Sr. *Philip Hall*, who had the command thereof, wanting both men and victualls, and not hoping for ſuccour, compounded for the ſafe departure of himſelfe and garriſon with all their baggadge: the Garriſons of *Shallon* and *Rheims* inforced by the Inhabitants came forth upon the like conditions, the Cities yeelding themſelves up to *Charles*, who made his ſolemne entry into *Rheims*, and was crowned there. I ſet not downe the Ceremonies as not requiſite to our ſtory; but I will ſay, that as coronation is a uſeleſſe and vaine ceremony in Kings, who have no competitors, ſo is it more then requiſite for one that hath competitors, as it hapned here, for people judge not things as they are, but as they appeare. *Charles* was no ſooner crowned but Men and Cities haſted to doe him homage, as if that action had indowed him with right and juſtice, which before hee wanted. *Auxerres* not being ſuccoured within the limited time ſent him its keyes. *Laon* did by *Deputies* doe obeiſſance to him, as hee went from thence *Soiſſons*, *Chaſteau-Thierre*, and *Province*, yeelded to him, whereupon the Duke of *Bedford* thinking, that this torrent could not bee withſtood, but by a field battle came forth of *Paris* with 10000. *Engliſh*, and ſome few *Norman* troopes. When hee was come to *Brie*, hee writ by a *Herauld* to *Charles*, that his pretenſions (which had cauſed ſo great mortality and miſchiefe to the people) being contrary to all lawes eſpecially to the agreement made betweene *Henry* the fifth and *Charles* the ſixth, and the Kingdome of *France*; hee was came out of *Paris* to prove them unjuſt, that therefore, if hee would chuſe the place, hee was ready to give him battle where ever it were. *Charles* accepted the invitation at leaſt ſeemed ſo to doe, the Armies preſented themſelves in ſight one of the other neare to *Senlis*, they ſtayed there the ſpace of two dayes and two nights, making onely ſome little skirmiſhes, each indeavouring to get the advantage over the other; but the *Engliſh* having ſecured themſelves behind that they might not bee ſurpriſed (for *Charles* was by much the greater number eſpecially in horſe) and the *French* not willing to venture upon one battle what they had wonne, and what they had to winne by the devotion of ſueh as dayly came over to them, and the Maide councelling ſometimes to fight, ſometimes otherwiſe, they retreated face to face, and *Bedford* return'd to *Paris* doubting the Citizens loyaltie. This retreat is diverſly reported by Authours, this which I haue ſaid, is according to *Monſtrelet*. The *Engliſh* affirme, that *Charles* retreated by night, as not willing to

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hazard a battle, nor yet willing to tarry longer, for feare of incurring the name of *Coward*. *Belleforeſt*, on the other ſide ſayes, that *Bedford* did not paſſe *Melune*, where examining the turne of the wheele, hee reſolved like a wiſe Prince not to wreſtle againſt fortune, leaving *Charles* Maſter of the field, *Giles* brings him to *Brie* neare to the Towne called *Motta de Nangis*, where hearing, that the King expected him, hee durſt goe no further, but fled away with his Army to *Paris*. *Hallian* encamps him ſo much to the advantage, as that the King was adviſed not to fight with him, and that therefore the next day, hee returned to *Paris*. *Cheſnes* having regiſtred the long letter of defiance ſent by *Bedford* to *Charles*, addes, but as ſuch letters were fuller of bravadoes and paſſion, then of deſire to fight, ſo the Duke of *Bedford* being come neare to *Charles* not farre from *Senlis*, durſt not give him battle, but ſhamefully ſounded a retreat, which afforded the King leaſure to lead his Army towards *Champagnia*: theſe foure Authours are of foure ſeverall opinions in this hiſtory. The firſt will not have *Bedford* paſſe *Melune*, the ſecond brings him to *Brie*, the one making him wiſe, the other a *Coward*; the third making him wiſe by well intrenching himſelfe, whereupon he was adviſed to retire: the fourth brings him neare to *Charles*, but arming him with *Thraſo's* Army makes him a braggard and runne-away. *Dupleix* confronts the two Armies with an opinion of fighting, though ſome skirmiſhes onely inſued, wherein about 300. of both ſides were ſlaine. Hee ſayes, that the *Engliſh* intrench't themſelves to much to the advantage againſt the *French-horſe*, that the Councell and *Jane* her ſelfe adviſed not to ſet upon them, whileſt they the meane while were ſure not to ſtirre forth for feare of being fought withall: that the *Engliſh* ſay, *Charles* retired by night for feare of being inforced to fight, where on the contrary ſide it was likelier, that it was not hee, who formerly forbore to fight becauſe he went with banners diſplayd directly towards *Paris*, where the *Engliſh* might advantagiouſly have given him battle, all the Country thereabouts being at their command; to witneſſe what he ſayes; hee in the *Margent* cites *Monſtrelet*, and *Chartier*; *Monſtrelet* ſayes, they did skirmiſh; but not, that the *Engliſh* durſt not come forth of their trenches, for they could not otherwiſe skirmiſh. Hee adds, that they were ſo well intrench't, as that they could not bee ſet upon behinde, the *French* exceeding by much the enemy in number. A particular whereof *Dupleix* ſpeaketh not, then if *Bedford* merit blame for having ſecur'd himſelfe backewards, to the great diſadvantage of thoſe, that ſhould fight with him; what doth *Charles* deſerve, who with ſo much a greater number durſt not confront him, whileſt unintrench'd, hee ſtood ready to receiue him; ſo as it was not cowardiſe in the one, not to permit all aduantages to the adverſary, ſo not to fight becauſe all were not permitted him, was no ſigne of much valour in the other. *Monſtrelet* doth not ſay, that *Jane* adviſed not to ſet upon the enemy, but that ſhee was various in her opinion, adviſing ſometimes to fight, ſometimes not: a witneſſe rather, that ſhee was any thing els, then what by his owne teſtimony ſhee was reputed. But I wonder at nothing more, then that *Dupleix* ſhould quote *Chartier*, who writes

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all things contrary to what hee ſayes, *Chartier* brings the two Armies face to face within the ſhoote of a Culverin, for one whole day together, without either hedge or thorne betweene them, that is, any thing whereby to fortifie them, or to detaine them; they not having according to his account ſufficient time to fortifie themſelves. Hee ſayes *Charles* was the firſt that left the field, and then *Bedford*. *Charles* that very night went to *Creſpus*, and the next night to *Compaignes*, where hee ſayes, hee ſtayed 8. dayes; if *Charles* went firſt away, *Bedford* fled not: that hee departed by night is more likely by the *Engliſh* Hiſtories, which affirme hee did ſo to ſhun fighting; then the likelyhoods affirmed by *Dupleix*, grounded upon his fained voyage to *Paris*, which none other writes off; *Cheſnes* and *Chartier* ſay plainely, that hee went to *Compaignes*, where if hee tarryed 8. dayes, *Bedford* could not with advantage give him battle in a Country which was at his command and diſpoſall, as hee would have it.

My opinion (amongſt the diverſity of ſo many which, if they could bee credited ſhould bee conformable) is, that the Duke, if *Charles* had not gone his wayes, would have fought though upon whatſoever diſaduantage. For the *Engliſh* covet battle at all times, and in all warres, as well forraine as civill they are by nature firme to their reſolves as are their cockes and dogs, which ſuddenly fall to, and give not over but by death or want of breath: but ſay, this was not the reaſon which egged them on to battle, ſince that the *French* forces increas'd by temporiſing and theirs decreaſed; *Charles* on the other ſide had no reaſon to fight, leaſt by an irrationall hazard, hee might breake the courſe of his victory, one battle being able to ruinate him: ſo as holding fortune in his fiſt; by purſuing her, hee had no reaſon to give her occaſion to forſake him by tempting her too much.

The Duke of *Bedford* ſeeing that the ſtate of affaires required briske reſolutions, writ to his Brother, deſiring to uſe all meanes poſſible to ſend him over ſome Souldiers, for without ſpeedy helpe his affaires in *France* were in great danger. Theſe Letters came unto the King, juſt as the Cardinall of *Winchester* was at *Dover* ready to paſſe over into *Bohemia* with 4000. men. The *Huſsites* had much troubled that Kingdome not without danger, of infecting the Neighboring Countries with their opinions, the which *Martin* the fifth, being willing to withſtand; hee did (together with other remedies) nominate the Cardinall of *Winchester* his Legate in this Warre, and that by comming arm'd, hee might not bee deſpis'd, hee gave him power to raiſe the tenth part of all the Eccleſiaſticall livings in *England* to make thereby a leavy of ſouldiers. The buſines being propounded in Parliament, and approved of, by meanes of the ſaid moneyes theſe 4000. men were rayſed.

The Duke of *Gloceſter*, who could not make ſo ſuddaine proviſion of men, intreated the Cardinall to aſſiſt the buſines of *France* by tranſporting thoſe ſouldiers to the Regent, and that when hee ſhould ſee thoſe affaires out of danger, hee might goe on his journey. The Cardinall obeyed him though unwillingly, mov'd there-

thereunto out of consideration, that if any disaster should be fall the Kings businesse, the fault might be laid on him. The Regent re-inforced by these men, came forth againe into the field, continuing his resolution of fighting with the enemy, who being incamped between *Baron* and *Monpillier*, he incampt himselfe betweene *Baron* and *Selins* where many skirmishes were made; but *Charles* not willing to set upon him in his owne Campe, though he were by much the greater number; nor the Regent to expose himselfe to all disadvantages, they both retired, the Cardinall taking his way towards *Bohemia*, where having had ill fortune, he returned home with little honour; and Cardinall *Guilian* was sent in his place. *Henry the 6.*

Henry was now entred into the eighth yeare of his raigne, and the ninth of his age, not having beene till then crowned; so as on the sixt of *November* this solemnity was with much pompe celebrated at *Westminster*, with all such demonstrations of joy, as upon like occasions are usually made both publiquely and privately. *Charles* this meane while being free from the incounter with *Bedford*, received as hee passed by such Cities as surrendred themselves, amongst which *Campaigne* and *Senlis*; but thinking this successe not sufficient unlesse hee could totally sever *Philip* from the enemy; hee resolved to send Embassadours to him, who excusing the death of his Father, might shew unto him how misbecomming a thing it was for a Prince of his qualitie, so blamefully to joyne with those who did oppugne the house royall, the Country and Kingdome, to the which hee, or such as should descend from him might sometimes aspire, if Fortune should throw the succession upon him, offering him what conditions hee pleased, and such as were never to be effected. But *Philip* keeping himselfe upon generalls, neither giving hopes, nor taking them quite away, and demanding such things as were not to bee granted him, reserved himselfe to his best advantage, for being courted by both sides, he was sure that without him neither of them could prevaile. This meane while *Beaunois* and *Omale* being come over to *Charles*, the Regent fearing yet worse, went to *Normandy*, the *Province*, which though all the rest were lost was chiefly to be preserved, as being the Patrimony of the Crowne of *England*, and the most convenient for it of all the rest, leaving *Lovis* of *Luxemburg* Bishop of *Ierouanne*, who by *Henries* meanes enjoyed the office of Chancellorship of *France* in *Paris*, with 2000 *English* under good Commanders. *Charles* would not not lose the opportunity of this absence, to try whether fortune would favour him in the atchieving of that City. S. *Denis* yeelded it selfe up unto him without resistance, so as his men began to scowre the country even to underneath the walls of *Paris*; and the chiefest of his Army being lodged at *La Chapelle*, they levell'd their Artillerie against the gate Saint *Honore* and tooke the Bulwarke thereof; whereupon the Maid throwing her selfe into the ditch, and resolute, contrary to the advice of *Alanſonne* and all the rest, to give an assault (he pretended revelation, having not revealed unto her the depth of the ditch, and the water therein) she was wounded in her leg; the which not abating her violence, but she still persisting in causing wherewithall to be brought

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to fill it up, ſhe had there beene taken had not a ſervant of the Duke of *Alanſonnes* withdrawne her from thence; ſo as force proving vaine, many brave ſouldiers being there ſlaine, and the Bulwarke abandoned, they wholly forſooke the enterpriſe. *Charles* tooke his way from *Touraine* by *Berry*, being not naturally inclin'd to buſineſſes, but rather to the trimming up of gardens, as uſually are the lovers of idleneſſe; an humour which though it be allowable in men who have not much to doe, yet is it harmefull in Princes, whoſe art it is to give lawes to peace, to governe their people with honour, to pardon the humble, and puniſh the proud. The Regent underſtanding the danger that *Paris* was in, made haſt thither; he thanked the Citie for the loyaltie they had ſhewed upon this occaſion, promiſing whatſoever might be expected from a moderate government, and from a King who loved nothing more then the preſervation and content of his people: *Philip* was not long in comming thither, who after having treated with him of what was to be done, after a ſhort ſtay departed leaving him to the recovery of Saint *Denis*, and the adjacent places; whilſt the Baſtard of *Orleans* layd ſiege to the Caſtle of *Turcis*, which being very ſtrong both by ſcituation and art; held out ſix moneths, at the end whereof it yeeded; the Souldiers lives being ſaved, and the Caſtle wholly demoliſhed. At this very time Sir *Thomas Tirill* had with 400. Souldiers, much damnified the county of *Clerement*, the Count thereof reſolute to chaſtiſe his boldneſſe, drew out the Garriſons from thence and the neighbouring places, and chaſing him therewithall, overtooke him about *Beauvois*, in ſo narrow a paſſage, as his Horſemen could not make uſe of their Horſes, they therefore quitted them, and fiercely ſet upon him; the bickering laſted a good while without knowledge which ſide had the better, till ſuch time as the *Engliſh* bowes decided it, the Count ſaved himſelfe, for which he owes thankes to his Horſes heeles; of the reſt 300. were ſlaine and 200. taken priſoners, with whom Sir *Thomas* returned to *Grovay*, the place of his Garriſon. *Omale* had a little before yeelded unto *Charles* as hath beene ſayd, *Mounſieur de Ramburres* remaining Governour thereof; the Earle of *Suffolke* beſieged it and after 25. aſſaults, the Towne not being able to doe any more, ſurrendred it ſelfe, the Earle cauſed 30. of the chiefeſt of them to be hang'd on the Walls as falſifiers of their faith, and perjur'd to *Henry*; he fined the reſt, and ſent *Mounſieur de Rambourres* into *England*, who ſix yeares after recovered his loſt liberty by exchange. On the other ſide *Laval* which *Talbot* had taken the yeare before, was retaken by the *French*, who lay in ambuſh all night neare unto a Mill, and following the Millers advice who they had corrupted, they entred the towne at the opening of the gates, putting all the *Engliſh* they found there to the ſword, ſave ſome few who ſaved themſelves by throwing themſelves from the top of the Walls. *La Hire* did likewiſe ſurpriſe *Louviers*, making rich booty, taking many priſoners, and ſwearing the inhabitants to bee loyall to *Charles*; for all this change of Fortune *Philip* forbore not to thinke of Feaſts and jollities, for being widdower to two barren wives, he married *Iſabel* daughter to *Iohn King* of *Caſtile*, and *Philip*

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of *Lancaſter*, Siſter to *Henry* the fourth, Grandfather to the preſent King; in honour of that marriage he inſtituted the order of the fleece, the which together with the ſucceſſion of the Low countries in the Crowne of *Spaine*, is at this day one of the nobleſt, and moſt ſingular ſignes of favour which thoſe Kings uſe to conferre; the ſolemnities being ended, he went to *Gournay* accepting the offer of *Triſten de Magvelliers* (who was Governor thereof) to ſurrender it ſelfe the firſt of *Auguſt* in caſe it were not before that time ſuccoured: from thence he paſt to *Soiſi* which yeelded unto him; the lives and livelihoods granted to as many as were there, and demoliſhing it to the very ground, he went from thence to *Soiſons*, which the *French* ſay was ſold unto him by a Captaine of *Picardy* who commanded there, ſo as having freed the way from his owne dominions to *Compaignes* he layd ſiege thereunto. *Compaignes* was provided with men munition and victualls for a long time, ſo as the *Burgonians* not hoping to take it but by the length of time and much danger, having planted their battery, they there made Forts and Trenches for their owne ſafeties, and to neceſſitate the beſieged: The Earles of *Arundel* and *Suffolke* increaſed the Campe by 2000. *Engliſh*, and the Maid the Garriſon by 500. Souldiers which ſhee brought thither from *Laignes*. *William de Havie* was Governour of the place, a valiant Gentleman, who failed not to keepe the beſiegers in exerciſe. Soone after his arrival the Maid came with intention of making herſelfe Maſter of the Caſtle of *Mounſieur de Bawde*, who was then abſent, and gone to *Marigny* in the ſervice of *Philip*, but being overdone by thoſe who flocked thither to oppoſe her, it behoved her to give over the attempt, whilſt her men entred into the Citie entring thereinto tumultuouſly, by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe of the barres, which the keepers durſt not take away, leaſt the enemy might enter in along with them; ſhee was one of the laſt that came thither, entertaining thoſe who purſued her, and affording time to the reſt to ſave themſelves; but her upper garment being ſeazed upon by a Horſeman, and ſhee pul'd from her horſe, ſhe was maugre with thoſe which would have defended her, taken priſoner. An opinion is held that the barres were ſhut upon her out of malice; ſome of the Captaines, particularly *William de Havy*, not well induring that the glory of all that was done ſhould be aſcribed to her; but how ever it was, ſhee was led to *Marignes*, and from thence to *Roan*, where being ſtrictly impriſoned her proceſſe was made, duly ſuffering (had ſhe not deſerv'd puniſhment for any thing elſe) for having not long before with too much crueltie, and upon cold bloud put to death *Franchetto d'Arras*, a valiant *Burgonian*, whilſt ſhe ſhould have treated him like a Priſoner of Warre, as the *French* exclaime ſhe ought to have beene treated, but being tranſported by womaniſh anger (for that he in an incounter had long, and valiantly reſiſted her, cauſing her ſend for helpe to *Laignes*, and the Circumvoyſive Garriſons, without which ſhe had not been able to overcome him, though much the greater in number) ſhe cauſed his head to be taken of, ſo as in her is ſeene accompliſhed what is ſaid by the Evangeliſt, the like meaſure being meaſured

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forth to her as shee measured forth to others; wee will in due place relate the rest, she not being put to death till some time after. The Regent to boote with the former had sent to *Philip* the Earle of *Huntington*, Sir *John Robsert* and a thousand Archers, so as that place was not likely long to have subsisted had not the newes of the Duke of *Brabants* death inforced him to goe from thence to take order for that state, which by inheritance fell to him. Hee left *John* of *Luxenburgh* his Lieutenant, a poorely spirited man, and who the more discourag'd by reason of the Forces which *Philip* carryed away with him, did forthwith doubt the enterprise. Hee imparted his resolution of quitting the siege to the *English*, honesting it by the incommodities of winter, and by remitting it till the Spring; they disswaded him, shewing him how shamefull a thing it was to forsake it now that the Campe was so situated, as that the Towne could not be succoured, and those within the Towne reduc'd to the point of being within a few dayes famished, but no reason could prevaile with him. He by all meanes would be gone. The *English* went to *Normandy*, and hee having set on fire all his hutches went his wayes, leaving behind him many peeces of Artillery wanting wherewithall to carry them away, 'twas thought that the besieged could not have held out above ten dayes, the plague and famine having begun to make havocke of them.

Fortune did for the most part after this retreate from upon the *English*, so as perceiving themselves to decline, they thought that the same meanes which had raysed up *Charles* might doe the like to *Henry*; and that by comming into *France* to bee crowned hee might confirme those of his party in their obedience, and might reduce those thereunto who were now farre from it; but examples cannot be equall where circumstances are unequall: If *Charles* his coronation drew unto him both Cities and men, 'twas becaus hee formerly had their hearts. 'Twas otherwise with *Henry*, for though he were of amiable yeares and customes, yet being a stranger he was not to promise himselfe that beyond nature, which *Charles* by nature had so easily come by. The difference of the Climate where he was borne did subvert these effects in him which conformity had made happy in his enemies advantages the 27. of *Aprill* he tooke Sea at *Dover*, and landed the same day at *Calis* attended on by a great many of Lords and Souldiers, from whence hee past to *Roan*, where hee was received by the inhabitants with great signes of joy.

The Maid being tane prisoner, wee left the pursuite of her story to end the siedge of *Compaigne*; wee will now make a short relation of her processe and sentence. The University of *Paris* was her first accuser. They writ to *Henry*, desiring him, that shee might bee delivered over into the Ecclesiasticall Courts, for that shee had beene a cause of much scandall amongst the people to the prejudice of Religion, and of the Catholique Faith; shee was delivered over to the Bishop of *Beauvois*, and the Inquisitor, being taken in the former Dioceese; shee was examined upon 78. articles, some of which were.

Her

Her change of Womans apparell for mans. Ruines and Manſlaughters partly committed by her, partly by her directions, that ſhee had ſeduced the people, by making them beleeve, ſhee was ſent from God. The falſhood of her revelations, that ſhee was a Sorcereſſe, a Witch, a foreteller of things to come, that ſhee had diſſwaded *Charles* from peace with *England*; that ſhee had boaſted herſelfe to know things to come: that ſhee had ſaid, the Saints that convers'd with her, had beene ſeene by the King; the Duke of *Bourbon* and two or three Lords more. That ſhee had ſo ſeduced the people, as that many abuſed by her hypocriſie and fained devotion worſhipped her as a Saint. To theſe and the reſt, in ſome ſhee gave becomming anſwers; in others very fooliſh ones. *Giles* one of her chiefeſt advocates, ſayes, theſe underwritten words. "For my owne part I "intend not totally to take from any one, the judgement of viſions, "wherein this Maid hath ſhew'd her ſelfe too ſuperſtitious. I am "clearly of opinion, that ſhee never was a whore, nor vagabond, as "ſome have deciphered her to bee. I likewiſe thinke, that hee ha-"ving rais'd the ſiege of *Orleans*, and brought the King to bee crow-"ned, was not done by the Divels meanes, but if there were any folly "or lightneſſe in her anſwers to her interrogations, it ſhould bee "aſcribed to the weakeneſſe of her ſexe, and the confuſion of her "mind, cauſed by her miſeries and impriſonment, the like I ſay of "her boldneſſe, which was ſomewhat more, then became Chriſtian "humility. *Henry the 6.*

The words of a man of integrity, though ſaid, that hee might not faile in his judgement, and for that they could not bee denied: for amongſt the reſt of her vanities, being asked by what name thoſe who ſpoke unto her in viſion did call her; ſhee anſwered, that after the ſiedge of *Orleans* they called her the Maid *Jane*, daughter of God, as if the freeing of *Orleans* her pretended worke had made her worthy of that name. But *Giles* leaving the judgement of viſions at liberty, ſeemes not to approve, that which hee defends: for viſions, not honeſty makes her what ſhee affirmes her ſelfe to bee, and as touching her honeſty; though it bee a bad ſigne, that her owne writers have doubted it, yet will not I diſpute it, onely in as much as unchaſtity admits not the favour of divine miſſion, which is the ground worke of the controverſie. Antient Idolaters give us *Pithia*, and the *Sybils* Virgins; nature ſhewing us, that divinity is an enemy to pollution, as for the freeing of *Orleans*, and crowning of the King: I doe not, onely thinke them, but all her other actions to bee done without the Divels meanes for it appeares not to me, that ſhe knew what the Divell was. I with *Polidorus* praiſe her as parallell to *Cloelia* ſince it ſo pleaſeth him; but not as parallell to her in her actions. *Cloelia* fought not, fained not, did no harme to any: the Maid did hurt, and as much unto her ſelfe as others. I doe not praiſe her with *Tillet*, who doth paragoniſe her to *Deborah*, *Jael*, and *Judith*. I doe not liken her to them, nor yet the *Engliſh* and the *French* to the *Canaanites* and *Iſraelites*. *Iſrael* was a choſen faithfull people, the *Canaanites* Idolaters and reprobates; The *Engliſh* and *French* both Chriſtians. Of the

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the latter two let me bee permitted to say, that *Jael* violated the lawes of Hospitality and friendship, neither did shee doe it by the commandement of God so as her act may bee authorised. *Judith* deserveth praise for an act more generous then just: Justice admits not of flattery deceit lies, first to couzen, and then to assasinate the enemy, shee is praised for the good that ensued thereupon; Her action being the more Heroique as done against an infidell by the hand of a Woman, and in the service of her Country, for the which all actions seeme lawfull though they bee not so: deceit is vulgarly accounted lawfull against the enemy, the which whether it bee to bee approved of or no in Christian religion, I leave to bee decided by divines, whilest in the meere respect of vertue, the Gentles teach us the contrary. The *Athenians* rejected the advantagious record of *Themistocles*, becaus it was (according to *Aristides*) as much unjust as usefull. But let us grant what paralell you please unto the Maid. If shee had proceeded in this busines like *Cloelia*, without any fiction, out of much zeale to her Country no praise had beene too great for her, but Hypocrisie (without the which shee could not compasse her end) cancell'd all worth, leaving onely so much shadow thereof, as may become a bold resolution; and moreover that *Cloelian* worth vanished in her, when swearing that shee never dream't of, shee confest her selfe guilty, when shee was not, that shee might not *die*; and being sentenc'd to bee burnt, shee said then shee was with childe to prolong her end; signes of a Spirit inconstant in sanctimony and vertue, the which if at any time they entred into her, it was not as into their owne house, but as into a lodging or inne by way of passage. Her first sentence was perpetuall imprisonment with bread and water, abjuring the evils committed, and the opinions contrary to the holy sense of Religion; the evils committed, not submitted to abjuration but to repentance, and her opinions contrary to the holy sense of Scripture as voyd, as ignorant; unless, by opinions they understand her impostures and lyes, in affirming herselfe to bee sent from *Heaven*, and to have talked with the Saints. Vanity which causing her to repent, her repentance made her to bee thought relapsed, and to bee reassigned over to the secular power, which condemn'd her to bee burnt; whereupon affirming her selfe to bee with child, and her punishment deferr'd for nine monthes; shee not being brought to bed; nor proving with childe, shee was the next yeare 1431. in the month of *May* burnt in the market-place of *Roan*, where at this day stands Saint *Michels* Church, and where her ashes were by the wind dispers't. *Belleforest* relates one of the two miracles which you may read in the underwritten verses of *Valeran Varan*.

POstremo enituit pietas in morte Puellæ,
In cinerem cunctos dum flamma resolveret artus;
Illæsus cor habet venas (mirabile dictu)
Nec sinceri animi temerant incendia sedem.
Albaque tunc vita est igni prodire columba
Et petere Aethereos multis spectantibus orbes.

But

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But saying nothing of the dove; and publishing the other of her incombustible heart, hee leaves us in doubt whether *Varan* writ these by way of Poeticall *Hyperboly*, or of true Miracle; if by *Hyperboly*, *Belleforest* should have made no mention at all thereof; if by Miracle, where hee alludes the one, hee ought not to have conceald the other: but say that the incombustibility were a truth, and the dove a poeticall fiction; how is it possible, that this truth should bee onely written by a Poet, and that the *English* should bee so obdurate as not to bee affrighted at so great a wonder? if they were both Miracles, and that the *English* concealed the one by stealing away her heart, they could not conceale the other, since the dove flew away to the skie, in midst of flames, and in the sight of all men; whereby her innocency, sanctity and martyrdome, the injustice of her judges, and the infidelity of the *English*, spiritually blind to so apparent a miracle might haue clearly appeared to the World. Neither would *Varan* have beene the onely relater hereof, for *France*, the whole World, and *England* it selfe would in despight of her selfe have confessed it: for what remaines, that the Judges who condemned her, came all to an evill end, it might bee beleeved (suppose it were so) if a death according to humane appearance happy, were an argument of a mans uprightnesse. The just would then have reason to judge themselves more then all the Judges of the World, since amongst the unjust (which are innumerable) few, or very seldome any come to apparent punishment. But I am of opinion, that according to Christian piety, it would bee safer to beleeve, that as of good men there are more miserable then fortunate, and of bad more fortunate then unfortunate, so God reserves to his owne good will, as well the reward as the punishment, changing the good and evill of this World; with the good and evill of the World to come; our judgements in this case, being oblique false and not belonging to us. The last argument of her innocency, the most solid and hardest of all the rest to bee answered, is, that 26. yeares after when the *English* were driven out and *Charles* established, shee was declared innocent by a Comissioner deligated from *Calistus* the third, but the Pope had nothing to doe herein more then his delegation; an ordinary title upon such occasions. Princes though delegated by God are not alwayes just, neither could the Popes assigne them to that office, but upon the place where the testimonials were to bee examined: so as the Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*, and the Bishop of *Paris* Commissioners, and the Bishop of *Constance*, who were joyned with them are liable to the like oppositions by the *English*, as were the Bishop of *Beauvois*, and his associates by the *French*. These opposed, as having dependancy upon *England*, those as depending upon *France*: the witnesses of her condemnation partiall to *Henry*, the witnesses of her absolution partiall to *Charles*; shee was condemn'd by those, who had dependancy on the one, and absolv'd by those, who did depend upon the other, and yet in a case so favour'd, as that none did oppose it (where the intereest of no third Person was treated off, and a Party being in question, to whom *France* ought so much, as also *Charles* his right to that kingdome declarable by the absolution

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lution of the condemned, as ſent from God to this purpoſe) what was the reaſon why (according to *Giles*) many of thoſe that were cited, did not appeare, if it were not either, that they would not depoſe againſt their conſciences, or els were loth to offend the King by depoſing the truth? the which being well foreſeene by the Commiſſioners, they failed not to adde this clauſe in their letters, to proceed notwithſtanding the contumacy of ſuch as being cited, would not appeare. Finally, if her innocency had beene totally clear'd by this abſolution; it was impoſſible, that any forraine penne much leſſe thoſe of *France*, ſhould have defamed her, but rather her pretended ſanctity being granted: her revelations, *miſsionem* predictions, apparitions of Spirits and bleſſed Soules, her Canonization was not to have beene pretermitted, which for all this was neither procured nor thought upon by any one: for ſay, that all theſe patchings were taken for things as cleare as day; her change of habite, her profeſſion of Armes againſt Chriſtians and Catholique Chriſtians: Her cruelty, her thirſt after bloud, her having ſerved in an Inne, her fictions, hipocriſie and diſhoneſty (though not true) were of too ſcandalous ſuſpition to ſuffer her to pretend to bee a Saint. Notwithſtanding let her not want the praiſe ſhee did deſerve. Shee was a brave and a valiant Amazone the reſtorer of that Kingdome; and if ſhee did not drive the *Engliſh* from thence, as ſhee her ſelfe had vaunted, ſhee was if not the onely, the chiefe, or at leaſt one of the chiefe cauſes why the *Engliſh* loſt *France*.

They had reſolved upon *Henries* coronation, hoping for the like good effects as upon the ſame occaſion had enſued to his *Competitor*, not obſerving, that if this were the eſſentiall reaſon of his advancements, they were notwithſtanding deceived: for there was a certaine place appointed for the coronation and circumſtances not to bee pretermitted, nor were they omitted by *Charles* in what the condition of times would ſuffer him, that *Rheimes* was the place appointed for this ceremony, that the oyle brought by a dove from Saint *Remigio* (as they write) was to bee uſed in the annointing of the King; and that the inclination of the people was to intervene, which *Henry* wanted. So as if hee had beene crown'd in *Rheimes* and annointed with the reputed heavenly oyle, his fortune was not thought to change, ſince it did not proceed from thoſe extrinſicall actions, but from humane affections after divine providence, which is the onely cauſe of our good or bad fortune; and which being inſcrutable is not diſcovered by any events, neither doth it declare unto us whether wee bee worthy of love or hatred; favours and disfavours from Heaven are by us interpreted a like beneficiall to us; for if wee repute favours a ſigne of Gods grace, wee account his disfavours likewiſe as markes of his love, ſince hee correcteth and chaſtneth thoſe that hee loves, then ſince wee are certaine of nothing more then of our not deſerving of good, and of our meriting of evill, wee ought not to grow proud in proſperity, nor to bee caſt downe by adverſity, but to receive ſcourges with hope, and good fortune with feare, ſince wee know not what may thereby happen unto us, the which wee ſee

in

in *Charles* for being freed from his forraigne enemies, the enmitie of his ſonne threw him into an abyſſe of ſo many jealouſies and ſuſpitions, as they brought him to die a death which no Prince ever did; ſo as it reſts in doubt whether his favours were divine graces, or rather meanes to bring him to a miſerable end; but however it was *Henry* went from *Roan* towards *Paris* in *November*, followed by a great many Princes and Lords, *Engliſh*, *French* and *Gaſcons*; the chiefe of the *Engliſh* were the two Cardinalls, of *Wincheſter* and *Yorke*; the Dukes of *Bedford*, *Yorke* and *Norfolke*, the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Saliſbury*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Ormond*, *Mortaigne* and *Suffolke*. Of *French* the Duke of *Burgony*, *Lewis de Luxenburg*, Cardinall and Chancellour of the Kingdome; the Biſhops of *Beauvois* and *Noyon*, firſt Peeres of *France*: the Biſhop of *Paris* and others after him. Of *Gaſcons* Count *Longuerville*, Count *de March*; Count *Vademont* of *Lorraine* and many others: He was received and met with great pompe, no expences ſpared for the ſolemnization. He was crowned in the Church of *Noſtre-Dame* on the ſeventeenth day of *October*, the Cardinall of *Wincheſter* ſetting the Crowne upon his head, whereat the Biſhop of *Paris* was much diſtaſted, thinking that office had belonged to him, to whom the Church and Dioceſſe did belong; hee returned with a Crowne on his head and a Scepter in his hand, another Crowne and Scepter being borne before him, in ſignification of the Kingdome of *England*. *Cheſnes* ſets downe the particularities which I omit, as not requiſite to our ſtory. *Henry the 6.*

The buſineſſe of War did not in this meane while lye idle, but was purſued by both factions, with alternate Fortune; ſome good ſucceſſe this ſide had, and ſome of no great conſequence. *Francis Surianes* called *L'Aragoneſa*, ſupriſed *Montargis*, getting that by ſome little money, which thoſe who had attempted it before him, could not get by force. Hee with 2000. Crownes corrupted a woman belonging to *Mounſieur de Villiers* Captaine of the Towne, by whoſe meanes he made himſelfe maſter thereof, and though not long after the towne was re-taken by *Meſſieurs de Graville*, and *de Vitry*, yet not being able after a ſiege of five or ſix weekes, to take the Caſtle they went their wayes, leaving the towne to 'its former poſſeſſors, who refortifying it, held it, till with it they loſt all that they held thereabouts. *Mounſieur de Bouſac* Admirall of *France* being come to *Beauvois*, with intention to make ſome impreſſion in *Normandy*, was croſt therein by the Earle of *Arundell*, who lying in ambuſh with 2300. men neare to the Caſtle, and having ſent a choice troope of Horſe even to the *Paliſadoes*, to ſet upon him behind; they were by him ſet upon with as much violence as diligence, they retired making him beleeve that he had wonne the day, but falling into the ſnare, and being after a long and gallant conflict defeated, he with ſome few ſaved himſelfe; amongſt many others Saint *Raigle* was taken priſoner, who was afterwards changed for *Talbot*.

Renatus of *Anjou*, brother to *Lovys* the third Duke of *Anjou*, Count *de Province*, and who by his pretenſions to the Kingdome of *Naples* intitled himſelfe King of *Sicilie*, injoy'd the Dutchy of *Anjou*, as Huſband

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band to *Isabel* daughter to *Charles* the first Duke of *Lorraine*. *Anthony* Count *Vademont*, brother to *Charles* pretended to the succession thereof; alleadging that the inheritance fell not upon women, whereupon the Warre began. *Renatus* was maintained by the *French*, *Anthony* by *Philip* and the *English*. *Renatus* besieged *Vademont*, *Anthony* went to succour it, strengthned by his assisters. *Renatus* leaving some to make good the siege, went couragiously to meete him; they fell together at *Velleamant* not farre from *Nauci*, the *English* having obtain'd that the Horsemen should fight on foote, so as the Bowmen having routed the enemies Horse, they disordred all the rest, and defeated them, killing 3000. of them, and taking 200. of them prisoners: amongst the which the Bishop of *Mets*, and the Duke himselfe who was sent to *Bracones* upon *Salin*, a strong Castle of *Philips*, where by reason of the negligence of his subjects, he was a long time captive, and delighting in drawing of pictures. He painted upon the walls of his chamber a great many wafer cakes, which in *French* are called *Oublies*, willing by that Hieroglyficke to signifie that hee was forgotten by his owne men; *Oublier* in *French* signifying to forget. Those who were before *Vademont*, understanding by those who had escaped that the battle was lost, and their Duke taken prisoner, rise from before it, fearing to be set upon by the conquerors; and leaving all they had behind them, fled away: but the besieged pursued them, slew and tooke many of them, ransackt their Campe and returned home rich. To oppose this prosperitie, the Lord *Willoughby*, and *Matthew Gough* had besieged Saint *Silleri*, a strong Castle in *Anjou* with 1500. men, *Mounsieur de Lore* was Governour thereof, who was at the present absent, and hearing of the danger, gathered forces to succour it. *Chatier* upon this occasion names *Buil*, and not *Lore*, and sayes that hee gave order to the Garrisons of the neighbouring Forts, particularly to those of *Loval* and *Sable*, that they should come at an appointed time, who came to the villiage called *Vivain*, to expect him there where they were set upon: but whether of the two it were, *Willoughby* being by his spies advertis'd of their comming, prepared to set upon them, before that being increased they might set upon him. He gave the charge hereof to *Matthew Gough*, who went away by night with part of the 1500. He found them fast asleepe in a place they thought safe, without sentinells; they were wakened by slaughter, and the beating downe of their *Pavillions*, no safety being had but in flight, but having driven them away, they fell themselves into the like carelesnesse: for busying themselves in binding up their booty, and overtaken by the day, the light discover'd the weakenesse of their forces, so as the fugitives re-assembling themselves, set upon them on the one side, whilst *Lore* comming up unto them did set upon them on the other side. *Gough* and *Lore* were both taken prisoners, but *Lore* was rescued by the death of 600. *English*; the *French* name not the number of their slaine, but that about 25. or 30. were taken prisoners, and that *Willoughby* raysing the siege, suffered in his reer-ward by the besieged. *Chartier* makes no mention of *Lore*, as has beene sayd, nor that the *English* came by night, but that surprising

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fing the *French* as they were at dinner, and they ſlew and tooke as many as they pleaſed of them; and that *Bail* and *Lore* comming upon them they were defeated, and 1500. of them ſlaine. A number abſolutely falſe, not ſo much for that the other writers mention 900. leſſe, as for that the whole number whereof they were but a part exceeded not 1500. But though this loſſe were conſiderable, 'twas nothing in compariſon of that of *Schartres*, though not ſealed by any *Engliſh* blood. Foureteene yeares were fully paſt ſince this Citie had quitted *Charles* his obedience to ſide with *Burgony*, never changing partie. So as the obſtinacy thereof made it not to pretend remiſſion, nor yet to hope for it by rebellion. The Garriſon thereof was but ſmall, not exceeding 120. *Engliſh*, who relying upon the faith of the Inhabitants, left the care of the cuſtody of the towne to them. One who was ſervant to one of *Charles* his *Financiers*, was native of *Schartres*, who beſides other kindred had a brother there, who wonne his living by buying and ſelling meate, carrying it in a Cart from one place to another, but becauſe the Warres hindred him from trafficking with *Orleans* a Citie neare at hand, and which imported his profit very much; hee intreated his brother to procure him a ſafe conduct, that hee might goe and come unmoleſted by thoſe of the contrary ſide, having obtained the ſafe conduct; hee met his brother in *Orleans*, who offering him great rewards, perſwaded him to betray the Citie, as hee did; for having wonne the good will of thoſe who kept the gate, by giving them victualls as hee paſt too and fro, hee intreated them that being to returne on Friday morning with a load of fiſh, they would open the gates betime unto him, that the ſunne might not ſpoile his ware, which they willingly promiſed to doe. Without that gate there was a Cellar which hee had formerly hired, under pretence of keeping his ware, wherein hee had this night hidden a hundred Souldiers, hee came with his Cart about the breake of day to the gate, calling to them to open unto him, the gate being opened, thoſe who were hidden in the Celler entred unexpectedly with the Cart, ſlew the gate keepers, and made themthemſelves maſters of the gate, giving a ſigne formerly agreed upon to the Baſtard of *Orleans*, and *Mounſieur de Gaucourt*, who were hard by with 3000. men, and preſently came thither. The *Engliſh* at the firſt noyſe hereof knew not what it was. When they heard the enemy was within the Citie, knowing themſelves to bee but weake, they ſaved themſelves by the gate that opens upon *Eureux*. The chiefe of the Inhabitants (amongſt which was the Biſhop a great ſider with *Burgony*) certaine to be ruined, indeavoured to die with their weapons in their hands. He was ſlaine upon the ſtaires of his Cathedrall Church with 80. more; they tooke betweene five and ſix hundred priſoners, computing thoſe of the Clergy, who were all ranſomed, the Citie was treated as wonne by conqueſt, their goods were taken away, their women raviſht, and thoſe put to death that had ruled for the *Engliſh*. This loſſe was of great conſequence, which being of inexorable enmitie with *Charles*, ſhould have beene more carefully looked unto.

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They indeavour'd at the ſame time, though not with the ſame ſucceſſe, to ſurpriſe the Caſtle of *Roan*. The *Mariſhall Bouſac* had corrupted one *Peter Andebeefe*, borne in *Bearne*, a Captaine in the Caſtle promiſing to give him the revenues thereof if hee would undertake the enterpriſe, wherein *Andebeefe* failed not for as much as in him lay, upon this hope came the *Mariſhall* to *Beauvois* with *Meſſieurs de Fontinees*, *Movy* and *Foquet*, followed by 600. Souldiers, hee imparted unto them his deſigne, and finding them willing, hee tooke ſhelter in a wood, a league diſtant from *Roan*, ſending a gentleman named *Richarville*, who preſented himſelfe before the Caſtle with 120. Souldiers, in all which Company there was not above foure or five Horſes; they were all by *Peter* according to his promiſe brought in, two or three excepted, who ſtayed to looke to the Horſes: having ſlaine ſome ſentinells, they wonne almoſt the whole Caſtle, wherein was the Earle of *Arundell*, who fearing nothing was aſleepe in bed. The *Engliſh* who were in the places that were taken, were ſome of them ſlaine, the reſt ſaving themſelves by leaping over the walls into the Citie. *Richerville* not able with theſe alone to winne the whole, got on horſe-backe to cauſe the Marſhall come along with the reſt, but no perſwaſions could ſuffice to perſwade any of them, ſave ſome that were his friends, nay the booty (not yet wonne) being in queſtion and not agreed upon, they returned, leaving their companions to the mercy of the ſword. *Richerville* inraged, and knowing that by his returne, hee could not aſſiſt his owne men, but rather looſe himſelfe, went along with the reſt to *Beauvois*; this meane while thoſe who had gotten in, did what in them lay to make themſelves maſters of the field gate; but the *Engliſh* in the defence thereof, did ſo long entertaine them till the day appearing, the ruine of the one and ſafeguard of the others were ſeene. Many of the *Engliſh* out of the Citie entred the Caſtle, and together with them not a few of the Inhabitants, to ſhunne being thought conſcious of the treaſon; ſo as the aſſailants were forced to retire themſelves into the greateſt Tower, wherein having found ſome victualls, they reſolved to keepe as long as the victualls laſted. But having defended themſelves againſt innumerable aſſaults, the Tower being battered and damnified, they likewiſe having batter'd and done miſchiefe by artillery, which at their entrance thereinto they drag'd after them, they were inforced after twelve dayes manfull defence to ſurrender themſelves upon diſcretion. A rigorous inquiſition being made 1500. Citizens were beheaded, & *Peter* quartered, what became of the Souldiers that yeelded, is not reported by *Monſtrelet*, who makes this relation; but however they deſerved better fortune and more faithfull aſſociates then the Avaritious cowards who had ſo ſhamefully abandoned them; yet doe not I beleeve that this was cauſed more out of cowardiſe then out of improvidency, not having thought time enough, upon that which they too late thought upon, to wit, that it was raſhneſſe to ſhut themſelves up without victualls or munition, in a place ſo neare unto a great Citie, which was not likely to lacke people from ſo many neighbouring Garriſons; the which though granted

granted I ſee not how they are excuſable, for theſe conſiderations ought to have beene had before the expoſing of ſo many valiant men to death; for having expoſed them thereunto, they ſhould have runne the ſame hazzard they did, it not beeing likely that ſuch places wherein were abundance of victualls and munition, had not where withall to defend themſelves, and live: and that if they had all entred together, they had not made themſelves maſters of the Caſtle, ſince the ſixt part of them had almoſt totally wonne it. The field gate was to be by them made ſure for their laſt refuge, *Beauvois* being neare at hand, and every ſmall thing ſufficient to have made them capable of an honorable capitulation, in ſo much as a more ſhamefull act of Souldiers, not having beene heard nor read of, the Captaines were worthy of death and degradation, but this juſt and neceſſary diſcipline is not there to be practiſed, where the Princes condition is to flatter, not to command the Souldiers, and where his weakeneſſe inforces him rather to cloake, then to diſcover delinquents. *Henry the 6.*

The miſeries of theſe warres and the mortall hatred of theſe two nations had beene a cauſe of pitty and ſcandall to the whole world; which thought it impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt after ſo much ſuffering, death, and expences. *England* wearied with ſo many Subſidies (which are unwillingly granted when buſineſſes do not fadge) ſuffer'd yet much more through the loſſe of ſo many brave men; one ſupply being the ſtep unto another, the returne uncertaine and the loſſe uſuall. *France* the ſeate of miſery, ſceane of Tragedies, ſepulcher of Armes, unmanur'd, ruthfull, impoveriſh'd; no leſſe by the rapine of her owne men, then of enemies, made the ſchoole of inhumanitie: no ſex, age, nor Religion being exempt from injuries and cruelty; was in ſo deplorable a condition, as that it was not to be ſuccour'd but by miracle: and if by any naturall meanes, onely by peace, the which *Eugenius* the fourth well obſerving to diſcharge his duty, he reſolved to try it. He diſpatcht away the Cardinall *Santa-croce* about ſo holy a worke; he came treated, but did nothing at his firſt comming; both parties ſeemed to bee well diſpos'd; their words in generall were complementall, full of honeſt and good intentions; but thoſe which were in fact eſſentiall, were high in demands, reſolute to keep what they had, and obſtinate in pretenſions; ſo as perceiving he did but looſe his time (that he might not returne home and doe nothing) he concluded a Truce for ſix yeares, which (according as was foretold) prov'd changeable and of ſhort continuance, the more needfull *France* was of reſt and quiet, the leſſe prone was ſhe to ſuffer it. *Monſtrelet*, *Cheſnes*, and *Dupleix* ſay not, that it was made with *Henry*, but with *Philip*; *Polydore*, *Hallian* and *Serres* affirme it to be made with both *Paulus Aemilius*, *Chartier*, *Belleforeſt*, and *Giles* doe not at all mention it.

The Cardinall of *Wincheſter* went by order from the King to allay ſome tumults raiſed there under pretence of Religion by two ſeditious ſpirits, *William Mandeville* and *Iohn Sharpe*, who indeavoured to inſinuate two things into mens hearts, that the Clergy ſhould poſſeſſe nothing, & that the lay people ſhould by way of charity have all

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all things common amongst them, a superfluous division, the last article being sufficient; for that which was pretended from the one was indifferently demanded of all, the direct way to introduce carelesnesse and sloth amongst the people instead of Charity, and to punish Industry, vertue and all good acts. They were severely punished, their extravagant and contagious opinions ceasing with them. The Cardinall was to returne to *France* with provision of Souldiers and mony, the truce not thought likely long to continue, whereupon a Parliament being called the Duke of *Gloceſter* tooke order for this busines, as likewise to the concluding a peace with the King of *Scotland*; who being troubled with home dissentions had sent Embassadors to demand it, for it made little for his purpose to have warre abroad and at home, whilst *France* as he beleeved, had by meanes of this truce laid downe armes. But I wonder that *Buchanan* and *Ascu* make no mention at all hereof: The King and Regent were at *Roan*, when the Cardinall came thither. Consultation was had what was to be done, the souldiers expence in time of truce, as in time of war seemed superfluous to some, the wisest amongst which the three Dukes, of *Bedford*, *Yorke* & *Sommerset*, did not onely diswade from lessoning the Souldiers, but would have their numbers increased, to the end that if a breach should happen, as was expected they might have forces enough to end the enterprise, or at least to make good what they had won; for the ordinary provision did not resolve the war, but did onely draw it out in length with danger of loosing what they with so much expence of blood and coyne had already won. But the appearing good of sparing prevailed over the other more essentiall one, though it was not afterwards put in execution, the regulating of companies being deferr'd till the truce was broken. The King this meane while went to *Calais*, & from thence to *England*, where he was received with great solemnity and joy.

1432. But the Souldiers sorry to live under the Lawes of *France*, the Garison of *Calais* accustomed to pillage, mutinied, not alleadging the want of pillage for their cause (though it were so) but the smalnesse of their pay, not able to maintaine them; the Regent hasted thither, & putting foure of the most seditious to death, cashiering and banishing some, and putting others in their place, appeased the rest.

The Dutchesse his wife, sister to *Philip* was some moneths before dead, the onely preserver of that lukewarme intelligence, which after so many ill satisfactions remained betweene them; so as going to *Terrovane*, he there married the daughter of *Peter de Luxenburg*; Count Saint *Paul*, one who was no great friend of *Philips*; this he did not giving *Philip* any account at all thereof, increasing the former distasts by the little account he seemed to make of him, since being his Ally and confederate, he had pretermitted those offices with him, which among friends and Princes who are friends, use not upon like occasion to be pretermitted; the last occasion save one of severing him wholly from *England*. According to the opinion of the wisest, the truce in stead of six yeares lasted but six moneths. *Charles* his people deprived of their pray and accustomed to Rapine, could not live upon the ayre; the greatest and worst part of them were handicrafts men,

and

and country people, who wonted to the ſword, ſcorn'd to turne backe to the Plow, Harrow and Pick-axe. The firſt beginnings were pilferings and robberies, from whence they came to the taking of men, and ſetting them to ranſome; but this they did onely with the *Burgonians*, till ſuch time as having taken free libertie, they ſhocked likewiſe againſt the *Engliſh*. So as their inſolencies cauſing repriſalls, and thoſe repriſalls incounters, ſo as the Warre was as eaſily kindled againe as are firebrands, which full of vapour and ſmoake ſucke the flame unto them, the parties offended knew they could not be righted but by armes, and that all appeales, as untimely refuges would bee ridiculous, ſo as interchangeably and with the liking, as I thinke of both parties, they threw themſelves upon all inconveniences. The *French* took S. *Valleri* in the mouth of the River, ſome confining upon *Normandy*, a little diſtant from *Abbeville*, ſeated on the other ſide of the River, and with diverſitie of fortune made many attempts and conqueſts in *Anjou* and *Maine*. *Ambrogius de Lore* being gone from St. *Scelerin* with 700. men paſſed over the River *Orne*; he went towards *Caen* to ſurpriſe the Faire, which was held every Saint *Michaels* day before S. *Stevens* Church in the fields; he divided his 700. he kept a 100. Croſſebowmẽ, and 50. Horſe with himſelfe, with the which he placed himſelfe betweene the Faire and *Caen*, to beate back thoſe of the Garriſon, if they ſhould ſally forth to hinder his deſigne. He ſent the reſt to the place of buſineſſe which ſucceeded luckily unto them, for the *Engliſh* ignorant of what was done came not forth, and none being in the Faire but buyers and ſellers, they found no oppoſition; the booty was rich, with which repaſſing over the *Orne*, he made a ſcrutiny of the priſoners, he detained ſuch as were ranſomable, which were 800. and ſuffered the reſt to depart home, which were in number 2000. *Henry the 6.*

The Regent ſeeing, that by the open breach of Truce, *Laignes* hindred the commerce and victualls which were brought to *Paris*, ſent the Earle of *Arundel* to beſiege it; hee gave him 1200. ſouldiers, and for his companions the Earle of *Warwicks* ſonne, and *Monſieur de Lilleadam* who was Mariſhall of *France* for *Henry*, but little good could bee done; his forces were but few, and the place was well provided for: ſo as having by Canon ſhot broken one of the Arches of the bridge which croſſed *Marne*, and burnt the Ravelin finding himſelfe the weaker in aſſaults, and the number of the beſieged if not more, at leaſt as many as hee, hee raiſed the ſiedge, whereupon the Regent was forced to goe thither himſelfe with 6000. men; hee fortified himſelfe in a great Parke neare unto the Walls; hee threw a bridge over the *Marne*. His Canon playd where it was requiſite to make breaches for an aſſault: hee to his loſſe aſſaulted the place, which was defended by *Guermede Fanculdus*, and *Reynald* of Saint *John*, all brave Gentlemen. Hee for all this ſlacked not his raine, but was reſolv'd to winne it, if not by ſword, by famine on the other ſide. *Charles* knowing how much it imported, diſpatcht away a ſuccour of 6000. men with great ſtore of victualls, under the conduct of the *Baſtard* of *Orleans*. *Monſieur de Rieux Mariſhall* of *France*, *John Straigle* brother to *Potone*, *Stephen de Vignolles*, ſurnamed *la Hire*, *Roderigo Villandras* a Spaniard

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Spaniard, *Monſieur de Coulant Admirall* of *France*, and *Gaucourt Gouvernour* of *Daupheny*: theſe Gentlemen made a proud appearance at their firſt comming, the Regent kept himſelfe within his fortifications, not ſuffering any one to goe forth; the next day, hee ſent to offer them battaile, they deny it; and ſay that being drawne forth to skirmiſh many of the *French* were hurt, ſlaine, and taken priſoners: amongſt the which *John Straigle* for one, but that the beſieged ſallying forth, and the *Engliſh* fighting with them, the *French* ſet upon them behind, and defeated them, entring the Citie with victualls: and that *Bedford* comming forth to hinder them, the buſineſſe was ſo intricate, as that the one knew not the other, in ſo much as the heat being very great (it was on Saint *Laurence* his day) many being ſuffocated in their armor, the Regent in all haſt was glad to ſave himſelfe within his Parke, that *Gaucourt* entring the Citie the next day, and the other Captaines having made a bridge of boates over *Marne*, they paſſed over into the *Iſle* of *France*, and tooke many Forts there: ſo as the Duke fearing to looſe *Paris* by reaſon of the peoples bad inclination, raiſed the ſiedge in all haſt, leaving his Engines, Proviſions, and Pavillions behind him, and was purſued by the beſieged who ſlew a great number of his men, and tooke many priſoners, returning backe to the City rich in Armes and Horſes. *Dupleix* more then the reſt, is pleaſed to adde unto the good or bad according to his love or hatred; ſayes, that hee riſe as ſhamefully from before *Laigni*, as *John de Luxenburg* did from before *Compaigne*; and that being valiantly aſſaulted by the Conſtable *Richmont*, hee readily paſſed over the River, and ſhut himſelfe up in *Paris*. As for *Compaigne*, judgement may be made by what is to bee alledged, how equivocall and full of malice the compariſon is. For the Conſtable no man names him but *Chartier*, who though a Writer that lived in thoſe dayes, hath as ſome that live in theſe dayes his oppoſitors. And if hee ſay, that *Bedford* did returne to *Paris*, hee concludes not, that hee ſhut himſelfe up there, for to returne, and to ſhut one ſelfe up are too much differing tearmes. For what remaineth I meane not to uſe the authority of any of the *Engliſh* Authours, though with all juſt men, their authority ought to bee as much credited as what the *French* ſay. I alledge *Monſtrelet* as a neuter, though by Country, language, and faction hee bee to bee reputed *French*, his words are theſe; The Duke prepared to fight with the *French* who came upon him, and that hee might the better doe it, hee ſent for men out of other places that were under him. Hee then ſent ſome of his officers to ſignifie to the *French* that hee was ready to fight with them, notwithſtanding all their aydes, if they would appoint a day for that purpoſe; To the which they made no anſwere, ſave that with the grace of God they would at their leaſure, and when they ſhould beſt thinke fitting, accompliſh their enterpriſe. And afterwards deſcribing his retreate to *Paris*, hee ſaith, hee afterwards aſſembled his people, and marched to where the *Frenchmen* were, to offer them battle once more, but their anſwere was as before, they had done what they came for: The *Engliſh* doe not deny, that hee rayſed the ſiege, fearing leaſt otherwiſe hee might loſe *Paris*, but

but not driven away nor in flight. They ſay hee offered battle, which the *French* affirme not, nor will ſuffer others to affirme it, that hee continued his ſiege after the enemy was gone; that hee retired, not for that a fictious conſtable made him ſhamefully paſſe over the *Marne*, but becauſe the reaſon of Warre would have him ſo to doe; that hee went to *Paris* to ſecure himſelfe thereof, not to ſhut himſelfe up, that hee defied the enemy the ſecond time, that hee fayled not in the duty of a good Souldier, and if hee met with evill fortune ſo long as it was not through cowardize (which is, that which *Dupleix* would inſinuate) malice it ſelfe hath not wherewithall to defame him. *Henry the 6.*

The ill ſucceſſe of *Laigni* was in ſome ſort recompenſed by the retaking of *Valery*, which was not long before taken by the *French*; the oppoſers were *Peter de Luxenburg* Count *de* Saint *Paul*, & the Lord *Willoughby* the Defendants *Meſſieurs de Vaucourt de la Torre*, and *de Verſeil*. But after three weekes ſtout defence, they yeelded, their horſes and baggage ſaved, the Towne ſoone after loſt two thirds of her inhabitants, by reaſon of a contagious peſtilence cauſed by the corruption of the victualls they had eaten. This was the laſt of the Count Saint *Pauls* actions. Hee dyed neere to *Blangi*, when having ſet downe his time to bee at the *Chaſteau de Monchas*, and taken order for the ſiege of *Rembarres*, hee was ſeized upon by one of thoſe indiſpoſitions which nature ſends us, when ſhee pretends to claime from us what wee owe her. His obſequies were ſolemniz'd in the Metropolitan Cities of both the Kingdomes, as to the Duke of *Bedfords* Father in Law. His ſonne *Lewis* ſucceeded him both in title and poſſeſſions; a yong man, not then above 15. yeares old, who growne to riper years, ſerved for a witneſſe, that cunning woven with infidelity and diſſimulation, hath alwayes beene mortall: for having forſaken *England*, and being by *Charles* the eleventh created Conſtable, he ended his life by the Hangmans hand for having beene unfaithfull to him in his ſervice.

The *French* fayled not to doe all the miſchiefe they could. *La Hire* accompanied by many Gentlemen, and by 1500. Souldiers tooke *Somme*, and therein a great number of Priſoners, by whoſe ranſoms the Souldiers did better maintaine themſelves, than by their pay. Hee afterwards divided them, and ſent part of them into the Country of *Cambrey*, where they aſſayled *Haſpre*, a great concourſe of people being come thither by reaſon of free feaſt.

They ſet upon it at unawares, and tooke ſome Priſoners, affording leaſure for ſuch as were of better condition to ſave themſelves within a great and ſtrong Tower, ſo as having ſack't the Towne, burn't the Church, and Abbey, and many Houſes; they retired to *Mount* Saint *Martin*, where *la Hire* expected them; who having this meane while burn't *Beaurevoire*, and *la Motta* a houſe of pleaſure, belonging to the Counteſſe *de Laigni* being reunited to them, did infinite miſchiefe in the Countrey, not meeting with any oppoſition; as hee before ſo reſaw hee ſhould not, for *John de Luxenburgh* Count *de Laigni*, and Count S. *Paul* his nephew, being diverted from thoſe af-

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faires, by reaſon of the old Count *Peter* his Brother, there was none other, that could withſtand him, in ſo much as having ſcoured the Champion, burnt Houſes, and made great booty; hee went to *Laon* to divide the prey, all his men returning rich unto their Garriſons, and not one man of them loſt. *Pannesach* a Captaine of *Laon* payed for theſe loſſes: for being one that did emulate or rather envy the others good fortune, hee phancied unto himſelfe the like ſucceſſe. Hee went towards *Marle* with 400. Souldiers, intending to ſurprize *Vervins*, which belonged to *Giovanna de Bar*, daughter in law to the above named *John de Luxenburg*; but as ſoone as hee had begun to ſet fire on the ſuburbs of *Marle* neere unto *Vervins*, *John* came up unto him, (who upon the firſt advertiſement came, together with his nephew) with all poſſible ſpeede to interrupt him, and gave him battle. *Monſtrelet* ſayes, that *John* did wonders in his owne Perſon, that hee alone would have beene able to have beaten the enemy, had they beene more in number, then they were. Hee ſlew about 160. of them, tooke 80. of them priſoners, the greateſt part whereof were hang'd the next day: and to fleſh his nephew, hee made him kill ſome of them; the which hee did with ſuch dexterity, and tooke ſuch delight in embruing his hands in bloud, as hee gave open teſtimony of his naturall bad inclination; a cruell cuſtome, and not to bee practiſed. Wee are naturally too apt to doe evill, though ſome are of an opinion, that a Souldier cannot bee a perfect warrier, unleſſe hee bee perfectly cruell. Others attribute this worke to *Willoughby* and *Kerill*, ſent by the Regent as ſoone as hee heard the *French* had entred the upper *Burgony*, that it was they that ſlew the 160. recovering thoſe places to *Philip*, which hee had formerly loſt.

At this time the Lord *Talbot* was returned from *England* with 800. men, and having taken the way of *Roan* to goe to *Paris*, hee by the way ſet upon *Joyne*, a Caſtle ſeated betweene *Beauvois* and *Gizors*, hee deſtroyed it, and hang'd up the Inhabitants. Being come to *Paris*, his army was increaſed by ſome troopes, commanded by the *Mariſhall de Lilliadam*, and *Monſieur d'Orveille*, wherewithall hee tooke and raiſed *Beaumont* upon the *Oyſe*. By compoſition, hee recovered the City and Caſtle of *Creil*, held by *Amadore de Vignelles*. *Pont* Saint *Maſſens*, *Nonaville*, and *Caſareſſe*, yeelded unto him, hee tooke by force the City of *Creſpi* in *Valois*, and recovered *Cleremont* which was formerly taken by the enemies. Hee thought to have aſſayed *Beauvois*, but finding it in a condition not to bee enforced. With ſo few numbers, hee returned with great booty to *Paris*. In purſuite of this good fortune, the Earle of *Arundel* went to beſiege *Bonnevelins*, which being ſurrendered, hee deſtroyed. Hee went to *Orle* in the County of *Mayne*, and playing upon it with his Canon, hee had it upon compoſition. But being gone towards Saint *Selerine*, *Monſieur de Lore* beleeving that hee came to charge him, came forth into the field, and ſurprized him; *Giles* ſayes, that hee ſlew about 80. or 100. of his men, and made the reſt runne away, being for the ſpace of an houre Maiſter of the Artillery, victualls and tents, but that the *Engliſh* making head againe, did againe charge upon them, though hee returned with 80. horſe

and

and many priſoners: The *Engliſh* ſay, that being ſet upon at unawares, they gave backe about a bow-ſhoot, that being encouraged by the Earle, they ſlew a great many of them, and enforced the reſt to ſave themſelves within the City; Diſagreements which will not permit judgement to bee paſſed upon the buſineſſe. And yet as it ſeemeth to me *Giles* himſelfe doth explaine it, for if the *French* were Maiſters of the artillery, baggage and tents for an houre; the permitting them to bee taken from them, makes it cleare unto us, that they who tooke them laſt had the advantage; the remainder reſting doubtfull, whether they retreated or fled, with the booty of horſes and priſoners, as *Giles* reports, or rather whether their onely gaine was the ſafegard of themſelves. Hee, and *Hallian* doe both report that about 12000. of the *Engliſh* beſieged the City of *Louviers*, wherein were the two brothers *la Hire* and *Amadore de Vignolles*, *Florence d'Illiers*, *Ghirard de la Paliera* and many others, who all did valiantly defend themſelves, but not able to withſtand ſo great a number, they yeelded the City, and the Walles thereof were throwen downe. They name not the mayne who did command in chiefe in this great number of men, whileſt in the like, and in actions of leſſer conſequence they omit not the name of any one particular Captaine, for ſince they would have the Earle of *Arundell* to bee routed, if they ſhould name him here, they would call in queſtion the firſt defeate. The *Engliſh* ſay, that it was hee who beſieged *Louviers*, and that it was yeelded unto him without the ſtriking of a blow, that it was in his returne to Saint *Selerin*, that hee had ſo powerfull an army; *Louviers* being fallen into his hands, when hee had onely his firſt ordinary forces. That hee beſieged Saint *Selerin* for three Moneths together, at the end whereof hee tooke it by force, and therein tooke *Monſieur de Lore's* ſonnes priſoners, and ſlew *John d'Armagne*, *William de* Saint *Aubin*, both of them Captaines, and 800. of the garriſon; *Giles* and *Hallian* confeſſe the three Moneths ſiege, and the aſſault wherein the two Captaines were taken, but in ſtead of ſaying it was taken, they ſay it was like to bee taken, and that the beſieged, not being ſuccoured, were inforced to ſurrender the Towne, to receive ſafe conduct, and to march away on foot, not carrying any thing along with them, *Chartier*, *Goguinus*, and *Dupleix* ſay, that hee tooke it, and *Serres*, that hee tooke it by force; ſo as if the *Engliſh* Writers needed to proove the truth of what they ſay, it would bee made good by the contradiction of their adverſaries: from hence the Earle went to the ſiege of *Silli*, which is by them related with like inequality. *Giles* ſayes, that the captaine thereof articled to ſurrender up the place, in caſe that hee were not ſuccoured, or that the Earle were not fought withall within 15. dayes, and that hereupon, hee gave him oſtages. That the Duke *d'Alanſon*, *Charles d'Aniou*, the Count *de Richmont*, the *Mariſhall* of *France*, *Meſſieurs de Lokhac*, and *Graville*, who at the importunity of *Monſieur de Lore* had gathered a great army to ſuccour Saint *Selerin*, made uſe thereof to ſuccour *Silly*: that the *Engliſh* went to meete them, that the *French* came to a little village called *Lonvell*, and were onely parted from the enemy by a little River; that great skirmiſhes were there

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made; that finding them to bee in an advantagious place, they would not ſet upon them; that about evening, they ſent word by a Herauld to the Earle of *Arundel*, that hee ſhould either come forth to battle, or elſe give backe his hoſtages, the which being received; they departed, and that the *Engliſh* ſeeing themſelves free, returned too before *Silli*, and tooke it by a fierce aſſault. The reſt differ not from him; but adde, that in their Articles the beſieged ſpecified, that the *Engliſh* ſhould quarter themſelves neere ſuch an Elme and fight there, that whereunto the beſieged were obliged (according to *Giles*) was, to ſurrender themſelves if the Towne were not ſuccoured, or the *Engliſh* fought withall, neither of both which enſued. To fight belonged to the *French*, for they were to free the Towne: The *Engliſh* were to keepe from fighting if they could, and to inhibite ſuccour; ſo as the *French* not able to do the one, ſhould have tryed the other, which they did not. That the Earle of *Arundel* ſhould give up the hoſtages, was a piece of obedience not to be beleeved: for ſince they could not fight with him, they could not force him in this point; that they ſhould depart having received the hoſtages, without putting them into *Silli*, or ſuccouring the Towne, argues either ſimplicity (which was not likely to be in ſuch perſonages) or want of ſtrength, and is not ſufficient to excuſe their retreate; for ſay that the Earle had delivered up his hoſtages, the more reaſon had they had to have kept the field, to ſhew themſelves maſters thereof, and to have ſeene the enemy firſt gone, that they might have ſecured the towne: for what concernes the Elme, the beſieged may by agreement prefix the day of ſuccour, but not the place of combate; for that were to teach him what to doe who was to hinder their being ſuccoured, whoſe advantage it was to work his ends without danger, or bloodſhed. Two armies equally reſolved to fight, may appoint a time & place that they may know where to meet, not out of any advantage; but ſuch appointments happen not betweene beſiegers and beſieged, for the beſieged have onely two things to looke unto; neceſſity which enforceth them, and reputation which makes them doe their utmoſt indeavour; which when they have ſatisfied; their being, or not being ſuccoured, belongs no more to them, ſince by yeelding they are freed from neceſſity, and 'tis not likely that the beſiegers together with the prolongation of time (which was much to their diſadvantage) would accept of a diſadvantagious place, whereby to be cut in peeces. But this invention is like to that of the Duke of *Orleans*, which hath beene ſpoken of, who being taken priſoner in the battell of *Aincourt*, where there neither was neceſſity, reaſon, nor yet time for capitulation: thoſe who were beſieged in *Orleans* did notwithſtanding alledge, that by expreſſe agreement, his territories were to be exempted from the damage of warre, during his impriſonment, whilſt no ſuch condition complies with the nature of warre, nor can be witneſſed by any preſident. The *Engliſh* ſay, that when the ſuccour appeared (the terme whereof was not 15. but 30. dayes) they of their owne accord delivered up the hoſtages to thoſe of *Silli*, according to their Articles; that they ſtood in face of the enemy, without any skirmiſhing, or any ſhew of

of battle, that the *French* departed by night, as if affraid: whereupon *Silli* surrendred it selfe according to promise without assault or blood. The Earle ended these his proceedings with the taking of *Millay*, and Saint *Laurence de Mortiers*, so as having in hostile manner succoured the country of *Mayne*, hee retired, sending his men to their wonted Garrisons. *Henry the 6.*

Not long after a good part of the lower *Normandy* rise in insurrection against the *English*; a fire as easily extinguished as it was lightly kindled: They were all countrymen, inhabitants upon the coast of that sea, a Monstrous body, a beast of few armes, all head, under the conduct of the *Marishall de Rochefort*, *Walter de Brusack*, and *Charles de Mares* (who came with some troopes of horse to sustaine them) they tooke *Diepe*, *Fescampe*, *Harfleur*, *Monstrevillier*, *Tancherville*, and all the country of *Caux*, except *Arques* and *Candebec*. But going afterwards themselves alone towards *Caen*, to incourage and incite the malecontents; The Dukes of *Sommerset* and *Yorke* who commanded that Province, dispatcht away the Earle of *Arundell*, and the Lord *Willoughby* with 6000. bowmen, and 1300. horse to take order with them. The Earle who had notice which way they went, sent *Willoughby* with part of the troopes before, to light upon them in the way, not fearing their numbers, and hoping that the condition of an ill guided rabble, would winne him the day, as it did: for *Willoughby* lying in Ambush, as soone as they appeared, he set upon them, having formerly agreed upon a signe with the Earle, so as being set upon before and behind, they threw away their armes, and cryed for pardon; the Earle moved to compassion, forbad the killing of them; yet could he not so readily be obeyed, but that about 1000. of them were slaine. The heads of the insurrection were detained, and afterwards severely punished; the rest were suffered to returne to their owne homes, having to their cost learned the difference betweene the handling of the Mattocke and the Sword; the conquest of the forenamed places was not of long continuance after this; for the Commanders who were therein left, being of this summy multitude, behaved themselves so insolently, as that the countrey revolted from them, and by reason of their rustique tiranny recalled the *English*; so as this threatning storme was soone blowne over.

John de Bressay Lievtenant to the Marshall *de Rieux*, had taken the Fort of *Rue*, a losse of great consequence to the *English*, the country lying thereby open to incursions; even to *Estaples* and *Monstrolle*; which caused the Duke to commit the recovery thereof to the said Earle, who with 800. men undertooke this enterprise; but being come to *Gournay* he altered his resolution: An old Fort called *Gerberoy* was seated betweene *Gournay* and *Beauvois*, dismantled and ruinated a little before. And because the situation thereof was convenient to suppresse the enemies incursions into the countrey of *Beauvois*, *La Hire* had order for the rebuilding of it. The Earle not thinking that in so short a space it could be in any condition of defence, for hee thought to ruinate it in the beginning of its being reedified, before that being built and fortified it might be the harder to be wonne. Hee thought suddenly

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ſuddenly to have diſpatcht the buſineſſe, not knowing that *La Hire* was there in perſon with a great many ſouldiers, ſo as leaving his foot behinde him, which followed him at leaſure, hee advanced with his horſe which were not above 500. *La Hire* ſeeing him appeare with ſo few horſe, and thoſe wearied, reſolved to ſet upon him, before his bowmen ſhould come up vnto him. And to make the Earle the more confident, hee ſent forth 50. horſe, as if there had beene no more in the Caſtle. The Earle ſent Sir *Ralph Standiſh* with 100. horſe to encounter them, who had hardly begun the skirmiſh, when the reſt that were within the Caſtle ſallyed forth, ſlew him and his companions, and without any interpoſition of time ſet upon the Earle, who, as hee was manfully fighting, was defeated by a Culverin, which being ſhot among the thickeſt of his men, ſwept away a great many of them, and at the ſecond ſhot, broke the Earles legge above his ankle, who in a ſwound fell from his horſe, and was taken priſoner with *Woodville* and a hundred other horſe. Two hundred were ſlaine, the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight. The Earle was carried to *Beauvois*, where within a few dayes hee died. His loſſe was as much bewayled as his valour (had hee lived) was full of expectation and hope.

Hee was the fift Earle of *Arundell*, of the noble houſe of *Fitſallen*. Six others of the ſame ſucceeded him, the laſt of which was *Henry*, who dying without heires male, the Earledome and the title fell upon *Philip Howard*, eldeſt ſonne to *Thomas* Duke of *Northfolke*, and *Mary* his wife, daughter to the ſaid *Henry*. This *Thomas* was father to the now preſent Earle of *Arundell*, Earle Marſhall of *England*, who married the Lady *Alithea*, daughter to *Gilbert Lord Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewesbury*, lineally deſcended from *John* Lord *Talbot*, of whom wee have ſpoken in this our ſtory. I was willing to inſiſt upon this particular here, which I deſire may not bee imputed to me as a ſuperfluous digreſſion, but rather to the gratitude which from mee and all *Italy* is due unto them both.

Tenne yeares were paſt ſince the battaile of *Aiencourt*, where and ſince when, the Duke of *Bourbon* was priſoner in *England*, when having payed his ranſome of 18000. pounds ſterlin, the very day deſtinied for his returne, hee was ſeized upon by his laſt infirmitie, which brought him to his grave, dying a free man, after having lived ſo long a captive.

The confederacy, friendſhip and affinitie of the two Couzins *Bedford* and *Burgony*, were come to the period of their diſſolution, not ſo much for the death of the ones wife, the others ſiſter, as for that the diſtaſts cauſed by divers paſſages betweene them had afforded field-roome to ſuch as deſired a breach betweene them, to whiſper ſuch tales in both their eares, as being ſuppoſed to be ſpoken in the prejudice of each other, could by neither of them be taken in good part, but with a great reſentment of their honours; an Idoll which amongſt imaginary deities (eſpecially betweene Princes) is the moſt ſupreame, though as too ſuſpitiouſly falſe, ſometimes with much loſſe too much idolatriſed, friends enterpoſed them-

themſelves, but 'twas not ſufficient; the gangren'd ſores of their ſoules were not to be cured by Lenities. A meeting betweene them was treated of, out of hopes that by an enterview and ſpeech together, they might come to underſtand one anothers minde, better then by reports, 'twas obtained; Saint *Omers* was named and agreed upon for the place. A place which belonging to *Philip* redounded to his honour, ſince *Bedford* went to him, not he to *Bedford*. *Bedford* came thither firſt, whilſt *Philip* being in his owne dominion, and his owne houſe ſhould have beene there, to have met and welcomed him. But hee was ſo farre from doing this, that though he came laſt, he pretended to be the firſt viſited. Perhaps a juſt pretenſion in a neutrall place, hee being the laſt commer thither. For as for other reſpects which give precedency to Princes, there goes not much difficultie to the deciding of the queſtion. *Bedford* had two which argue for his precedency, the one caſuall and but for a time; the other borne with him, and whereof hee could not bee bereſt. His regency of *France* was that which was caſuall, and therefore I build not upon it, as well for that *Philip* might have beene regent if hee had ſo pleaſed; (though what might have beene, gives place to what is) as likewiſe, for that *France* held it an unjuſt, uſurped dignity; though hee ought not to eſteeme it ſo who held *Henry* for King of *France*, for that that was borne with him, and whereof hee could not bee bereft: *Bedford* was the Sonne, Brother, and Uncle of a King. And tooke theſe prerogatives from him (ſuperiour without queſtion to any thing, that *Philip* could alledge) they were in their genealogies equall. For if *John* King of *France* were great Grandfather to *Philip*, *Edward* the third King of *England* was the like to *Bedford*, and if any difference bee made betweene the Princes of the bloud in *France*, and the Princes of the bloud in *England*, (where there is no ſuch title by Law, the former being priviledged by the pretended Salique Law, the latter not, ſince women doe ſucceede) tis a reaſon whereof *Philip* ought make no uſe, ſince that Law was by him broken, and ſo much the leſſe againſt *Bedford*, as that if *Henry* ſhould dye without heyres, hee was the next preſumed heyre to the Crowne. In titles they were alike, in ſoveraignty and peculiar power *Philip* was before him. But if ſoveraignty were ever to precede, there are little ſoveraigne Lords, and no Princes, who ſhould take place of great Princes who are no ſoveraigne Lords: and power which contributes advantage, doth not contribute degrees of dignity. But let all bee granted, civility will not permit the affecting of the beſt place in a mans owne houſe, but rather wils that it bee given alwayes to our equals, yea ſometimes to our inferiours. To end this difference *Philip* propounded, that the buſineſſe might bee diſcuſt by third perſons, which *Bedford* would not condeſcend unto, ſo as parting without the ſight of one another, their friendſhip was broken, and all memorials of their former affinity were cancelled, wherein if the *Engliſh* loſt all, hee got not much, for one would thinke, that in the fall of this great tree, hee ſhould have ſeized upon one of the greateſt boughes for himſelfe, the which if hee had not formerly done, the fault was his, ſince hee

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he by their assistance (which did divert those who might have troubled him) obtained territories else-where, to the unjust and violent possession whereof (I meane *Hannault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frisland*) he had never come (their naturall Princes being alive) if *France* had beene at liberty. Hee had sundry times given fast signes of this his bad inclination, especially when (notwithstanding the heate of warre) hee was contented, that his brother in law the Count *de Richmont*, should receive the sword of Constablesship, and that *Charles de Bourbon* (the now Duke, a great sider with King *Charles*, and an implacable enemy of the *English*) should marry his sister *Agnis*, powerfull meanes for the accommodation, which his delayes did not cut off, but deferre. Hee had thus two strings to his bow. Moreover when the councell of *Basil* had sent the Cardinals of *Cyprus* and *Arles*, to exhort the two Kings to peace, hee resolved to doe it himselfe alone, the forenamed Cardinals and the Archbishop of *Rheims* Chancellour of *France* for *Charles*, being gone to *Nevers* to speake with him about this, where it was resolved that the generall treaty should bee held at *Arras*. Likewise in the heate of this treaty the Bastard of *Orleans* would not have adventured to have taken Saint *Denis*, neither would *Charles* have sent him his assent from *Tours*, where he then was, whilst he desiring nothing more then to pacifie *Philip*, had feared to displease him, and though some of *Philips* men went afterwards to the recovery of Saint *Denis*, yet it behooved him so to dissemble the businesse, but the injustice of the one doth not make good the others fault. *Philip* played his part excellently well, he wrought things according to his owne inclination and proper interest, and whilst hee did wrong unto others, did none unto himselfe. *Bedford* played his part very ill, hee followed his owne inclination, but not his interest, and walking in the path of reason, was unjust unto his King, unto himselfe, and unto the cause. His duty had beene to have contented *Philip*, though hee had no reason for it, dissimulation is requisite in him who pretends to raigne. All punctuallities are vaine if unusefull, and foolish if harmefull. Hee was deceived in presuming hee could doe that when he should have him his enemy, which all the while hee could not doe when he was his friend; for though whilst his friend hee helped him but a little, (being busied about his owne affaires) yet when hee turned enemy, hee harmed him sufficiently. Humane meanes are more able to doe hurt then good. *Facilis descensus averni*, (saith the Poet) the descent to hell is easie, the gates thereof stand wide open day and night, all the difficultie is in getting out againe. The *Remora*, a small Fish doth stop a ship though under full saile. *Phillip* being both a *Remora* and a *Whale*, could much more easily stop the course of this ship (partly interrupted before) and sinke it as hee did. A good opinion of ones owne strength if it be not matched with the undervaluing of anothers is commendable, and assists in enterprises, but where despisall entreth, there entreth presumption which doth subvert it. If *Bedford* erred not in this, all the evills which did derive from thence, ensued contrary to all rules.

The Bastard of *Orleans* had intelligence in Saint *Denis* with one

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Regnauld de St. *John*, a Gentleman borne in the Isle of *France*, who gave him notice how he might surprise it. Whereupon he sent Captaine *Deinville* with sufficient troopes thither, who scaled the walles by night and made himselfe master of it. A purchase of such consequence (as being upon the very gates of *Paris*) as it invited both sides, the one to keepe it, the other to recover it. The Bastard as soone as he was advertised of this, hasted thither together with the Marshall *Rochford*; but finding the Marshall *Rieux* there, & being certaine that the *English* would not faile to besiege it, he left him there, & went himselfe to raise men to succour it. *Monsieur de Flani*, Governour of *Campaigne* being come up unto him, with those of the County of *Valois*, to divert the enemy, hee tooke *Howdan*, *Pont de* St. *Mesense*, and *Meulan*; losses which were not sufficient to fetch the *English* thither; who having layd siege to St. *Denys*, under the command of the Lord *Talbot*, accompanied by *Monsieur de Lilliadam* and others. The Constable, the Count *Dunvoise*, *Monsieur de Loheac*, the Bastard of *Bourbon*, *Chabannes*, *Illiers*, *Termes*, *La Palliere*, *Mascaron*, *Binll*, who had all joyned themselves together to this purpose, durst not set upon him; so as Marshall *de Rieux*, (after having lost *Renauld de* St. *John*, who had betrayed the towne, and *Dianegius de Vaucourt*, who were both slaine, and those upon whom he did most rely) was inforced to yeeld up the towne, upon honorable conditions. The walls of the towne were beaten downe, unlesse it were on the side next the Abby, the Tower *de Veneno* being kept in its former being, under the custody of *Simon de Morior*, sonne to the Provost of *Paris*, with a proportionable number of *English* Souldiers under him.

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THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE CIVILL WARRES OF ENGLAND IN THE LIFE OF HENRY THE SIXTH.

THe commonly embraced opinion, that the World growes every day worſe and worſe, is prooved falſe, in that evils have the ſame viceſſitude amongſt men, as hath the Summer and Winter amongſt ſeaſons; with this difference notwithſtanding, that whereas the ſeaſons of the yeare are regulated by the certaine courſe of the Sunne, to the end that wee may bee prepared to receive the benefits thereof, the courſe of evils is uncertaine, to the end that being taken unawares, wee may receive the miſchiefe thereof: the former ordained by divine providence for our conſervation, the latter deſtined by heavens juſtice, for our puniſhment, warrs, and peace, health and diſeaſes, turbulent and quiet Spirits, have beene in all times ſo, as who will examine hiſtory will finde, that there is no evill in theſe preſent times, which hath not beene in former ages; The diſtinction of ages ciphered forth by the difference of gold and other metals are Poeticall inventions, meere dreames, there is no common wealth which had not ſundry times experimented this, who corrupteth good government, the Author of the golden age fals not into the loweſt ſtation of degrees, but head long tumbling from gold to lead without paſſage through the intermediums of ſilver and yron: Murther was found betweene the firſt Brothers, whileſt the World was yet in it ſwadling clout's, rapes, whoredom's inceſt's, and other worſer ſins, did with the ſwifteſt motion glyde into ſuch as deſcended from them: they were not borne, with us wee derive them from them. Warrs, inſolencies, and oppreſſions, did with the ſwifteſt motion paſſe to the laſt of ages from the firſt, ſo as the World if not in ſubſtance, may yet by accident be ſaid to be better, for being more equally divided, and the wayes of offence and defence growne generall, it fals out, that the progreſſe of violence waxing ſlower, ſome are quiet for that they know not how to diſquiet others, otherwiſe ſecond *Nimrods* would not bee wanting to ſucceed the firſt to the prejudice

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of mortalls, the goulden age cannot bee granted, unleſſe you will allow of naturall originall juſtice, which (at leaſt according to holy writ) was never found in any age, for this cauſe was it that civill conſtitutions were invented, diſcipline advanced, and commerce eſtabliſhed, to the end that people being kept in awe by the lawes, for feare of puniſhment, mens mindes amended by the uſe of arts and ſciences for the love of vertue, and allured to concord by reaſon of the commodity of traffique: Our age might rather bee thought the age of gold then the formerly pretended; ſince there are no more vices now, then have beene heretofore, and the extraordinary violences of thoſe former times doe ceaſe, ordinary ones not being to bee taken away, no more then are mens affections, for that nature cannot bee withſtood, and man is in the firſt ranck of fierce creatures, compoſed of ſenſes and inclinations little leſſe then like to them: and yet more harmefull, did not reaſon the mother of vertue prevaile in ſome of them, and feare the moderator of vices refraine the moſt of them.

The Kingdome of *France* was by the univerſall conſent of all, fallen into the yron age, and *England* though ſhee had the active part, yet the ſubject whereon ſhee had to worke being hard and apt to reſiſt, made her ſubject to repercuſſions, ſo as by doing miſchiefe, ſhee miſchieved her ſelfe, whileſt fortune uncertaine in her windeings, did by apparent dangers render the event ambiguous, to fight upon an others ground, was the advantage of the one, to fight favoured by the people the advantage of the other, their diſadvantages were equally divided, the one and the other did reciprocall dammages, ſo as the Chriſtian looker on could not but pitty them, and fervently deſire peace betweene them.

1435. Pope *Eugenius* the ſixth, was hee who did moſt of all deſire this, it behooved him to endeavour it, the title of univerſall Father, and the affaires of Chriſtendome enforced him to it, for Chriſtendome could hardly evade the ruine threatned her by the Turks, who having envaded *Europe* in the yeare 1363. after having taken *Philippopolis* and *Andrenopolis* in a few yeares had made themſelves Maſters of *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Valacchia*, and little leſſe then all *Slavonia*, and in the yeare 1412. *Mahomet* firſt having tranſported the regall ſeate from *Bruſia* in *Britinnia* to *Andrenopolis* in *Thracia* conquered *Macedonia* and extended his empire even to the *Jonique Sea:* hee left it to *Ammurath* the firſt with the ſame deſigne of the conqueſt of Chriſtendome a thing eaſily conceaved by a proude heart and not impoſſible to bee effected by a warlike Prince, whoſe power and fortune correſponding, it was not eaſily diſcerned whether were greater in him, and to thoſe who apprehended the danger they were a like terrifying, whereupon the Pope not knowing how to withſtand them, but by uniting the Chriſtian Princes, hee ſent the Cardinall *Santa Croce* to procure the agreement in the aſſembly, which was appointed at *Arra's*, the Councell aſſembled together at *Bazill*, did the like by the Cardinall *Cyprus* accompanied by many Prelates; *England* ſent thither the Cardinall of *Wincheſter*, the Archbiſhops of *Yorke*, the Earles of

Philippopolis, Andrenopolis. Servia, Bulgaria, Vallatchia. Di. Bittinia in Thracia. Di. Bruſia in Andrinopoli.

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Huntington and *Suffolke*, the Biſhops of *Norwich* St. *David* and *Liſieux*: *France* the Duke of *Burbone*, the Conſtable, the Count *Vandoſme*, the Archbiſhop of *Rheimes*, and many other of the Counſell: The Emperour, the Kings of *Cyprus*, *Portugall*, *Caſtaile*, *Scicily*, *Navarre*, *Polonia*, *Denmarke*, and the Dukes of *Brittany* and *Savoy*, ſent thither their Embaſſadours, though unrequeſted on *Henries* behalfe, the ſoveraigntie of *France* was demanded on *Charles*, that *Henry* ſhould renounce the title of the King of *France*, and that hee ſhould poſſeſſe *Normandy*, and whatſoever hee did poſſeſſe at the preſent in *Guienne* but this with homage, and under the ſoveraignty of *Charles*, and the Crowne of *France*; the juſt oppoſite to which each of them did pretend, ſo as the two Cardinalls perceiving no meanes how to agree them, nor how to make them lay downe their Armes: The *Engliſh* Embaſſadors departed, but *Philip* made an agreement, being come thither to that purpoſe, and the *French* with reſolution of giving him content; the articles were what ſatisfaction *Charles* ſhould give, for the death of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*. They conceived words that he ſhould ſay in his excuſe, puniſhments for as many as were thereof guilty, and preſent baniſhment for the abſent, either ſort of them to be named by *Philip*, a Church to be built in *Monberea*, and a Charter houſe with annuall meanes befitting the Church and veſtry, and livelihood for twelve Monkes and a ſuperior, 50000. Crownes for the jewels that were taken away from the dead Duke, and a reſervation for *Philip* to recover the reſt which were not named, more particularly the fleece eſteemed of a great value then followed the articles of ſuch places as were to be delivered up unto him, the Counties of *Maſcon Xaintonge* in inheritance to him and thoſe who ſhould deſcend from him, whether male or female, together with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging, juriſdictions, prerogatives, patronages by Law; nominating of offices, taxes, Magazines of ſalt, and other things of like nature. The City of *Auxerres*, and the precincts thereof, with all the above-ſaid preheminences, the juriſdiction of *Barr* upon the *Seine*, together with the Citie *Caſtell*, and all thereunto belonged, the Law patronage of the Church and Abby of *Luexeule*; pretended unto but never poſſeſſed by the Dukes of *Burgondy*, *Peronia*, *Mondedier*, *Rom*, and all Cities on either ſide the *Soane*, Saint *Quintine*, *Corbie*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville*; the county of *Pontian*, *Dourlens San Requior Creuxcore*, *Arleux Montague*, and all the other places belonging as properly to the Crowne of *France*, as thoſe pretended unto by the Emperour in *Artois* and *Hamault*. *Charles* reſerving nothing to himſelfe but homage and ſoverainty with this condition, that all that were named with *Perone*, and after *Perone* ſhould bee underſtood as ranſomable for 400000. Crownes, which was afterwards in the time of *Lewis* the eleventh one of the cauſes of his diſtaſt with Duke *Charles*, who was ſonne to *Philip*, and did ſucceed him: To theſe were added the counties of *Guiennes*, *Bolognia*, and *Burgony* for him and his heires male, free from fealtie, homage, or ſervice; the like was to be underſtood of all the other townes of importance of the crowne, which for the preſent or for the time to come, were to fall to him by inheritance

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Maſcone.

Impatronato La Caſtellania.

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inheritance, or ſucceſſion during his life, after which the ſoveraignrie ſhould returne unto the King, and their ſubjection unto his heire, according to the ſeverall nature of their entailers: And in caſe the *Engliſh* ſhould wage warre with him, *Charles* was obliged to aſſiſt him by ſea and land, as in his owne particular cauſe, nor was hee to make peace with them, unleſſe he therein comprehended him; and that if *Charles* ſhould breake this agreement, his ſubjects ſhould not bee bound to obey him, but being freed from all oathes, they ſhould obey and ſerve him againſt *Charles* himſelfe. Laſtly, that *Charles* Count *Caralois* ſonne to *Philip* ſhould marry *Katherine* King *Charles* his third daughter, and have with her in portion 120000. crownes, a marriage which was not conſummated till about foure yeares after, by reaſon of both their tender yeares, for when ſhee died, eleven yeares after this leaving no children behind her, ſhee was not above eighteene yeares old. This was the rate which *Charles* bought *Philips* friendſhip, a bargaine very advantagious to him, notwithſtanding all 'its diſadvantages, for his friendſhip was not to bee bought at too great a rate, ſince being freed from the *Engliſh* and his kingdome reſtored; his ſonne *Lewis* recovered what hee with an opportune incommodity had alienated, the which if the *Engliſh* had in any ſort imitated, they had not loſt *France*, for *Philip* was their onely Piller whereupon their Fabricke was to relie, but truſting more upon their owne forces then was convenient, and being more jealous of him then they ought to have beene, they ſeconded their hatred, whilſt anger harmefull in government, for want of requiſite diſſimulation, cauſeth irreperable ruine, wherein if any one ſhall thinke that I contradict my ſelfe, ſince I have elſe-where beene of another opinion, he will be of another mind, if hee conſider when I treated thereof, it was touching the legallity thereof, where now 'tis touching the expediency by which humane actions ought chiefly to bee regulated.

Philip ſent a King at Armes to give an account of this peace in *England*, changing the wonted ſtile in his letter which hee ſent to *Henry*, for whereas before he ſtiled the King of *France* and *England* his Lord and maſter, in theſe he termed him onely King of *England*, his welbeloved Couſin. The contents thereof was, that being overcome by entreaties of the Pope, of the Fathers of the Counſell of *Bazille*, & of all the Princes of Chriſtendome, hee had made peace with *Charles* to ſhun the being thought cruell and implacable, he deſired him likewiſe to do the like, to the end he might be numbred amongſt the authors of publike tranquillitie, offering to ſerve him therein. The Embaſſadour was not permitted to ſee the King, but ſent backe without any letters, what could be ſaid to the greateſt enemy, was ſaid to him by word of mouth; wherein they forbeared not to call *Philip* perjured traitour, and this newes being divulged in the Citie, the people not able to revenge themſelves of *Philip*, vented their fury upon his ſubjects, who for traffique ſake had their abodes in *London*, they ſlew many of them, and would have ſlaine them all, had not the Kings Proclamations withheld them. But thoſe who were moſt rationall

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and who had not imbrued their hands in the blood of theſe innocents, accuſed by *Philip* of hipocriſie in that hee made a ſcruple to make the peace, as having ſworne to obey *Henry* as his King, but yet did it when he had received abſolution from the Legat, which was a tacite kind of judgement, which ought not to be made when both parties are not heard. An oath is not ſubject to abſolution, if there bee nothing of evill therein, no evill was in his oath ſince *Henry* was not declared, nor was not to be declared an uſurper, ſave by the reall evidence of a Salique Law. They did not accuſe the Legats authoritie but his act, the which though it were excuſable, the end thereof being good, yet give it for granted, that the evill thereof were pardonable, in reſpect of the good that was thence expected, what good was there to be hoped for, whilſt the Swords of ſuch Princes were yet wreaking with blood; for *France* and *Burgondy* being accorded, and *England* excluded out of the agreement, ſhee was thereby endangered as inferiour in Forces, in other too lately united to her deſtructions. But none underſtood this buſineſſe better then *Philip*, nor did better make it conduce to his owne ends; for being ſcandalized with his fathers death, he ſided with the *Engliſh*; violated the pretended ſalique Law, bereft *Charles* of his Crowne and Inheritance and gave it to *England*, hoping that the government ſhould be conditionall in her, abſolute in him; and if it be ſayd, that if he had had any ſuch deſigne, hee would not have refuſed the Regency when it was offered him. I anſwer that he refuſed it out of ſingular wiſedome, for that being come newly to his eſtate, and finding the people of *Flanders* contumatious hee would have increaſed their forwardneſſe by living farre from them; beſides the danger that his command was likely either to cauſe a breach betweene him and the *Engliſh*, who would not be ſatisfied with his ſuperioritie, or elſe cooleneſſe in the adminiſtration of ſuccour, which would not fall out under the authoritie of one of their owne Princes of fortune; for that diſtracted by the regency of *France*, hee could not have made thoſe accuſations which hee did, finding himſelfe afterwards deceived in his firſt hopes, that the *Engliſh* would have beene governed at his pleaſure, (*Bedford* having alwayes commanded by his owne particuler authority) and having ſo farre revenged himſelfe of *Charles* as that his anger grew now to be ſomewhat appeaſed, diſtaſted by *Bedford*, and growne greater elſe-where; hee changed his purpoſe, hee choſe that King which hee had rejected, and rejected that King which hee had choſen: So as after the death of 300000. men who all dyed in this quarrell, after the deſtruction of ſo many Cities, hee made peace gaining thereby that which he could never have pretended to, much leſſe have had from the *Engliſh*, one onely thing did not ſucceed unto him, neither did it much import him, that as by the degrading of *Charles* and promoting of *Henry* the fifth, hee added nothing to the claime of *England* (whoſe pretenſions were not grounded upon ſuch foundations) ſo by revoking what hee had done, and gaineſaying himſelfe, he brought no prejudice at all thereunto for what remaines: he was a Prince worthy of the *Cognomen* that was given him of God;

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if you will pardon this preſent affaire and that of his coſen *Giacholina* Counteſſe of *Bavaria*, *Philip* did like unto Rivers overgorged with raine, which when floods of waters ceaſe returne to their former channell, when his deſire of revenge ceaſed hee forſooke the *Engliſh*, and returned unto his owne proper nation and blood, and as hee might have done better had hee not violated his plighted faith, ſo if he had not plighted it, his vertue had beene the greater; but to commit errours being a thing common, ſince there is none that doth not doe amiſſe, not to out doe others in miſchiefe is almoſt a ſpecies of vertue.

The Duke of *Bedford* dyed 7. dayes before the peace concluded by *Philip*, the one happening the 14. the other ſubſcribed the 21. of *September*: but by him foreſeene long before, I will not ſay, that his foreſeene peace was his death; but that it was in part a cauſe thereof may probably bee conjectured; Generous hearts uſe to bee undaunted in danger, but in the change of fortune, if they bee not accumulated by adverſity, they are macerated by vexation: his death is to bee numbred amongſt the chiefeſt cauſes of the loſſe of *France*, hee was a wiſe and prudent Prince, of long experience in armes and governement, inferiour to no Commander in his time, hee was obeyed by his owne, feared by his enemies, in ſo much as *Lewis* the eleventh being many yeares after in the Church of *Noſtre-Dame* at *Roan* where *Bedford* is buried, and being told by ſome as hee was looking upon his Tombe, that that ſumptuous memoriall was a great ſhame to *France*, ſince it had bin by him ſo much endamaged, that therefore it ſhould bee defaced, and his bones throwne out, hee nobly anſwered, that it would bee a greater ſhame to *France* to ſhew her ſelfe cruell to his bones, who whileſt hee was alive none durſt oppoſe; that hee was ſorry, that the memoriall was no more ſtately, and that none was to bee found anſwerable to ſo great a worth; none of the Sonnes of *Henry* the fourth did degenerate: a thing not uſuall in ſo large a family. *Henry* the fifth dyed gloriouſly in the purſuite of his conqueſts, the Duke of *Clarence* valiantly fighting, and though *Bedford* of a naturall death, and *Gloſter* of a violent, yet dyed they not with leſſe fame then did the others: ſo as nature having done her utmoſt in them, if ſhee failed in the preſent *Henry*, it is not to bee wondered at, for having clade him with a rich ſhirt of goodnes, ſhee was ſcant unto him in an upper roabe of reall vertues, and of fortune; *Bedford* being dead, a new choiſe was made of, who ſhould ſucceed him, of two that pretended thereunto the Duke of *Yorke* bore away the bell, whereat the Duke of *Somerſet* was ſcandalized, who being the Kings couſen thought to have beene preferred before him, but the councell was of an other opinion; *Yorkes* true pretences unto the Crowne though at that time not ſpoken of, was perhaps the cauſe why they would not diſcontent him, *Somerſet* finding no other remedy endeavoured the hindring of his diſpatch to the common loſſes, for *Paris* and the chiefeſt places which the *Engliſh* held in *France*, were in this interm loſt which would not have hapned, if hee had had his diſpatch time enough. Diſadvantages which infant Kings are uſually ſubject unto, who governed by many

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Parteggiati.

many and ſhared by the emulation of great ones: cannot favour private intereſts without diſfavouring the publique to the ruine of King and Kingdome. *Yorke* ſeemed not to take notice of theſe practiſes, a diſſimulation which cauſed an inward impoſtumation in him, wherewith *Somerſet* being afterwards infected, it in a few yeares after brought them both to immature end.

In the ſame month of *September*, Queene *Iſabell* mother to *Charles* King of *France*, and *Katharine* Queene of *England*, dyed in *Paris*, ſhee was buried by the ſide of her husband in Saint *Denis* without any funerall pompe, the times not ſuting with ſuch like ſolemnities; ſhee lived not much eſteemed of by any: no not by the *Engliſh* which made them undergoe the imputation of ingratitude though without reaſon, ſince nature hath endued us with a ſecret not well underſtood, light which cleer's unto us all ambiguities, ſo as the imagined good, which is not, is, will wee, nill wee, not taken by us for good: No man denies, but that ingratitude is of all vices the moſt abominable; but neither is it to bee denyed that benefits ſprung from charity or any other ſpecies of courteſie and love, not from oſtentation or intereſt are thoſe alone which denominate an ungratefull perſon: *Iſabels* good turn's had their riſe from ſelfe intereſt, if ſhee ſided with the *Engliſh* 'twas to ſide againſt her ſonne, ſhee favored them not as friends, but as inſtruments of her revenge: her daughters marriage was from the like cauſe, ſhee loved her as having beene her companion in her misfortunes, but tis not likely, ſhee would ever have ſought her advantage to the injury of *Charles*, had ſhee not hated him; ſhee confounded the World, ruinated her Kingdome, diſinherited her owne bloud: and out of diſpight, not any inclination, favored the enemy; ſo as if the *Engliſh* ſeemed not to bee over gratefull to her, it was becauſe her benefits were none of thoſe which conduce to gratitude.

The rebellion of *Normandy* was one of the firſt evill effects cauſed by the death of the Duke of *Bedford*, for ſeeing herſelfe freed from that chaine which held her in obedience to *England*, ſhee gave her ſelfe up unto the *French*. *Charles de Mareſt* accompanied by the *Mariſhall de Rieux*, *Meßieurs de Bonſack*, and *Longaville*, two houres before day ſcalled the Walles of *Diepe*, neere to the Gate and met with no oppoſition by reaſon of the intelligence, they held within the Towne; hee had the like ſucceſſe in forcing open the Gate which leads to *Roan*, through which the *Mariſhall* and all his People being entered, hee made a ſtand in the market place, crying out according to the military cuſtome of *France*, the City is taken, theſe acclamations awakened thoſe who ſlept, who with ſtones and dartes made ſome ſhort defence, but they were forced to give way to the laſt commers, there were but few that were ſlaine. The Lieutenant *Mortimer* with ſome few others ſaved himſelfe, the reſt remained priſoners together with ſuch Citizens, as had almoſt affectionately favored the *Engliſh*: their goods were ranſackt, but not theirs who were willing to receive the oath; upon the newes of this acquiſition, *Anthoni de Chabanes Semraglie*, *Eſtouteville* and many other Lords, with betweene

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three and foure thousand horse came thither, to whom one *Kernier* a leader of the common People followed by 6000. of the Country-people, joyned himselfe and all of them did willingly take the oath: being marched forth into the field with these and many other Gentlemen of the Country which daily flockt unto him, *Fescan* yeelded it selfe up unto him on Christmas eve, and on Saint *Stephens-day*, *Monsieur Villiers* the *Gnascoigne* Captain who commanded there having revolted; hee assaulted *Harfluer* but being beaten back and forty of his men slaine, whilest hee put himselfe in order for a second assault, the Inhabitants capitulated to surrender up the Towne, upon condition, that the *English* garrison which consisted of 400. men, should be suffered to depart peaceably with all their goods; *Beccrespin Tancharville: Gomessenle, Loges, Vallemont, Graville, Longerville, Neneville, Lambraville*, and other Townes did the like. Upon this flood of fortune, the constable *Richmont* arrived, to whom *Carles, Mesull, Aumerle*, and many other Townes yeelded themselves; all which having Garrisons put into them, he with-drew himselfe for want of victualls, the rest doing the like. So as in a short time, *Normandy* was dismembred of the greatest part of the Country of *Caux*; the *English* were not now to defend themselves against one onely enemy; The treaty at *Arras* as pointed out unto them, a second (*viz.*) *Philip* and though warre was not yet declared betweene them, they forbare not to bethinke themselves how they might prejudice each other, the Garrisons of *Callais* and the adjacent parts had a designe upon *Ardres*, and those *Burgonians* which were in the Country of *Pontean*; upon *Crui* designes wherein they both failed. The low Countries were not well pleased with this Breach, for the losse they thereby received by want of commerce, having acquainted *Philip* with the importancy hereof, they prevailed so farre with him as to permit them, endeavour the continuation of peace: *John* of *Luxenburg* Count *de Ligni* (who had not yet revolted from the *English*) was thought fittest for this imployment, hee writ hereof to his Brother, the Archbishop of *Roan* one of *Henries* chiefest Counsellors in *France*, who writ over into *England*, where the proposition being entertained hee acquainted his Brother there withall, and his Brother *Philip*: much of hostility ensued this meane while, whereat *Philip* being offended, and much more that *Henry* had written to the *Hollanders*; Profering them the continuance of his friendship (as if hee had done it to seduce his subjects from him) hee went from his word, and told *Ligni*, that hee would have no longer peace with the *English*, since they had much defamed him in his honour, that they had beaten his people upon the confines of *Flanders*, endeavoured to surprise *Ardres*, sent Ambassadours to the Emperour to provoke his Imperiall Majesty against him, sought to seduce his subjects, and done other things not to bee passed over without resentment, and not herewithall contended, hee writ to *Henry* repeating over the same things, and denouncing warre unto him; *Henry* writ likewise to him saying, that it was himselfe, not hee that had defamed him, by his perjury, by his violation of their confederacy, and by his having made that peace which neither of them with-

without the others conſent could make, for what remaines that hee had beaten his ſubjects, for that he found him in a readineſſe to beate his; that his offering at *Ardreas* was no more then what *Philip* had done at *Crotoy*, that the inſtructions hee had given his Embaſſadours, ſent unto the Emperour did convince this calumny; that he had much more reaſon to complaine of him, who contrary to the Lawes of nations had taken the ſaid Embaſſadours priſoners before any declaration of warre, that he had not ſeduced his vaſſalls as his letters could teſtifie, that he had indeavoured the continuance of the commerce which in his name was propounded unto him, and whereby advantage was to redound to both nations. *Henry the 6.*

After theſe complaints *Philip* reſolved to begin the warre by beſieging *Callais*, a Fort which hee pretended did belong to him as a member of *Artois*; the which if he could take would redound much to the prejudice of the *Engliſh*, and much to his advantage ſince thereby hee ſhould ſecure *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Picardy*, and the country about *Bullen*; hee had ſeverall councells concerning this, for it was not to be undertaken without extraordinary Forces; the enterpriſe was difficult, and not to be undertaken without ſollid foundations, hee could not hope much from *Charles*, he was ſufficiently buſied for himſelfe: He bethought himſelfe that if the *Flemmings* and *Hollanders* his ſubjects would aſſiſt him their Forces would be ſufficient: he went with this deſigne to *Gaunt*, he aſſembled all the Magiſtracy, of whom hee obtained what he deſired, and when this reſolution was publiſhed throughout all *Flanders*, inſtead of being diſpleaſed thereat (as done by the private authority of thoſe of *Gaunt*, without the accuſtomed votes of the other members of that Province) they all confirmed it, thinking the time of putting it in execution too long. They thought *Callais* could not reſiſt their Forces, in imagination they had already taken it, ſackt it, incorporated it into *Artois*, and they themſelves returned home enricht, reputed of, and feared by all men. The *Hollanders* though not ſo entirely as thoſe of *Flanders*, did likewiſe ſatisfie their Prince in his deſire, who went himſelfe in perſon to intreat them: So as whilſt on this ſide, preparations are made for a new warre, the former of *France* grew more exaſperate. *La Hire* who was perſwaded, he could ſurpriſe *Roan* by reaſon of the intelligence hee held therein, failing in his deſigne retired to *Rey*; a good great village to refreſh himſelfe and his men; where hee was ſet upon by Sir *Thomas Terill* and wounded, but eſcaped away having loſt ſome of his men: *Monſieur de Fountaines* and 60. more being taken priſoners, and moſt of his horſe loſt; his horſemen who had not leaſure to get on horſebacke ſaved themſelves in the neighbouring wood: The Conſtable met not with the like misfortune at *Paris*; for being certified by *Monſieur Lilliadam* (who had betaken himſelfe to *Charles* his party at the ſame time that *Philip* did) That thoſe who tooke part with *Burgundy* in that Citie would be favourable unto him, hee marched from *Pontoſa*, accompanied by the Baſtard of *Orleans*, *Meſſieurs de La Roche*, *de Fernant* and others, with 6000. Souldiers to diſcover what might be hoped for out of the inclination of the Inhabitants. But finding

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no alteration at his appearing (for they were kept in a we by the vigillancy of the rulers, and the Garrisons force) hee lodged himselfe at *Mommartres*, and went the next day to Saint *Dennis*. There was in that Towne a Garrison of 400. *English*, the place was void of defence, wholly dismantled, save towards the Abbies side, as hath beene said. These notwithstanding withstood a powerfull assault, wherein 200. being slaine, the rest retired themselves into the Abby and Tower, where being besieged, and without hope of succour they yeelded themselves, the *English* their lives saved, the *French* upon discretion. The Lord *Beaumont* was not long before come from *Normandy* to *Paris* with 600. men, he resolved to march out with these (not knowing of the losse of Saint *Dennis*) to watch the Constables wayes, but being by him discovered and surprised, whilst hee valiantly defended himselfe he was taken prisoner, together with 80 more: 300. of his men were slaine, the rest saved themselves by flight, being pursued and beaten to under the very walls of *Paris*. An inconvenience which lost the Citie; for those who tooke part with *Philip*, expecting onely an occasion of revolt. This losse of the Lord *Beaumonts* who held them in awe was the happiest thing they could desire. They advertised *Monsieur de Lilliadam* hereof, desiring a generall pardon for all their past disobedience and rebellion: the which when he had communicated to the Constable, hee came before the towne with all his Forces; the chiefe of the *English* party besides the Lord *Willoughby* were the Bishops of *Tarrovan*, *Lisieux* and *Meaux*: who perceiving an open insurrection, thought to make sure St. *Dennis* gate, but finding the streets chained, they themselves beaten with Stones and Arrowes from the windowes, and driven from one street to another, they and their men retired themselves into the streete of Saint *Antonia*, where they were safe under the Cannon of the *Basteile*, the which they furnished with victualls and munition the best they could in so short a time. The Constable this meane while being come to the Port of Saint *Jaques*, *Monsieur de Lillidam* presenting himselfe before the walls shewed them their pardon under the great seale, perswading them to obedience, and to open the gates unto the Constable, to the which they all assenting *Lillidam* and the Bastard of *Orleans* not waiting for the opening of the gates, scaled the walls and were followed by a great many Souldiers, to whom the *Burgonians* and a great many of the people having joyned themselves, crying peace, peace; long live King *Charles*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, they threw open the gate, by the which the Constable entred, marching straight towards the *Basteile*, under the which the *English* had retired themselves. They made some resistance though but for a small time, their numbers not being able to withstand the great Forces of the Constable and people; so as some of them being slaine and the rest retired into the *Bastaile*, they were beset with *Corps de Guard* in such places as were least to be annoyed by the Artillery, in so much as being blockt up on all sides, this their retreate served onely for their recapitulation, which is no small advantage in such a case; the goods they had left in the Citie were seised on and shared; the Bishop of

Terrovan

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Terrovan, to boote with his other houſhold implements, part of which hee afterwards recovered by the favour of *Meſſieurs de Trenant*, and *Lalaigne* loſt the richeſt adornements of his Chappell; the goods of ſuch Citizens as had ſided with the enemy were confiſcated; the antient Officers caſhiered, and new ones put in their places, and the beſieged not able to hold out, and not likely to bee ſuccoured, after tenne dayes came forth their good and lives ſaved; and with a ſafe conduct from the Conſtable, retired themſelves to *Roan*. Thus *Paris* returned to its former government, ſixteene years after that the Duke of *Clarence* had placed a Garriſon there in the behalfe of his brother *Henry* the fifth. This and ſome other loſſes had rather madded them then mated the *Engliſh*. The Garriſon of *Callais* went to *Bullen*, and had almoſt taken that part which is called the lower *Bullen*. But Fortreſſes are taken by great Forces, not great anger, having burnt many of the ſhipps which lay in the Haven, they paſſed into the precincts of *Gravelline*, where deſtroying all the country, they gave a furious allarum to the common people, who having taken Armes ran to oppoſe them, but as it is uſuall to homebred people to preſume much and performe little, they were rooted, 400. of them ſlaine, 120. taken priſoners, the reſt eſcaping whither they could, whilſt the *Engliſh* leading away their pray and priſoners retired themſelves to their Garriſons; on the other ſide ſome of the inhabitants of *Giſores* were corrupted by *La Hire* to permit him entry in to the City, ſo as comming with great forces from *Gerbery* hee entered in, and laid ſiege to the Caſtle wherein the Garriſon had ſaved themſelves, and given notice hereof to *Roan*, ſo as whileſt the oppugners and defendors were in their chiefeſt heate, the Lord *Talbot* came thither with the Lord *Scales* and 1800. Souldiers werewithall he freed the Caſtle, recovered the Citie chaſed the enemy away, and puniſht the traytors. At this time the Duke of *Yorke* came from *England* to *Normandy*, bringing along with him 8000. Souldiers, with which if hee had bin diſpatcht away when he ought to have beene, the Country of *Cauxe* had not beene loſt, and much leſſe *Paris*. The Duke of *Summerſets* envy the cauſe of ſo great loſſe was not puniſhed, for that hidden miſchiefes are not ſubject to puniſhments, or for that the faults of great delinquents are not without great danger taken notice of.

Monſieur de Croy, Bayliffe of *Hannault* had at this time gathered together 1500. Souldiers under the conduct of *Meſſieurs de Vaurin Noyrule*, *Sananſes*, and other remarkeable commanders with intention by way of *Præludium* to the ſiege of *Callais*, to runne the country round about it. The Garriſons of *Callais*, *Guines*, and other neigbouring places fall upon the ſame deſigne, who the ſame night were gathered together to the number of 2000. to ſacke the country about *Bullen*, ſo as the *Burgonians* had advanced themſelves but one houre ſooner, they had met with their Scouts who they deſcryed by breake of day upon the paſſage over the bridge of *Millay*, *Croy* having adviſed what was to bee done reſolved to ſet upon them whilſt in diſorder they ſhould be pillaging the country, and though hee could not take them at unawares, yet howſoever to give them battell hee devided his men

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men into two ſquadrons, himſelfe following the *Engliſh* with the former, having for his guide the ſmoke of ſuch houſes and villages as they burnt. The *Engliſh* had notice of his comming from *Some*, who at the ſame time they had taken priſoners, ſo as having there forraging thoſe who were neareſt him united themſelves together, and placed themſelves upon the top of a little hill, where being by him diſcovered, but not the reſt that marched after, he ſet upon them not expecting the arrivall of his ſecond Squadron, and finding them in diſorder, and but a few in number, and the firſt incounter he ſlew betweene three and foureſcore of them, the reſt fled to their companions and were purſued by the victorious. But when they perceived a ſecond Troope, they made a ſtop, expecting the arrivall of their ſecond Squadron, and wavering in their reſolution of fighting, they encouraged one another, to what none of them had any minde. The *Engliſh* this meane while having reordered themſelves, ſet furiouſly upon them; the Bickering was not long, and the formerly victorious making very little reſiſtance were driven even to underneath the walls of *Ardreſſe*, the number both of ſlaine and priſoners did not exceede 100. for ſurpriſed by feare they betooke themſelves rather to flight then fight. *Decroy* was wounded and his horſe ſlaine under him, but he had the good fortune to recover another, and was more vext at the manner of his loſſe, then at the loſſe it ſelfe; which might be counterpoiſed by his former encounter. The victualls returned with their priſoners to *Callais*, and were met by the Earle of *Mortaigne*, ſonne to the Duke of *Sommerſet*, who was ſent thither with 1500. men to oppoſe *Philips* deſignes, who if hee had undertaken this enterpriſe with men taken into pay, and not with the common people of *Flanders* (who will be entreated and not commanded by their Princes) hee would either have reaped more advantage thereby, or leſſer ſhame had he gathered together ſo many men, as thinking the number ſuperfluous he diſmiſt the greateſt part of them; the number of thoſe who remained amounting to 40000. An Army which if conſidered in its number, richneſſe of apparell, ſplendor of Armes, quantity of Artillery, Pride of Pavillions, and infinite number of Carriages, fit to conquer a whole nation, not a ſingle towne; but wee are deceived in nothing more then in a good opinion wee hold of our ſelves. The people of *Gaunt* thought that the walls of *Callais*, ought to have fallen downe at their appearing, as did the walls of *Jericho*, when the *Iſraelites* appeared. They were troubled that the ſhips came no ſooner from *Holland*, fearing leaſt the *Engliſh* having the Sea open, ſhould leave the towne empty and fly away to *England*; they thought that being terrible to their owne Princes at home, they ſhould bee the like abroad to all the world, and growing inſupportable by reaſon of this confidence they became odious to all men, before they came from *Flanders*, they cauſed two Mills belonging to two particuler men to be beaten downe; imputing the late loſſe of the *Flemings* before the *Graveline* to them, neither durſt *Philip* contradict them herein, nor would they be ſatisfied with any reaſon when they had paſſed the water at *Graveline* and were entred into the enemies land, they

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pitched themselves before *Oye*. A small Fort the which yeelded upon discretion, the which they so indiscreetly made use of, as contrary to all reason of warre, they forthwith caused 29. of the Garrison to bee hanged, and 25. more afterwards, and would have served all the rest alike, had not the Duke interceeded: they burnt, defaced, and to the very foundations thereof wholly threw downe the Castle: to the end, that the Ashes thereof might shew the extent of a *Plebaan* power, such as appertained to *Philip* were not suffered to make booties, for if they made any they were forthwith taken from them, and if they resisted, beaten, being come to the Castle Saint *Marck*: within sight of *Callais* they had it at a dearer penny-worth, for it defended it selfe and slew many of them, but not able to hold out, after having sounded the Bels and hung out collours, to bee succoured from *Callais*, which was impossible; it yeelded upon condition not to bee treated, as was *Oye*; so as 24. Souldiers (for they were no more) being led by the 24. divisions of *Flanders* to the Tents of *Gaunt*, they were sent prisoners to *Gaunt* to bee exchanged for such of theirs as were already taken or were to bee taken, those who entered the Castle having sackt it, returned joyfull with their pray, when at the Gate they found some of the chiefe of *Gaunt* who tooke it from them, saying they did it by the direction of the Magistrate of *Gaunt*, but this not being true, they who had converted the spoiles of others to their owne use were banished, which caused so great an alteration as they had well nigh gone together by the Eares, justice not having sufficient force against the uniust power tyrannically usurped by the armed avarice of the most feared. *Henry the 6.*

At last, *Callais* was by them beguirt, and *Philip* lodged towards the Sea side, divers skirmishes were there made, the *English* sallying forth, that those of *Gaunt* might bee deceived in their flight, many were wounded, many were slaine on both sides, amongst the wounded, *La Hira* made one, who being come to visite the Duke drawne thereunto by the name of so glorious an army, was shot in the leg, and *Philip* whilest hee went about to spie the scituation of the Castle, a Canon shot slew his trumpeter and three horses, which were neerest unto him, upon one of the which was *Monsieur de Savances*. *Monstrelet* describing this siedge, praiseth the valour of the Piccards, but as for the *Dutch* hee saith, that the *English* made little account of them, and that if it had come to a joynt Battell they would have beene content to have had 3. *Dutch* for one *English*, and yet would have come off with honour: *Philip* thought good, that whilest hee was besiedging *Callais*, *John de Croy* should besiedge *Guiennes*, wherein fortune favored him with victory though exclusively; For *Sangatte* having yeelded to *Robert de Saneuces* under his conduct, and those of *Guines* being necessitated to forsake the Towne, and retire themselves into the Castle, hee could not for all the aforesaid good luck compasse the getting of it. All this while, the Fleet from *Holland* and *Zealand* appeared not, whereat *Philip* was much troubled, and those of *Gaunt* murmured at it, as if the sailing of ships like the running a cariere with

Il trombetta.

Sangatte.

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with horſes depended upon mans will, on the contrary, the *Engliſh* Ships came to anchor, loaded with men, munition, and victualls, ſo as bluſhing at their beliefe, that thoſe who were there would have fled, ſince they ſawe others come voluntarily to runne the ſame hazard, they knew not what to ſay: they thought themſelves betrayed; *Philip* by his Adviſers, and they by the *Hollanders* being too late aware, that it was impoſſible to take *Callais*, ſo eaſily as they had imagined without the Maſterſhip at Sea, or hinderance of daily ſuccour; the beſieged having put their Cattell to graſſe without the Walls, they would not have dared lay hands on them had not the Piccards encouraged thereunto, by having cunningly got ſome of them, but whileſt 200. of them undertooke the enterpriſe, 22. of them were ſlaine, 33. taken priſoners, and the reſt eſcaping by flight thought themſelves never a whit the worſe men: but accounted it a peece of bravery to have eſcaped, every whiſper affrighted them; and every motion made them give Allarum's, all which were punyards which wounded *Philip*, to whom whileſt hee was thus agitated; *Pembrooke* an *Herauld* of the Duke of *Gloceſters* preſented himſelfe, letting him know; that the Duke his Maſter intended to come and fight with him, in that very place if hee would tarry for him, and if not hee would finde him out in his owne Dominions: that hee could not prefixe a ſet day as willingly, hee would have done, becauſe his occaſions depended upon the *Seas* and *Wynd*, which were uncertaine and unconſtant; *Philip* replied that the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſhould not need to ſeeke him forth elſe-where, for hee would find him out where hee now was, if God ſhould not diſpoſe otherwiſe of him, then cauſing the *Herauld* to bee fairely treated, hee diſmiſſed him giving him a goblet, and an hundred peeces of gold, *Philip* went then to the Tent of *Gaunt* (wherein all reſolutions were made his owne not having that prerogative) were ſum-moning together: all the *Flemiſh* Commanders and Cavalliers, hee made one of his Councellors acquaint them with *Gloceſters* Embaſſie and his anſwer which his reputation did oblige him unto, entreating them for his honour and their owne, not to deſert him but to ſerve manfully upon this occaſion, noe man oppoſed, all were forward in their promiſes, but every little pretence wherein honour did not predominate, did alwayes break what every obligatory promiſe. There ſtood a little Hill not farre from *Callais*, which being fortified was not onely likely to prejudice the Fort, but from thence might bee diſcovered whatſoever was therein done. To this purpoſe, *Philip* cauſed a Fort to bee built there, of oake and other wood in all haſt guarding it with Artillery, and placing therein a Garriſon of thoſe of *Gaunt* commanded by brave Captains, a buſines which the *Engliſh* did not very well like of, and though they uſed all the meanes they could to winne it 'twas but in vaine for the greateſt part of all the campe flocked thither to repell them, at laſt came the Holland-fleet upon the 25. of *July*, which had brought along with it ſix Ships loaden with great ſtones which were all ſunck, the next night at full *Sea* in the Mouth of the haven, though the beſieged did what they could to hinder them,

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but the *Hollanders* were mightily deceived, for they had not ſuncke them in the right mouth of the Channell, ſo as at the ebb they appeared above the ſands, it being eaſie for thoſe of the Towne (who ran thither in troopes, man woman and child) to free themſelves thereof, by burning ſome of them, and carrying the reſt together with the ſtones into the Citie, though the Canon plaid upon them from the Fleet. This bad ſucceſſe cooled the little heate which yet remained in the beſiegers, but they were conjealed to yce: when the *Hollanders* without any notice given or leave taken, waighed anchor and hoized ſaile, ſteering their courſe homewards, two dayes after their firſt arrivall. The reaſons which they afterwards alleadged, for this were the hazard their Ships were in, by reaſon of the narrownes of the variable *Sea*, betweene the two points of *Dover* and *Callais*, and the danger they were to run of the Engliſh-fleet, to the which they were inferiour, both in quality, number of Ships, and Souldiers; tis incredible to ſay, how mad thoſe of *Gaunt* were at this, they ſaid they were promiſed, that *Callais* ſhould bee beſiedged by Sea and Land, that *Philip* was abuſed by ſuch as governed him, and they by him, they had ill favoredly handled *Monſieur de Croy*, and three others that were with him, had they not retired themſelves to *John de Croy's* campe underneath *Guines*, they affirmed theſe things not for that they beleeved them to bee ſo, but to cancell their owne defaults with other mens incke, to the end that their hatched mutiny (a naturall defect in them) might bee thought reaſonable, the Adviſers thereunto to bee judged indiſcreet, not traytors, whileſt their bad Councell proceeds not from malice, the execution depending upon the Arbitrement of a judicious Prince, if ſuch a one hee bee, if not, the fault is to bee ſhared betweene them. Mallice ſubject to the puniſhment of law, under the deſerved title of treaſon, indiſcretion to the puniſhments of ſhame and repentance, not but that there may bee ſome advices wherein imprudency may not bee puniſhable, but this was none of thoſe: if the Adviſors had equally conſidered, the profit and the difficulty, they had not erred; but their confidence in the one, would not ſuffer the other to bee ſeene. All great actions proceed from bold and hazardous Councels, which are eſteemed good if the ſucceſſe bee good; if bad indiſcreet and raſh, the going away of the *Hollanders* might ſuffer excuſe for their defeat which would have beene certaine, bore along with it, the Princes undoubted prejudice, they errd in departing without leave, but it was a diſcreet errour, for had they deſired it, it would not have beene granted, if thoſe of *Gaunt* had had a like courage to thoſe of *Brugus* who would not conſent to bee gone, had they had patience to expect *Gloceſter*, and valour to overcome him; the Adviſors would have beene thought wiſe, and the *Hollanders* faithfull. Treaſon is not a caſuall but a voluntary act forethought on, to the prejudice of the Maſter, and advantadge of the enemy, conditions which were not found in any of the forenamed, thoſe of *Gaunt* were they alone who were in fault, ſince their Prince undertooke this ſiedge upon the promiſe of their aſſiſtance, and yet they failed him to the prejudice of the undertaking, and loſſe of

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his honour, for the which they ſhould have hazarded all, ſince hee hazarded his life, for fortune might bereave of victory, not of honour, which was not to bee bereft, but through their baſenes and default. After *Philip* had received the Ambaſſy from *Gloceſter*, hee had ſent to levy new Forces out of *Picardy*, *Artois*, and *Hannault*, and calling the chiefeſt of the army together, hee found them all as formerly willing and ready, but the common people wholly altered, for thoſe of *Callais* had ſallyed forth in great numbers, the foot to win the fort, the horſe to kepe it from being ſuccoured, ſo as with very little difficulty they wonne it, burnt it, and of 400. that were there, they ſlew a 160. and tooke the greateſt part of the reſt priſoners, but ſlaine before they came to *Callais* to revenge the death of an *Engliſh* Gentleman, who being taken by the *Picardes* was forthwith ſlaine in the middeſt of them by thoſe of *Gaunt*: this accident did ſo incenſe them as that they reſolved immediatly to be gone, and though *Philip* himſelfe came unto them, remembring them with the promiſe hee had made unto *Gloceſter*, hee could not prevaile with them, hee entreated them to tarry but till the next day, to the end that they might march away without diſorder, and not leave any thing behinde them: which might ſervice for a trophie to the enemy, offering himſelfe to bring them beyond the water, at *Gravelin*: but neither could hee prevaile in this, they ſaid they needed no guide, they went their wayes and were followed by the reſt, they tooke away with them all that in ſo ſhort a time, they could pack up, and not able to carry away all, they broke out the bottoms of many buts of wine and other drinke, that the enemy might not make uſe of them, they left notwithſtanding many peeces of Artillery behinde them, munition, and victualls, for want of carriages, and having ſet their huts on fire, they marched in diſorder towards *Gravelin*, crying out home, home, wee are betrayed, *Philip* who had obſerved all theſe proceedings with a ſorrowfull countenance tarried in Battell array, till hee ſaw them out of danger, and then marched orderly after them having his Horſemen for his reareward. *John de Croy*, who by his commandement was riſen from before *Guines* came to him, hee likewiſe having left his Artillery behind him and many other things for the ſame defect: at *Gravelin*, *Philip* held a Councell what was to bee done, the reſolution was, that all the frontire places ſhould have addition of Garriſons put into them, and that commiſſions ſhould forthwith bee ſent abroad, to the end that troopes might not bee wanting for all places which might bee aſſembled together as occaſion ſhould ſerve, hee againe entreated the common people to deferre their departure for ſome few dayes, but was forced to give them leave to bee gone ſince they would have taken leave, had it not beene given them, by this hee learned that men without courage and who are forced to fight, winne no battels. Of all other places hee chiefely prepared for the defence of *Gravelin*, hee left there many brave Gentlemen, who voluntarily tooke upon them to defend it, amongſt which *Meſſieurs de Chriechi Sainenſes* and *Lalaine*, hee did the like in *Ardres*, *Bullen*, and all the neighbouring places in his paſſage to *Lille*, hee cauſed ſouldiers every

where

where to be raiſed, being ſure that *Gloceſter* would performe his promiſe to him, though he had broken his; all this relation is according to *Monſtrelet*, but the *Engliſh* though they agree in all things elſe, differ in the raiſing of the ſiege, they ſay that *Philip* being advertiſed that *Gloceſter* was to come the next day, went his way by night; and that though the *French* labour to excuſe him, the *Dutch* lay all the fault upon him; but I beleeve *Philip* to be ſo generous, as that he would rather have dyed then have beene guilty of ſo much baſeneſſe. There want not examples of the *Flemings* inſolencies towards their Princes, his father *Iohn* was in the like manner abandoned before *Mondediere*. *Henry the 6.*

And as for the *Flemmiſh* Authors *Meierus Henterus* and *Petit*, if I underſtand them aright they ſay no ſuch thing, and *Speede* an *Engliſh* Authour ſayes that *Philip* was excuſed by many out of reaſons ſufficiently probable. *Gloceſter* came to *Callis* as ſome ſay with 300. as others with 500. veſſells loaded with 25000. Souldiers, & finding the enemy gone entered *Flanders*, meeting none that did oppoſe him, he tarried not to beſiege any place, but burning and deſtroying where e're hee went put all to ruine; great was the prey hee made eſpecially of beaſts: He burned *Popernence*, *Bailleul*, *Chaſteaunenſe*, *Rimeſture* and *Vallor-Chappule*, he diſmantled many Caſtles forſaken by their Garriſons; till weary of going about and wanting bread hee retired to *Guienes*, and from thence to *Callais*. Many women at the price of a peece of bread recovered the ruines of their houſes, the ſcarcity of bread was the cauſe of much ſickneſſe in the Army. But *Gloceſter* having onely ſelfe intereſt for his occaſion, hee returned to *England*; where he found new troubles appeaſed, firſt by danger and then by the death of the King of *Scotland*.

King *James* had married his daughter *Margaret* to *Lewis* the *Dolphin*, whereat *England* was diſtaſted; ſince this affinity could but not be prejudiciall to her, ſo as the two nations being netled began to endamage each other, the *Scots* pretended a double injury that *England* had endeavoured to hinder the Brides paſſage into *France*, ſince not able to breake the marriage, they would have interrupted it by taking taking her priſoner; and that the Earle of *Northumberland* unprovoked had aſſailed the confines of *Scotland*. Vpon theſe diſlikes, *James* commenc't the warre, and went with 30000. men to beſiege *Roſburg*. This place was commanded by Sir *Ralph Gray*, who though hee did valiantly defend it, yet was not hee the occaſion of the Kings raiſing the ſiege, nor yet the ſuccour which the Earle of *Northumberland* was to bring him, 'tis likely ſome more urgent occaſions was the cauſe thereof, the true reaſon then was his wives haſty comming unto the Campe, who being a woman and a Princeſſe, would not have hazarded herſelfe at ſuch a time without ſome urgent occaſion, which ſince it doth belong unto the ſtory, I will take leave ſhortly to relate it; ſhee came to advertiſe him of a conſpiracy that was plotting againſt his life, which cauſed him raiſe the ſiege to prevent it; though his intentions did not ſucceede for blowes from heaven are not to be evaded.

Walter Earle of *Atholl*, his unckle, was chiefe of this conſpiracy

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wrought thereunto by wicked ambition, which lay lurking in him many yeares before. 'Twas he that had incited *Robert* Duke of *Awbeny* to kill Prince *David*, that hee might serve this *Iames* with the same sawce, had not his father sent him away, had he beene saved by being prisoner in *England*; his designe was when these two Princes should be murthered, himselfe to kill *Robert* and his sonne, that hee might without any competitor remaine the sole heire unto the kingdome, and 'twas not unlikely to have fallen out according to his wish; for *Robert* after so many detestable wickednesses grew to be hated by all men: But *Iames* his preservation, having broken both their designes, it tooke life againe in him alone. When *Robert* being dead *Mordecay* his sonne, and the sonnes of *Mordecay* executed after *Iames* his returne to *Scotland*, none stood betweene him and the accomplishment of his tyranny but the very King; neither did hee beleeve that the people would be thereat displeased, for *Iames* had mightily distasted the people, by putting a great taxation upon them for the Fleete which did conduct his daughter to her husband, which was by many of them denyed, and but unwillingly paid by the rest. In so much as though *Iames* had given order to the Collectors to gather no more monyes, and to restore what already had beene collected to those that gave it; yet did hee not sufficiently sweeten them, for such favours as are caused by necessitie doe not content the people, but that which did the most of all offend them was his unexpected rising from before *Roseburg*, for having beene at great expence for this enterprise, and no man guessing at the reason of his quitting it, it could allow of no good construction. *Atholl* was the chiefe actor in this Tragedy, but would not bee seene therein; till he appeared as King, not as guilty. His chiefest instruments were two bold *Roberts*, the one his owne Grandsonne, the other of the Family of the *Grimes*; the former drawne by his Grandfathers authoritie; and his hopes after him as being his heire, the other out of an eager desire of being revenged upon the King, by whom he reputed himselfe doubly injured, for having long before for some misdemeanors beene imprisoned and banished the King had lately taken from him the guardianship of a nephew of his, which was falne unto him by his brothers death. The Queene had discovered the conspiracy, but not the conspirators, so as the King using all possible dilligence to find them out, made them hasten the effecting of their businesse for feare of being discovered, he had withdrawne himselfe, together with his wife, and some familiar friends, without any guard to the covent of preaching Friers neare to the walls of *Pearth*; amongst which was one of the conspirators named *John*, whose Sir-name I find not written. The Traitors entred into the Friery rewarding the Porter, and being come into the Kings Ante-chamber and met not with any body, they stood expecting that the said *John* should open the doore, that they might enter without noise; when one *Walter Stretton* came forth for some businesse concerning the King, who seeing so many armed men, and not able to get backe, cryed Treason, treason; but him they instantly slew and ran unto the doore, and found it shut by one *Katherine Douglas*

Douglas a Lady worthy remembrance; This Lady missing the great Barre wherewith the doore was wont to be shut, and which was purposely hid away by *John*, supplied the place thereof with her owne Arme, but they forced open the doore, and brake her Arme, they slew all that withstood them: the King was slaine with 28. wounds, the Queen who when her Husband fell, fell upon him to serve him for a Buckler; so as she could not easily be dragg'd from him, received two wounds: and *Patrick Dunbarre*, brother to the Earle of the *March*, who defended the King as long as he was able, was left for dead sorely wounded, and his fingers struck off. This cruell treason was forthwith divulged every where, filling all mens mindes with horrour and pitty, those who formerly hated the King did now celebrate him, they called to minde how he had passed all his life in afflictions, his childhood practised upon his unckle, his youth bittered by imprisonment, his Kingdome annoyed with perpetuall seditions, and now slaine in a Court of government, the most moderate and most just that ever *Scotland* enjoyed; there was not any Lord though never so farre off, who did not hasten to revenge this death, all the actors whereof (were it out of their overdaring confidence, or did it onely proceed from the will of God) were taken, brought to *Edenburgh*, and severally punished. The three principalls *Atholl* his *Grandsonne* and *Graines*, were the last reserved for punishment, and all of them suffered death; I know not whether more examplary or cruell. *Henry the 6.*

Atholls punishment was divided into three dayes suffering, the first day he was led through the Citie in a Cart, wherein was framed the forme of a Crosse in wood, with a pully at the top of it, with a rope fastned to it, wherewith his hands being fastned behind him, and hee all naked, having his privy parts onely covered, hee was at certaine appointed places drawne up to the toppe of the pully having leaden waights at his heeles within two foote of the ground, and after having had many of these draughts, hee was set in a Scaffold and had a crowne of red hot Iron set upon his head, a punishment invented as they say, for that he was once foretold by a Sorceresse, that hee should one day be crowned King, in the concourse of a great many of people, the which whether it be true or no, or whether beleefe ought to be given to such predictions I leave it to be decided by the learned, the knowledge of things to come belong properly to God alone, and if it should bee granted that the divell have some share herein, by his observation of the Starres and their Aspects (wherein he may be a great master, being Coetanean with the Plannets and immortall) yet should I thinke him altogether ignorant herein were it not contrary to the schoole of Theologists who say, that by sinning hee lost what hee had received by favour, not what was naturall in him, I should resemble him to a cancelled writing, for perfection of knowledge which was naturall in him being a *Species* of beatitude, there doth no beatitude belong unto the damned, but allow the opinion of the Schooles, wee may affirme, that his knowledge of things to come being uncertaine and conjecturall (as are all such things as depend

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pend upon the like principals) hee doth not communicate them, but by uncertainties, and equivocation. *Athols* prediction proved this unto us; since pronounced in a sense of exaltation and glory it proved to bee base and infamous; but for my part I beleeve these predictions are invented when things have succeeded, one part of the World delighting in being deceived, the other in deceiving and seeming wise by affirming what is not. The second day hee was laid upon a hurdle, and drawne at a horse taile through the chiefe streetes of *Edenbourough*. The third day hee was laid upon a table, his Belly ript up; his Bowels throwne into the fire, his Heart torne out and burn't, his Head cut off, his Body quartered, and his Quarters sent to the foure chiefe Cities of *Scotland*; his Grand-sonne faired the better for his being young, and set on by his Grand-father, hee was onely hanged and quartered; *Robert Grames* was put naked into a Carte, had his hand wherewith hee slew the King, fastned to a ladder erected therein, was pincht with hot yrons in all the parts of his Body, his vitall parts excepted, and then quartered.

England was grieved at the death of this vertuous King, though her enemy; but not thereby incommodiated; for *James* the second not being past seven yeares old was not of age enough to annoy any one, hee himselfe being sufficiently annoyed by the ambition of such who strove to bee his Governour. I observe one thing remarkeable in the story of *Scotland*, that of one hundred and eight Kings that have raigned there; (our gratious King *Charles* that now raignes not comprehended in the number) 54. have dyed naturall deaths, 49. have come to violent ends, by misfortune conspiracy and battells, and for the other five which remaine to make up the number, one renounced the Kingdome, and foure fled from thence, and were banished: so as if you will account them happy who come to naturall ends, and number the five who did not dye Kings amongst the unhappy, the number of happy and unhappy is equall, each of them making 54. the like will not bee met withall; as neither the succession of so many Kings in any one Kingdome, or any Kingdome of *Europe*. After the havock *Gloster* had made in *Philips* territores, both parties drawne either by the perswasion of friends or commodity of trading were drawne to treat of truce at *Gravelein*, whither for *Henry* went the Cardinall of *Winchester*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earle of *Stafford*, with others verst in law and busines, and for *Philip* the *Dutchesse* his wife, the Bishop of *Arras*, *Monsieur de Croy* and others, a truce was concluded in the name of the *Dutchesse*; *Philip* not being so much as named therein, which caused two opinions, either that *Henry* would not treat with him as being a perjured man and a breaker of former agreements, and therefore not better to bee now expected from him, or els that it was a peece of cunning in *Philip* not to cause jealously in *Charles*, and that it might bee lawfull for him to undoe what was there done, when it might turne to his advantage: since wives promises doe not oblige their husbands, which of these was the true cause; it is hard to say neither; doth it much import, the onely certainty is that it lasted but a while.

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The death of Queen *Katharine* mother to King *Henry* happed at the same time, who being left a widdow in her time of youth, and without hope of marrying her selfe otherwise, did secretly marry *Owen Tewdur* a young Gentleman of Wales, whose laudable parts added to the Noblenes of his birth (for hee was descended from *Cadwallador*, the last King of the *Britons*) moved her to take him for husband, by him shee had three sonnes and one daughter, the sonnes names were *Edmond* and *Jasper*, the third sonnes name who became a *Benedictine* Frier is not exprest, as neither the Daughters name who became likewise a Nun: the two first being brothers by the mothers side to King *Henry*, were by him created Earles: *Edmond* of *Richmond*, *Jasper* of *Pembrooke*: *Edmond* who did marry *Jane* the onely daughter and heire of *John* Duke of *Somerset* was Father to *Henry* the seaventh; but *Katharine* being dead, *Owen* was questioned for marrying a woman that had such relation unto the King without his consent, whereupon *Gloster* having caused him two severall times to bee imprisoned, and hee having twise made an escape, the third time hee was caught and lost his life. But this is not the common opinion of Authours as wee shall see: *George Lille* layes, hee was descended from a base originall, and toucheth no other particulers, *Meirus* makes him the Bastard of an Alehouse keeper in Walles, *Katharnes Taylor*, and very lately married by her, to the end, that the children shee had by him might by her marriage bee made legitimate: *Belleforest* affirmes the same. I cannot imagine where *Lille* can have had this, if not from *Meirus*: none of all the *English* Writers, I have met with having so much as dream't thereof. *Belleforest* by alleadging *Lille* and *Meirus*, and giving word for word what *Meirus* saith, doth plainely shew, hee had it from him, and from whence *Meirus* had it, it is not hard to guesse, since hee was a *Dutchman*, his Author was *Margarita* the Sister of *Edward* the fourth, second wife to *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundi*, *Philips* son. Of all women that ever were she was the most passionately given to the faction of her owne family, for if shee had a hand in the false supposition of an *Edward Plantagenet*, and afterwards by her owne invention did suppose the sonne of a Iew turned Christian, to the end that he might personate the Duke of *Yorke*, when he together with his brother *Edward* the fifth was smoothered in the Tower; and so trouble the affaires of *Henry* the seaventh (as wee shall hereafter see) tis no wonder if shee invented this Genealogie to defame him and make him to bee by the World despised; besides it is not likely, that a young Queene *Dowager* lately come into the Kingdome, who neither had had time nor occasion to raise herselfe a faction in the Kingdome without regency or authority, without meanes either to punish or reward, should be so long permitted to live in so dishoneft a manner, not onely in the face of her sonne a milde youth, but in the sight of her too powerfull and sensible brother-in-lawe, of the nobility, and all the Kingdome, (for it is not to bee supposed that the Court could bee hudwinckt in foure great bellies) shee was therefore undoubtedly married, and her marriage wincked at by reason of her husbands birth, which though it was not answerable to her present condition, yet so

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be tollerated in respect of his fore fathers, for nobility doth not loſe it priviledges for want of fortune and want of worth, which hee wanted not, if wee may beleeve them who were likely to have better teſtimonials thereof then *Meirus*, and if hee were put to death (which is not certain,) it was not for his baſenes of birth but for his offence, in having dared contrary to the lawes to marry the Kings mother. Queene *Katharine* was followed in her death, and imitated in her marriage: In death ſhee was followed by Queene *Jane* daughter to *Charles* the ſecond, ſurnamed the wicked King of *Navar*, *Dowager* to *Henry* the fourth King of *England*, and before him to *John* the fourth, Duke of *Britanny*, by whom ſhee had *John* the now preſent Duke, and *Arthur* Count *de Richmond* Conſtable of *France*. In her marriage ſhee was imitated by *Giva Colinia*, daughter to the late Count Saint *Paul* who for fancy ſake like her did marry Sir *Richard Woodveil* afterwards created Earle *Rivers*, without acquainting her brother the now preſent Count St. *Paul* therewithall nor yet her uncle the Biſhop of *Tirrovane*, and as from *Katharines* marriage, *Henry* the ſeaventh did proceed, and all the Kings that have ſucceeded him, even till this preſent day; ſo from *Jacholinus* marriage did *Elizabeth* wife to *Edward* the fourth proceed, from whom came *Elizabeth* wife to *Henry* the ſeaventh, the firſt mother of the Kings of *England* and great *Britanny* they were both *French* women married to two brothers alike in reſolution and fortune ſo as if thoſe that blame them could have foreſeene their ſucceſſion, they would have commended them for bad actions are ſtiled good by their happy events. In the laſt inſurrections in *Normandy* the *Engliſh* had loſt *Harfluer* a loſſe of great conſequience for the preſervation of that province, the Duke of *Somerſet* went to beſiedge it, and to recover it, accompanied by *Faulkonbridge*, and *Talbot*. *Eſtouteville* commanded there in chiefe with a Garriſon of 600. Souldiers and though the Towne did ſuffer much by battery the walles being thereby defaced, and the houſes beaten downe, yet could they not come to an aſſault, The *Baſtards* of *Orleans* and *Burbone*, preſented themſelves before it in the way of ſuccour, and did on all ſides moleſt the beſiedgers, hoping by diſordering them to ſuccour the Towne, but not ſucceeding therein they abandoned the enterpriſe. The Duke of *Somerſet* got as much honour in the winning of this Towne as ſhame in the loſſe of it, for having wonne it in the Duke of *Yorkes* regency hee not long after loſt it in his owne, *Tancherville* yeelded it ſelfe likewiſe to *Talbot* after a ſiedge of foure monthes as did alſo *Beauchastaan* and *Maleville*: *Charles* on the other ſide having paſt the *Loire*, with the Conſtable and Count *de Marſh*, did by aſſault take *Chaſteau Landone*, hanging up all the *French* they found there. *Charni* and *Nemours* yeelded themſelves up unto him, hee battered the Towne of *Meneau*: till ſuch time as *Thomas Gerard* who did defend it ſold it to him for a ſumme for mony, ſo ſay the *Engliſh*, not *Chartiere*, who ſaith hee wan it by force, ſo as the Caſtle afterwards yeelded, all the *French* wherein were hanged, and the *Engliſh* ſet at liberty at the *Dolphins* requeſt, from thence hee went to *Paris*, where having not beene ſince it returned to his obedience, hee

made his entry with great ſolemnity and acclamation: all theſe loſſes happned in the interim, when the Duke of *Yorke* being called from his regency, and the Earle of *Warwick* appointed in his place, no man thought how to regaine them, for *Yorke* being out of authority, and *Warwick* ſeaven weekes weather bound, ſo as hee could not paſſe into *France* for lack of winde: this was the cauſe why *Monſtreau* without any further conteſtation yeelded it ſelfe unto *Charles*: *Yorke* during all the time of his regency in *Normandy* was not perſonally preſent at any act of Warre, ſaving at the taking in of *Feſcampe*, yet at his departure, hee left the fame of a wiſe and juſt Man. *Henry the 6.*

Florimand de Brimeu Baliefſe of *Pontieu* had private advertiſement, that the Fort of *Crotoi* was ill provided of victuall and not likely therewithall to bee ſupplied, if it were beguirt with an unexpected ſiedge. Hee advertiſed *Philip* hereof who ſuddenly diſpacht away, *Meſſieurs de Achi Crovi*, *Kemi Jaques de Brimeau*, *Boudlers Lavenſe*, and *Craen*, with good forces to beſiedge it, but hee did not provide for the moſt eſſentiall thing which was to block up the heaven, for it had not victualls wherewithall to ſuſtaine it ſelfe for 8. dayes. The Garriſon which feared nothing but hunger (an engine againſt which there is no defence) finding the Sea open, ſent forth a veſſell which by ſeverall returns freed them from the preſſing affaire, and were no wayes affraid of being otherwiſe oppugned. The *Burgonians* were too late aware of their errour, ſo as manning forth foure ſhips, they tooke from them the liberty of the Sea, and there land forces were daily augmented. *Philip* was come for this purpoſe to *Hedine* and leavied new forces in *Hannault* and *Piccardy*. This Fort was a place of great conſequence, a Sea haven, the inlet into *Picardy*, ſcituated betweene *Rues Monſtreula* and Saint *Valeri*: requiſite to the peacefull poſſeſſion of *Callais*, *Bullen*, and *Pontieu*. So as if *Philip* did what in him lay to winne it the *Engliſh* did what they could to ſuccour it, The *Burgonians* that they might bee ſure to keepe it from being ſuccoured, built a great Fort wherein they placed 1500. Souldiers: and the *Engliſh* to free the Towne from being blockt up by Sea ſent forth ſeaven ſhips, which chas'd away the other foure: thereby freeing it from the feare it was in of want of victualls and totally to ſet it at liberty: the Regent *Warwick* ſent thither, *Talbot*, *Scales* and *Terrill*, with 3000. fighting men who having paſſed the *Soame*, marched forward with a reſolution either to raiſe the ſiege or dye in the quarrell. *Philip* being hereof advertiſed haſted from *Hedine* to *Abeville*, accompanied by the Counts of *Nivers*, Saint *Paul*, *Eſtampes*, and the Prince of *Cleurs*, in a poſture of affronting the enemy but in effect did nothing. For the *Engliſh* paſſed every where unreſiſted doing all the miſchiefe they could, ſo as by this proceeding it was thought hee meant to raiſe the ſiedge with the leaſt diſhonour hee might, and the beſiedgers ſcandalized at this his temporiſing, no ſooner underſtood of *Talbots* approach, but imitating thoſe of *Gaunt* before *Callais*, they riſe from before the Towne not expecting any command, and retired to *Rues*, being ſcoft at and mockt by the Garriſon (as ſaith *Monſtreulet*) as men of no 1424.

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courage there was amongst them foure Knights of the order, *John de Croy*, *Florimand*, and *James de Bremieu*, and *Baude de Noyelle*; so as *Talbot* after having burnt eight Towers, ruinated all the Country about, and raised the siege; turned back the same way into *Normandy* with a booty of many prisoners and horses: and *Philip* with this second shame retired himselfe to *Arras* having lost many of his carriages taken from him by S. *Thomas Terrill*.

1438. This Winter was much more sharp then usuall, which caused the surprise of *Pontoise*, the possession whereof the more necessary it was for *Charles*, by reason of the nearenes thereof to *Paris*, the more was hee incommodiated by the losse of it, it was a fit place to annoy the one side, and to secure the other from the City, and all the Isle of *France*. *Talbot* was he who did the busines, who favored by the ditches being froozen over, might without danger make himselfe master thereof by scaling it, the onely obstacle, hee met withall was two brothers surnamed *Gurry*, who having fortified themselves in a Turret which stood over the Gate which lead to *Paris*, and sent notice thither did defend it, till the ensuing night, and if any succour had come, the Towne had run danger of being recovered by that place, but no succour appearing they covenanted to be gone; their lives saved, and leave the Towne to him that had wonne it, so as the in-roades that were afterwards made. The mischiefe that the *French* Garrisons for want of pay did in the Country, and famine which by reason of the Countries not being cultiated, was very great; forced the poore Country-people to retire themselves to *Paris*, where neere about 50000. dyed, for meere want: and amongst so many miseries, the newest and unheard of was, that no man durst walke through the open fields and Country *Villages* for feare of Woolves, which having slaine and eaten about 80. people taught the rest to guard themselves from them, thus were they warr'd on by all sides, their friends injured them by their insolencies and rapines, their enemies slue them, their ground gave not its wonted encrease, and ravenous beasts devoured them.

After *Warwick* was come into *France*; Earle *Montaigne* came to *Cheriburg* with 400. Archers and 300. Launces, with the which passing through the Country of *Maine*, hee by assault tooke Saint *Amias* put 300. of the *Scottish* Garrison to the sword, and hung up the *French* therein as falsefiiers of the oaths, they had formerly taken to *Henry* at the same time. *Longeville*, *Charles*, *Mannille*, and many other places yeelded themselues up to *Talbot* not so much for lack of victualls as want of *Loyalty*: On the other side naturall inclination caused *Montargues* and *Cherosse* to submit themselves to *Charles*, his obedience playing with fortune and as it were in sport, giving themselves some times to the one side, some times to the other. This meane while *Philip* who after his unfortunate retreate from *Callais* studied nothing more then how to annoy that place, sent a number of Pioners, *Woodcleavers* and *Smiths* with a conduct of 1600. Souldiers to cut downe the bancks which resisted the Sea, believing that hee should thereby drowne *Callais* and all the precincts thereof, but the event

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ſhewed his want of experience, who adviſed him thereunto for leaving the enterpriſe; they went to *Pont de Meliay*, rather that they might appeare not to have come in vaine, then out of hopes of their endeavours might proove prejudiciall to *Callais* or the parts adjacent. The Souldiers of *France* were reduced to that point, as they were no longer fit to defend, but made rather a profeſſion of living upon other mens goods, more to the prejudice of their owne ſide, then of their enemies: ſome good ſtore of them, had aſſembled themſelves together to commit robberies ſafely amongſt their owne men, ſince they could get nothing amongſt the enemy but wounds, and death. They were properly enough called *Flears*, great complaint was made hereof to *Charles*, eſpecially of one of their troopes which roſe to the number of 600. horſe led on by *Rodrigo de Villandras*, who being by *Charles* commanded either to quit the Kingdome or els to fight againſt the enemy, did not obey him, which forced *Charles* to march himſelfe into the field and fight with him. *Villandras* weighing the danger made vertue of neceſſity, hee went to *Toulaſſe*, from thence to *Guiene*, where having much endamaged the *Engliſh*, hee deſerved his pardon though the *Engliſh* did afterwards in the *Dolphins* inſurrection regaine all they there loſt.

The dangers of that Province were at this time cauſed more by corruption of mony then force of Armes, which being knowne in *England*, and that the *Baſtard* of *Orleans* was for this purpoſe at *Tolauſſe* they diſpatcht away the Earle of *Huntington* with 2000. Bowmen and 400. Lances, who broke the bargaine by changing the Governours, and removing the Captaines from one place to another, and becauſe the like contagion was entered amongſt the Souldiers in *Normandy* corrupted by the *French* crownes, a ſupply of a 1000. men was ſent thither under the conduct of foure Knights which ſecured that Province, and though it cannot for certaine bee affirmed, that there was ſome corruption in the loſſe of *Meaux* in *Brie*, yet hee who did defend it gave evident ſignes thereof, for being beſieged by the Conſtable and taken by aſſault, wherein the *Baſtard* of *Tian* was taken and immediately beheaded. The defendants retired themſelves into the market place (one of the ſtrongeſt retreats, that then was in all *France*) where they might longer have held out, for *Talbot* being come with 4000. Souldiers with full purpoſe to give the Conſtable battle, (who having fortified himſelfe in the City did not ſtirre from thence, though much provoked) tooke a Fort placed in the *Iſland* neare unto the Market-place wherein hee ſlew 120. men, tooke all the reſt priſoners, and forced *Monſieur de Croy* to abandon his quarter, and got many barkes loaded with victualls, ſo as having ſecured the beſieged and furniſhed them with freſh Souldiers, they did not withſtanding forbeare to ſurrender themſelves. A few dayes after, Sr. *William Chamberlaine* was their chiefe as ſaith *Monſtrelet*, and Sr. *Thomas Abringant* according to *Chartier*, but whether of either it was where hee came to *Roan*, hee was clapt up priſoner in the Caſtle, and accuſed for having ſurrendred, not neceſſitated thereunto, ſince hee had men, victualls, and munition, but how ever, hee ſo pleaded for himſelfe,

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as he was set at liberty. The Constable not content with this atchievement marched into *Normandy*, besieged *Auranches*, and at the comming of the Duke of *Alanſonne* was by him reinforced with new troopes, a part whereof tooke the City and Castle of Saint *Suſanna* in *Mayne*, through the treachery of an *Engliſh* Knight, as saith *Giles*, whom hee nameth not. As for *Auranches* after three weekes siege hee was forced to rise from before it, for *Talbot* came and countersieged him, entring the towne in his very sight, the Constable not being able to hinder him.

The *Dolphins* insurrection which hapned at this time, did a little retard his fathers good fortune, for thereby the *Engliſh* repoſſeſſed themselves of such places as they had lately loſt, hee was then just sixteene yeares old, he lived at *Loches* under the tuition of Count *de Marſh*, a gentleman of noble conditions, but his authoritie grew lesse after his marriage, and after that with the waight of the *Corrazza*, hee liked well of millitary applause, and the flatteries of such who hoped for advancement by reason of this rent, the causes hereof were two, the first for that *Charles* was alwayes governed by people of no great account, the second the ambition of the Princes, which hath at all times been prejudiciall to *France*, for they pretend to that out of right, which is onely due unto them by favour. *Charles* gave occasion hereof by his ill conceived suspitions, and the Princes laid hold thereof contrary to the lawes of nature, by making the sonne disobedient to the father, and to civill wisedome, by putting dissention in the kingdome in a time when they should all have conspired to have set it free, by expelling the enemy. But suspitions were in *Charles* become inseparable and become naturall unto him, by reason of his being become accustomed to his mothers persecutions, and the enmity of *Burgony*, and *England*, so as affying onely in the meaner sort of people, as those that were lesse apt to hurt him, he made them insolent, as mistrusting the great ones; he gave them cause of offence, by excluding them from his familiarity and affaires, his sonnes discontents sprung from the same fountaine, his father grew jealous of him, seeing him grow in authority as in yeares, and in the subjects expectation, so as to keepe him under, he treated him more frugally and held a stricter hand over him, then his yeares, his being married, and his ambition could permit; those who misled him were the Dukes of *Burbone* and of *Alanſonne*, the Counts of *Vandome Chabanes*, the *Dunneſſe*, *Charmount*, *Tremugtie*, *Bovent* and *Prie* by the Bastard of *Burbones* meanes, these bad him weigh the duty he ought his father, and the welfare of the state; that the former was to be preserved by the preservation of the latter, but not contrary wise. They shewed unto him the evill effects caused by his fathers bad government, they tipt up all from the murthering of the Duke of *Burgundy* even to the present time, they enformed him that those who were of the greatest authoritie about him, perswaded him to peace, which could not be done without dismembring the kingdome, (which was to deprive him the *Dolphine* of his inheritance and patrimony) for that their power being weakned by warre, wherein Captaines and governours of provinces were onely to be used, they

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could not tyrannize over the King, Kingdome, Princes and *Dolphin*, unleſſe they ſhould exclude men of merit. They told him how his being confined in ſo ſolitary a place, might ſerve for an Argument to prove this, ſince he was kept there of ſet purpoſe, that being far from the Court, and ignorant of affaires, he might depend upon them, that by taking upon him ſo generous a reſolution hee could not diſpleaſe his father, ſince the effects would ſhew that ſuch diſobedience would redound more to his profit then any obedience could doe, ſince thereon depended the preſervation of the ſtate; father, ſonne and ſubjects. I know not whether it were theſe reaſons that prevailed with the *Dolphin*, or elſe his owne contumatious inclination: his anſwer was, hee was ready to doe whatſoever his quality obliged him unto. That all the power lay in the Princes, that hee would neither be wanting to himſelfe nor them. In briefe leaving *Loches* and the Count his governour, he went to *Monlius* where the Duke of *Burbone* waited for him, and whether the Duke *d'Alanſonne* and Count *de Dammartin* came unto him, and after them all the reſt, with a reſolution not to part with him till ſuch time as (according to the common pretence of all ſeditious people) diſorders were reformed, the authority of the Princes eſtabliſhed, and men of worth called into favour. They uſed their beſt meanes to draw *Philip* to their faction, but hee whoſe eyes were not dazled did not onely deny them, but adviſed them to more wholeſome reſolutions; ſince their enterpriſe was unjuſt, full of danger, and for which they had no ground, hee proteſted, hee would never ſeperate himſelfe from *Charles*, and ſaid, hee ſhould bee able to doe the *Dolphin* better ſervice by not ſiding with him, then if hee ſhould take his part, this anſwer did diſpleaſe the confederated, finding themſelves thereby deceived in their chiefeſt hope, but they were much more diſpleaſed, when all the Provinces did with horrour and deteſtation heare of this inſurrection. They all loved the *Dolphin*, and offered to ſerve him, but not againſt his Father, who having admoniſhed him of his duty, and not prevailing, went armed to *Poictiers*: from whence hee ſent to the Duke of *Burbone*, commanding him to deliver up unto his Sonne, and to the Duke of *Alanſon*, commanding him to ſurrender up *Nierte*, and Saint *Maſſence* willing them both to come before him, and give a reaſon for their inſurrection; but they obeyed not. On the contrary, *Alanſon* ſent word to *Maſſence* to defend it ſelfe, upon notice whereof the City revolted, and the Caſtle was beſieged, and taken by the Kings forces, which ſuddenly flockt thither, and the Commanders hanged. Finally a totall agreement was made by an aſſembly held at *Clariment*, where the King being perſwaded to pardon the Offendors, if together with the *Dolphin* they would humbly begge forgivenes, they all came and threw themſelves before his feet. *Charles* blamed his Sonne for his fault committed, and the danger he had therby put the Kingdome to, exhorting him to better thoughts, and hee deſiring his Father to pardon, *Tremoulle*, *Chaumont*, and *Prie*, (who were excepted in the pardon) proteſting hee would not accept of his unleſſe they had theirs: His Father rebuked him againe, and was contented that being free from

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from punishment they should retire themselves to their owne houses, wherewithall he was notwithstanding to be contented, unlesse they would abandon those.

In the time of these disorders *Richard Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwicke* and Regent of *France* dyed, and the Duke of *Yorke* was the second time chosen, who passed into *Normandy*, accompanied by the Earle of *Oxford*, the Lord *Bourchier*, intituled Earle of *Eu*, and many other gentlemen: he presently found wherein to imploy himselfe for the losse of *Pontouse*, being very incommodious for the *Parisians*, they disbursed a great summe of mony to *Charles*, that he might endeavour the recovery of it, wherefore hee went to besiege it with 1200. old Souldiers, and was followed by the greatest part of the Princes, and Nobles of *France*, the Lord *John Clifford*, who together with *Talbot* had but a little before surprised it, commanded there in chiefe.

The River *Ouse* did much incommodiate the besiegers, for they could not approach the Citie on that side, wherefore having built a bridge of Boates over against the Abby of Saint *Martins*, and made themselves masters of the Abby, they made thereof a Fort, which did much endamage the besieged, yet were they not so begirt on all sides, but that they were succoured as some will have it foure or five times; *Talbot* was the first who furnish't them with men and victuals, and the Duke of *Yorke* came thither with 8000. men, sent to present battell by his heraulds, which *Charles* would not by any meanes accept of, for since the river parted the two Armies, hee beleeved that as long as the bridge of *Beaumont* was well guarded (by which the Duke was to passe) hee could not be enforc'd to fight; but the Duke having brought along with him in Carts great store of Boates, Cordage, timber, and plankes, hee passed some few of his men over the River, who so speedily wove a bridge of Ropes (whilest *Talbot* seemed as if he would force his passage over the bridge of *Beaumont*, as that they were almost all past over before the enemy was aware, so as it was too late to withstand them, in the endeavouring whereof many were slaine, and many taken prisoners; *Charles* was commended for his wisedome in not entertaining the battle, but he was blamed for his negligence in suffering the enemy to passe the River, being thereby reduced to a necessitie of fighting against his will, but being resolved not to come to handblowes, he raised his siege by night, and having put his Ordnance into the Fort Saint *Martin*, the which hee left in the custody of *Charles d' Anjou* and the Admirall *Coetey*, with 3000. men, he retired himselfe to *Poiesy*. The Duke who upon break of day had put himselfe in order to give him Battle, finding him gone entered the Citie, and having caused fresh supply of victualls to bee brought in, and left Sir *Jarvis Clifton* there with a 1000. men to defend it, he marched forwards towards *Poiesy*, but *Charles* eschewing him after some few skirmishes hee went to *Lamote*, and from thence to *Rhoan*; *Charles* this meane while suffered in his reputation, especially amongst the *Parisians* and Courtiers, which made him resolve to returne to *Pontouse*, and either take it or dye in the enterprise, he went thither

ther with new Forces, he assaulted it on three sides he himselfe in person in one part, the *Dolphin* in another, hee entred the towne though in his entrance he lost 3000. of his men, of the thousand that were in the Garrison; 500. died in the assault, and many afterwards, so as very few of the Commander *Clifton* remained prisoners. This losse was the cause of many others, particularly of *Corbeile*, *Mellune* and *Eureux*, but this accident hindered not the Negotiation of peace, which was adjourned the last yeare, till the now present time, the assembly was to be at *Callais*, for the *English* would not give way it should bee else where. Those that were imployed from *England* brought along with them the Duke of *Orleans* still a prisoner, to the end that by his endeavouring the businesse, he might procure his liberty; the chiefe of those who were imployed from *France* were the Archbishop of *Rheims* and *Narbone*, and the Bastard of *Orleans*. On *Philips* behalfe came *Monsieur de Crevacœur*, many dayes were spent in finding out a meanes of accommodation, but all in vaine, for it was impossible to agree so disagreeing interests. The *English* held resolute to three points; to repossesse the Dutchesse of *Normandy*, and *Gascony*, to repossesse whatsoever they had lost for 30. yeares before, and to hold all this free from any dependency upon the crowne of *France*. In the first there was no great difficulty, nay it was yeelded unto, but the other two were impossible, for *Charles* would not restore backe any thing, and much lesse quit that soveraignty, which had beene in former times enjoyed by his predecessors, so as the businesse being adjourned to another time, the assembly was dissolved, the private businesses concerning the Duke of *Orleans* had no better successe, for monyes were not found ready for his ransome, and the *English* would not rely upon his promises, but he had his liberty by a meanes which no man would have imagined. *Philip* began to consider, that if this Prince should be set at liberty, by any other meanes then his, their amity would be immortall, to the ruine of the one or of the other of them, or rather of them both, and of the kingdome; and that if he should undertake to free him, not onely a peace betweene them was likely to ensue, but a friendship for which every one and the King himselfe would thanke him. Yet that he might not walke on hudwinckt, and peradventure be deceaved in his beleefe he would first know for certaine whether hee could forget and forgive his fathers murther committed by *Philips* father, the which as it was altogether unknowne to King *Phillip* till 'twas committed, so was hee much displeased thereat when 'twas committed: as likewise whether or no he would marry the daughter of the Dutchesse of *Clarence* his sister; this Prince had beene prisoner 25. yeares, which caused so great a desire of liberty in him, as hee with much willingnesse imbraced these propositions; he promised for ever to forget his fathers death, in respect of this present favour, and gave his word to marry her whom he proffered him. Hereupon *Philip* paid 300000. Crownes, and took him from *England*, he sent the Dutchesse his wife to meete him at *Gravelin*; and came thither afterward himselfe, he brought him to Saint *Omers*, where having sworne to the peace at *Arras*, hee gave him the wife

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wife hee had promiſed, and each of them beſtowed on others their ſeverall orders. *Philip* the fleece to *Orleans*, and *Orleans* the *Porcoſpine* to *Philip*, actions wherewith *Charles* was no whit pleaſed, and which made him not to admit *Orleans* to his ſight, till one yeare after his being at liberty. Of all the Antient priſoners there remained now none in *England* (for the Count *de Eu* had ranſomed himſelfe ſome two yeares before) ſave *John* Count *d'Angleſme*, who was not a priſoner by name, but lay in pawne for the ſecurity of 209000. *Francks* or of 100000. Crownes, according to St. *Marta* as the reſidue of 240000. due for the expences in the aſſiſtance given to the houſe of *Orleans* againſt the houſe of *Burgundy*, as wee heard in the life of *Henry* the fourth. This Prince in the yeare 1413. when hee was given in hoſtage into *England* was but nine yeares old, and hee tarried there till the yeare 1445. which was 32. yeares; The Duke of *Orleans* his brother left him in hoſtage, not being able to doe otherwiſe, ſince hee himſelfe was ranſomed by another: but what by ſome monies hee had, and ſome other monies hee got for the Country of *Perrigord*, which hee ſold for this purpoſe, hee ſet himſelfe at liberty foure yeares after. From theſe two brothers who had ſo long lived in captivity did two Kings deſcend, which ſucceeded one another, from *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, *Lewis* the twelfth, and from *John* Count *de Angouleſme*, *Charles* Count *de Angouleſme*, who was Father to *Francis* the firſt. Thus fortune is pleaſed to ſport her ſelfe with men, as if ſorry ſhe had beene ſo long croſſe unto the Fathers, theſe would recompence them in the glory of them who ſhould deſcend from them.

1442. The Duke of *Yorke* was this meane while carefull in the diſcharging of his office, his honour and actions, were ſubject to the cenſure of evill Wilkers, which made him more diligent not onely to preſerve what was gotten, but to adde to what the Crowne of *England* did for the preſent poſſeſſe in *France*: where much having beene loſt, he thought the beſt way to preſerve the remainder, was to prevent the enemy: and rather to aſſaule them in their owne territories, then ſuffer himſelfe to bee prevented, and aſſaulted by them. To which purpoſe hee ſelected forth the beſt Souldiers out of all his Garriſons, and divided them into three parts, hee gave the one part of them to the Lord *Willoughby*, the ſecond to *Talbot*, and kept the third for himſelfe: and had the Duke of *Somerſet* in his company; *Willoughby* entered *Picardy* and forbearing to ſack and burne, that hee might avoid giving an *Allarum* to the Country, hee advanced further by ſuch ſilence, then hee would have done by ruinating, where hee went for thinking themſelves ſafe, and hearing no newes of any enemy, they were either ſlaine or taken priſoners, ere they were aware. The neighboring Garriſons this meane while awakened by their loſſes joyned themſelves together and oppoſed him, but hee having ſlaine about 600. of them, and made the reſt to flie, their fortune led them to fall upon the Count Saint *Paul*, whereby they were totally ruinated, and *Willoughby* returned to *Roan*, loaded with booty and priſoners, the two Dukes having ſcoured the Countries of *Anjou* and *Mayne*, not meeting with any to withſtand them; *Yorke* retired to *Normandy* and *Somerſet* entered

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into *Britanny*, where having taken *Guarches* a place belonging to the Duke *Alanson*, hee put all the neighbouring parts into great combuſtion, whereupon *Charles* ſent the *Mariſhall Lochac* to ſtop his further progreſſe, who whileſt hee intended to ſet on him by night was by *Somerſet* prevented, who ſlew a hundred of his men, and tooke 72. priſoners: amongſt which *Meſſieurs de Daveſigni*, and *de Bueil*, and with the taking in of *Beaumonte* called the *Viſconte*, hee put a period to his progreſſe, *Talbots* commiſſion was to beſiege *Diepe*, an enterpriſe not likely to bee effected with 1500. men, hee forbare not though to trie his fortune, hee firſt made himſelfe maſter of the adjacent places, and notable to beguirt in with a formall ſiege, hee built a Fort upon a hill called *Polet* which lookes up in the Haven, and beginning to play upon the Towne with his cannon, hee left it to the care of his *Baſtard* Sonne, till ſuch time as hee might returne from *Roan* with ſufficient Forces. *Giles* ſaith that hee left there 600. men, and 200. peeces of Artillery which is not likely; if wee conſider the ſmall number of thoſe who conducted them, the number of horſes which were requiſite to draw them, and the ſmall precincts of the Fort. The preſervation of this place did more import *Charles*, then the winning of it did the *Engliſh*; though it did much concerne them: ſo as reſolving to ſuccour it, the *Dolphine* got the charge of the conduct, with the title of Lieuterant generall and governour betweene the two Rivers of *Sceine* and *Lomes*, hee gave unto him for his aſſiſtants and counſellors the *Baſtard* of *Orleans*, and the Biſhop of *Avignone*, he was followed by a great number of Gentlemen who flockt unto him from all parts; amongſt which the Count Saint *Paul* made one, who juſt then had quitted the *Engliſh* party; hee came to *Diepe* with 15000. fighting men, hee entered the City where having built ſix bridges of wood, which ran upon wheeles to paſſe over the ditches of the Fort, hee aſſaulted it, and had what hee deſired. Yet great was the reſiſtance that was made, for many of the aſſailants being ſlaine, the reſt gave back; and had it not beene for the *Dolphins* example, (who fought as if hee had beene a common Souldier) the Fort had not beene taken: his preſence made them to returne, fight, and over comming all difficulties enter the Fort by force; 300. *Engliſh* were then ſlaine, the reſt remained priſoners, amongſt which the *Baſtard Talbot*, & two Knights, the few *French* that were found there were hanged up, and the Fort beaten downe, this hapned in the yeare 1443. Though I have placed it here to avoyd telling the ſame thing twiſe: The *Dolphin* gave many priviledges to the City, becauſe it had conſtantly held out which were afterwards confirmed by *Charles*, and left *Monſieur de Marrets* Governour of the Towne, who had behaved himſelfe there very valiantly. The affaires in *Gaſconi* paſſed on with the like remiſenes, for the *Engliſh* they had beſieged *Tartras*, a City belonging to *Monſieur d' Albret*, the Defendants had agreed to ſurrender it up: if they ſhould not bee ſuccoured by Saint *Johns-day*, and had given *Monſieur d' Albrets* eldeſt ſonne in Hoſtage. To this purpoſe, *Charles* came to *Tolouſſe*, and from thence to *Tartras* with an Army of 40000. fighting men with the which the *Engliſh* not being able

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to bicker, the Towre was quitted, and the hostage restored back from thence hee passed to Saint *Levere*, hee tooke it by assault, and besides the Inhabitants slew 400. of the *English*, and tooke Sr. *Thomas Ramstone*, who was Governour there prisoner. *Ayes* yeelded after two months and halfe a siege; *Reolle* a City seated upon the River of *Garrone*, seaven leagues distant from *Burdeaux*, was taken by force, but when *Charles* returned into *France*, the *English* repossessed themselves of *Ayes* and Saint *Leverine*, and kept *Ayes* but lost Saint *Leverine*, which was retaken by the Count *de Foix* their great enemy, in an other part the Towne of *Galerdonne*, did much molest *Shartres* as being neare unto it, in so much as the *Bastard* of *Orleans* did besiege it, but raised the siege when *Talbot* having taken *Conches* came to confront him, and *Talbot* being assured, that it would againe bee set upon as soone as the *Bastard* was gone, did demolish it to the very ground, whilest businesses went thus in *France*; the ground works of *Gloucesters* ruine were laid in *England*, who relying upon his quality, was not aware that his brothers death had lessened that authority, which was due to him, as Uncle to the King, and Protector of the Kingdome, whereupon provoked by his antient hatred of the Cardinall of *Winchesters* pride, hee laid many faults unto his charge wherein though there might bee some likelyhood, yet were not his proofes sufficient to convince him, hee objected unto him 24. Articles, (some of which touched likewise upon the Archbishop of *Yorke*) that hee had dared to doe many things without the authority of the King, or him the Protector, to the offence of Majesty and of the lawes; to the end, that in honour and dignity hee might proceed whersoever els of greater degree, that to enrich himselfe hee had defrauded the Exchequer, and practised things prejudiciall to the affaires of *France*, and that hee had beene the cause of the King of *Scots* liberty contrary to the interests of *England*, there were the contents of his most waighty objections which were by the King referred to the Councell, and the Councell consisting much of Ecclesiasticall persons, the Duke was deluded, not with oppositions or difficulties, but with hopes & promises, till such time as the controversie falling into oblivion there was no more speech thereof: hee had plunged himselfe into this busines upon extraordinary disadvantage, his nature and the Cardinalls were too much differing, for being more violent then revengefull, and satisfied in that hee had vented his choller, hee did not sollicite expedition, whilest so harmefull careleśnes made him subject to bee despised, and encouraged the Cardinall to revenge. This great Prelates ambition was growne so high, as that hee did pretend that King and Kingdome depended upon his directions, wherein hee did so artificially behave himselfe, that though his actions were blameable and unjust, yet did they to all men seeme praise worthy and just, dissimulation and cunning are the characters of a wary Courtier, but not of a good Christian, as simplicity and candour are of no use, but of more danger to Princes then private men; *Henry* and *Gloster* lost themselves, for not having taken the other Councell: the Cardinall did with the Duke, as doth a well experienced Captaine with a Fort,

Fort, who not battering the Wall undermines the foundations, being ſure that the Battlements and Walles withall fall at once, without any hazard to himſelfe, the foundations were the Dukes reputation, which falling it behooved him to fall, hee cauſed *Elianor Cobham Dutcheſſe* of *Gloceſter*, to bee accuſed of treaſon witchcraft, and enchantment, for having made the Kings image in wax, purpoſing that the King ſhould conſume away and periſh, as that image ſhould doe, to the end that the Duke her Husband might come unto the Crowne: her complices were *Thomas Southwell*, one of Saint *Stephens* Canons in *Weſtminſter*, *Iohn Hum* a Prieſt likewiſe, *Roger Bullenbrook* reputed a great Negromancer, & *Margery Iordan* ſurnamed the Witch of *Eie*: they were examined and convinced in Saint *Stephens* Chappell before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Dutcheſſe was ſentenced to do publike pennance in three ſeverall parts of the citie, and to perpetuall impriſonment in the Iſle of *Man*, *Iohn Humme* was pardoned, the other Prieſt they ſay did die the night which did immediatly preceede his puniſhment, according to what he had prognoſticated of himſelf, that he ſhould die in his bed. The Witch was burnt in Smithfield, and *Bullingbrooke* being drawne at a Horſes tayle to Tyburne was hanged and quartered, whether this imputation were true or no may be diſputed by reaſon of *Iohn Hummes* being pardoned, and *Bullingbrookes* conſtant affirmation at his death, that no ſuch wickedneſſe was ever imagined by them, how ever it was this buſineſſe was in it ſelfe ſo ſhamefull and ſcandalous, as the Duke did not any wiſe meddle therein, but patiently endured the affront, and the being parted from his wife. *Henry the 6.*

The loſſes which this meane while were ſuffered in *Guienne*, made *Henry* reſolve to ſend thither ſome little ſuccour, till ſuch time as hee could provide greater; Sir *William Woodvile* was diſpatcht away with 800. men, and Proclamation made that whoſoever would tranſport any victuals thither ſhould be exempted from all taxations, which cauſed ſo much proviſion be ſent thither as did ſupply the neceſſitie of that Province: which being environed enemies could not make any uſe of the adjacent countries; *Talbot* was likewiſe diſpatcht away with 3000. Souldiers into *Normandy*, and that he might goe with honour anſwerable to his deſerts, he was by the King created Earle of *Shrewſbury*, a title which had not beene made uſe of for 340. yeares from ſuch time as *William* the Conquerour having beſtowed it on *Robert Montgomery*, who came together with him from *Normandy*, and who had but two that did ſucceed him. It fell upon the perſon and family of *Talbot*, who have injoyed it the ſpace of a 190. yeares with a ſucceſſive deſcent of ten Earles.

Whileſt theſe proviſions were made in *England*, Count *Armignac* proffered his daughter for wife to *Henry*, together with all the places which hee or his predeceſſors either by their owne acquirement, or by gift, and inveſtment from the Kings of *France* had poſſeſſed in *Gaſcony*; together with monies and aſſiſtance in the recovery of ſuch places as were detained from him by *Charles*, by *Monſieur d' Albret*, and others of that Province, till ſuch time as hee ſhould 1433.

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be intirely Duke thereof as anciently he was of *Aquitane*, the councell did well approve of these offers, and Embassadours were sent unto him, but this businesse was not, nor indeede could not be handled with so much secresie as to be kept from *Charles* his eare, who caused notice to be given unto him for his personall appearing at the Parliament, to be holden within 15. dayes at *Tholouse*, and from thence at *Paris*. That which mooved the Count to this offer (to boote with his ambition of having his daughter a Queene, and his dislike for not having a share in Court answerable to his greatnesse, and his fathers great deserving) was his desire to appropriate to himselfe the county of *Comminges*, whereunto he layd pretence; *Jane* Countesse of *Comminges* daughter to the Count of *Bullen*, and *Comminges*, and widdow to *John* Duke of *Berry*, who married her when she was but 13. yeares old, and he himselfe above 50. was married a second time to *Matthias* Count *de Castelbuono* of the house of *Fois*, who had by her one daughter, but being hardly handled by her husband, she made a will whereby she made King *Charles* her heire, in case her daughter should die without lawfull heires, for the which her husband shut her up in prison when she was fourescore yeares old, upon this her daughter dyed, and *Charles* having his hands full else where. *Matthias* maintained by the Count *de Fois*, and by agreement with Count *Armignac*, both his cousen, smade himselfe master of many places of that County; *Amignac* doing the like, who laid pretences thereunto, the King who was obliged to assist *Jane*, and desires to enjoy in his due time the inheritance that was given him, commanded her husband to present her at *Tholouse*, where asperation between her & him being declared, halfe the county was assigned over to her, & the other half reserved for the kings use, but she dying some three moneths after, and Count *Armignack* having usurped many places, *Charles* sent the *Dolphin* against him: so as being abandoned by Count *Perdriak*, his brother by Count *de March* and by *Salazar* a Captaine of *Arragon*, who did all sustaine him, hee shut himselfe up in a Castle, where thinking to couzen the *Dolphins* young yeares by simulation and treaties, he was by the same arts cozened by the *Dolphin*, who was a great master therein, for when he suffered him to enter into the Castle hee tooke him prisoner, and sent him his wife, his second sonne and two daughters to *Carcassonne*, from whence he was delivered at the intercession of Count *de Fois*, his desire then to revenge this affront, and to regaine this County from *Charles* made him offer this marriage which tooke no effect as wee shall see.

The Pope and all the other Princes of Christendome, continued in the desire of making a peace betweene these two Kings, to the which they thought the expences they had beene at, and the reciprocall evills they had suffered would make them more inclinable; to this purpose an Assembly was appointed at *Tours*, whither came most of the Princes of the blood, and those who came not sent their substitute, amongst wch the Duke of *Burgony* sent his, for *Henry* came *William Poole*, Earle of *Suffolke*, Doctor *Adam Mollins* Lord Keeper, the Lord *Robert Rosse* and others, for *Charles* the Duke of *Orleans*, *Lodovick* of *Burbone*,

Count

Count *de Vandoſme*, and *Monſieur de Peſigni*, but meeting with the wonted difficulties not likely to be ended in a ſhort time, A truce for 18. moneths was concluded, by which meanes they hoped they might meet with the neceſſary expedients for the deſired peace, ſome report that upon this occaſiō *Henry* demanded *Margaret of Anion* daughter to *Renatus* King of *Scicily*, for wife wch was not ſo: for his marriage with the daughter of Count *Armignack* was at that time thought as good as concluded; her fathers performance of his promiſes being only expected for the conſummating thereof, the onely moover in the other was the Earle of *Suffolke*, who did it of his owne head, not acquainting any of his Colleagues therewithall, and wherein hee did too boldly exceede his inſtructions, if hee did it out of beleefe, that this new allyance by blood was requiſite, to the joyning of their mindes, he was much too blame, for if conſanguinitie be of no moment amongſt Princes, when particuler intereſt is in queſtion, much leſſe affinitie, if not, *Henry* being the ſonne of *Charles* his ſiſter, no tie ſave that of father could more ſtrictly have united them, ſo as it did not much import that the Queene of *France* ſhould bee Aunt by the Fathers ſide to her whom he ſhould marry, ſince *Charles* was Vncle to himſelfe by the mothers ſide: what was credited was, that the Earle did this to advance himſelfe, by meanes of this Lady intended by him for wife to *Henry* without any further reſpect. The concluſion was that the King of *Scicily* ſhould have all reſtored unto him, which did patrimonially belong unto him in *Anion* and *Maine*, and which were now enjoyed by the King of *England*, ſo as it was not ſufficient that this unlucky marriage ſhould neither bring profit with it, nor any hopes thereof, but that to make it on all ſides diſadvantagious, hee ſhould endow his father in law with theſe countries which had beene wonne at expence of blood, and which for ſafety and reputation ought to be unallienable from the Crowne of *England*, but the fate (if any ſuch thing there be) which led him unto ruine was in-evitable, for the Earle of *Suffolke* being returned to *England* figured forth this match as a meanes to end the warres, to procure peace, and make the Kingdome happy, whereby he blinded the Councell, and painted forth the Lady in the moſt lovely colours that beauty could bee ſet forth in, and in conditions the moſt ſublime that might become a Princeſſe (whereby hee allured *Henry*) ſo as though no man did approve of it, as thinking it good, ſome ſeemed to approve of it, not to diſpleaſe *Suffolke*, and all to pleaſe the King, who was perſwaded to it; for it is dangerous for ſuch as councell Princes, to have more regard to the Prince his profit, then to the humoring of him in his affections. Which were it otherwiſe Princes would be too happy, and peradventure not acknowledged: God the author thereof, who doth therefore counterpoiſe the power of their might with the impotency of their paſſions. The Duke of *Gloceſter* was hee alone who to his coſt oppoſed it, thinking the former intended match not fit to be broken, as well for that it was amiſſe to faile the Count *Armignac*, as likewiſe that his alliance was more advantagious and of more pregnant hopes, of honorable atchievements, whereas the other brought

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brought nothing with it, but losse, the Citie of *Mens*, *Mayne*, and that part of the Dutchy of *Anion*, which *Henry* possessed serving as a Bulwarke to *Normandy*, did to the first losse of their surrendring adde a second of weakning the affaires in *France*; which ought to be maintained in their full force to the end that the treatie of peace might bee made upon the better termes, but all these reasons were to no end, since the heavens had decreed that the Duke should for this cause loose his life, the King his life and state, the Crowne all that it possest abroad, and the kingdome that peace at home which till then it had injoyed. When *Charles* understood that *Henry* was herewithall contented, he sent unto him the Count *de Vandosme*, a Prince of the blood and the Archbishop of *Rheins*, who concluded the match; the more to honour this unfortunate marriage, *Henry* created three Dukes and one Marquesse, he made *Iohn Holland* Earle of *Huntington*, Duke of *Excester*; *Humphrey* Earle of *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*; *Henry* Earle of *Warwicke*, Duke of *Warwicke*; and the Earle of *Suffolke*, who was the authour thereof Marquesse of *Suffolke*, and for his further honour made him his deputy, to celebrate the formality of espousall, and to bring his bride over into *England*.

1445. He went then, and had with him his wife, and a great many of Ladies and Gentlemen, carriages, and letters for her father, who was rich in titles of imaginary kingdomes, as of *Scicily* and *Ierusalem*; had not meanes to send her to her husband; so as all the charge which was very vast fell to *Henries* share; being come to *Tours* hee married her in the name of his master, in the presence of the King of *France*. The Queene and a great number of Princes and Lords, amongst which were the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Calabria*, *Alanson*, and *Brittany*: the marriage was solemnized with feasts and tilting, after which with the like or better, shee was married by *Henry* in *England*, and crowned Queene; *Normandy* lay openly exposed by the surrendring of the two Provinces. Count *Armignac* was scandalized, and shortly likely to revenge himselfe: the kingdome was fallen into an Abisse, from whence it was not to be raised but by the death of the King, the ruine of the Queene, the desolation of the house of *Lancaster*, the destruction of the Nobility, the rebellion of the people, and the alteration of the State.

1446 This seperation of Armes caused the Duke of *Yorke* and many other Commanders returne to *England*, that they might consult of what provisions were to be made before the expiration of the truce, to the end that *Normandy* being well fortified, *Charles* might be brought to a well conditioned peace, and if not that they might be able to make a powerfull warre. But *England* did in this an evill mannager, who having a house covered with Lead, sells the Lead, and then covers it againe with straw, to the end that a sparke of Fire by reason of this new covering may be sufficient to set it on fire; the given Provinces were the Lead sould, and prodigally squandred; the provisions for *Normandy*, the thatching over with straw (the two Provinces might have entertained the warre, and being lost have advanced time, which is the father of the changes of fortune, for losse in warre doth seldom happen

happen in one action and at one inſtant.) To this purpoſe a Parliament was called, ſubſidies paid, Souldiers raiſed, and the Duke of *Somerſet* made a Regent of *France*, in ſtead of the Duke of *Yorke*, the Marqueſſe of *Suffolke*, (were it either to boaſt of his favours, or that hee foreſaw the future danger) made a long ſpeech in the upper houſe, relating his owne merits, in the making of this truce, and this match, and advertiſing the Lords, that ſince the truce expired the next *Aprill*, and peace did not enſue, they ſhould doe well to take ſuch order, as that *Normandy* might not be endamaged, for it was to be beleeved that the *French* finding it ill provided would make uſe of their advantage, that having advertiſed the King thereof, he did now the like to them; to the end that if any evill did happen, it ſhould not be ſaid to have beene for want of any good admonition, he deſired them in diſcharge of his innocency to thinke on this; the ſame thing was done the next day in the lower houſe, the Meſſengers whereof entreated the Lords of the upper houſe, that by joynt conſent of both houſes this preſent action might be regiſtred amongſt the acts of Parliament; hee obtained what he deſired, the favours of favorites being like to little Rivolets, which eaſily glide into the current waters, even of the greateſt rivers, they ſent their Speaker to the upper houſe, where the Lords who did likewiſe waver with the wind, did on their knees beſeech the King, that in reſpect of great ſervices done by the Marqueſſe he would vouchſafe him this, and whatſoever other favour; for that he could not beſtow his graces upon a more worthy ſubject, and the King who of himſelfe was wonderfull prodigall of his favours to him, and loved to be entreated thereunto, as not willing to ſeeme to doe it, of his owne inclination anſwered them in ſuch a manner, as every one might ſee he made him the haven of his favours, and the object of other mens reſpects, the action was regiſtred, but not with that ſucceſſe as was hoped for, to witneſſe that the peoples and Princes favours are of ſhort duration, and oftentimes unfortunate, hee ſhortly after created him Duke, he gave him two rich wardſhips; that of the counteſſe of *Warwick*, and of *Margaret* the daughter of *John* Duke of *Summerſet*, who was afterwards the mother of *Henry* the ſeventh; hee likewiſe at his requeſt created *John de Foix*, Count *de Longaville*, and Captaine *de Bus*, Count *de Candale* both of them *Guaſcons*, all theſe favours ſerved onely to make his downe-fall the more ſudden, which uſually doth not faile being cauſed either by the hatred of private men, or of the Prince, for ſuch mens inſolencies encreaſing with their authorities, and their authorities growing greater by their favour, they become inſupportable, and having once offended, cannot ſupport themſelves but by new offences, whereby begetting hatred and envie amongſt private men, and ſocietie in Princes they muſt needs fall and be overthrowne, either by the one or the other.

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According to Articles of marriage all places belonging to *Anion* and *Mayne*, were already ſurrendred except *Manns*, the which being of more importance then the reſt, *Charles* did beleeve they had no intention to deliver it up, ſo as having raiſed a convenient Army he prepared to have it by force, which when *Henry* underſtood he gave order

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order that it ſhould be forthwith ſurrendered unto him, not ſo much for that he ſhould not have juſt cauſe to breake the truce, as that by juſtice he was to doe it. But *Chartier* and *Monſtrellet* ſay, that the *Engliſh* held it till the yeare 1449. at which time *Charles* beſieged it: and that the Lord Privy Seale being choſen Biſhop of *Wincheſter* cauſed it to be yeelded up unto him, but how ever it were this ceſſation from Armes wrought the like effects in *England*, as in a healthfull body the forbearing of moderate exerciſes doth, which by filling it with bad humours bringeth infirmities upon it. The natures of the late married couple were, if not oppoſite, ſufficiently differing; the husband was of a womaniſh inclination, the wife of a manlike ſpirit; the King was humbled, evout, ſpiritually given, caring onely for his ſoules health: the Queene was proud, ambitious, worldly given, and not to be quieted till having brought the kingdome to be governed as ſhee pleaſed; ſhee might ſee her ſelfe free from Rivals in the government. The Duke of *Gloceſter* was no wayes pleaſing to her, as well for that he had oppoſed her marriage (an injury not to be forgotten) as likewiſe that her husband being long ſince out of his minority was ſtill governed by him as formerly when he was under age; the which being obſerved by ſuch as did not love the Duke, they let ſlip no occaſion whereby they might worke his ruine. The Marqueſſe of *Suffolke* for that he could not riſe to the height hee aymed at, during his life: *Humphrey Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, for that being ſonne of *Anne Plantaginet*, who was deſcended from *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the ſeventh ſonne of *Edward* the third, if the Duke were out of the way he ſhould be the firſt Duke of *England*, wherefore hee thought that this prerogative, and his being couzen to the King, would cauſe his advancement; the Cardinall of *Wincheſter* by reaſon of his emulation which their reciprocall hatred had kindled, not to be quenched but by the laſt of revenges. The Archbiſhop of *Yorke* for that *Gloceſter* having declared himſelfe his enemy, in his laſt accuſations he was deſirous (though not according to the Goſpell) to render him evill for evill, but his eminency and univerſall love had rendred all their deſignes vaine, had they not come aſſiſted by the Lawes. They accuſed him at the Councell Table of many faults, of all which he did with ſuch ſinceritie acquit himſelfe, as that hee freed the Councells minde from any the leaſt ſcruple, and uſed ſuch arguments as did adde to his reputation. They objected unto him that he had cauſed many to be put to death contrary to the Lawes of the Kingdome, inferring thereby that hatred and cruelty had beene the directors of his juſtice, whilſt that whereby they were moſt ſcandalized, was that hee could not indure wicked men.

1447. Theſe forenamed men, together with them, the Queene perceiving that nothing was done, cauſed a Parliament to be called at *Berry* in *Suffolke*, whither hee came, together with the reſt of the Peers, not dreaming of any evill; relying more upon his owne integrity then by reaſon of the others malice he ought to have done. The firſt day of Parliament paſſed over quietly, ſpent in the accuſtomed ceremonies, the ſecond day he was made priſoner by the Lord high Conſtable

ble of *England*, accompanied by the Duke of *Buckingham* and many others, a guard was set upon him, his servants were all taken from him whereof 32. were imprisoned; and hee not long after (*Hale* saith the very next night) was found dead in his bed, some affirming, that he dyed of an Apoplexie, some of an Impostume in his Head, but although there was no doubt, but that his death was violent; yet did no man know of what sort, some thought hee was strangled, some stiffeled betweene two pillowes, and many, that hee had a red hot spit thrust in at his fundament; five of the prisoners were examined and condemned, but as they were carrying to execution they were set at liberty by the *Marquesse* of *Suffolke*, who brought their pardon signed by the King; which did not satisfie the people, for the saving of these mens innocency did not salve the treason used to the Duke. By a pardon given to one of his servants, may bee seene the pretence they tooke to commit this Murther, where it is said, that hee was one of the many Traitors who came in the traine of *Humphery* Duke of *Gloceſter* to destroy the King, and set his Wife *Elianor* at liberty. The death of this Prince was lamented by the whole Kingdome, from whom hee deserved the surname of good; for so in effect, hee was a lover his Countrey a Friend to good men, a Protector of the learned, whereof hee himselfe was one, as well verst in the lawes of the Kingdome as whatsoever Lawyer, and if hee erred in his enmity with the Duke of *Burgony*, and the Cardinall of *Wincheſter* 'twas through the greatnes of his Spirit, the which if it bereave not of fault, doth at least diminish the blame, for all humanity is subject to errour. After him the title of *Gloceſter* was reputed ominous; for the foure last *Gloceſters* came to violent ends. *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter* sonne to *Edward* the third was strangled at *Callais*, *Thomas Spencer* Earle of *Gloceſter* beheaded at *Berry*, *Humphery* Duke of *Gloceſter* dead as you have heard, and *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* slaine in a Battell of civill Warre after hee was King by the name of *Richard* the third, as wee shall see. I doe not withstanding beleeve, that if occasion bee offered, no man will refuse the honour; since before these unfortunate foure, there were eleaven of that title, nine of which dyed naturall deaths; the other two *Jeffery Mandeville*, and *Gilbert Clare* slaine in turnament: the first in warre, the other before *Sterline*; so as they are not to bee rancked with the last foure: since their deaths hapned through malice or civill warre. The Cardinall of *Wincheſter* enjoyed not the content of this his death above 14. or 16. dayes for hee dyed to see the ruine of his house of the which hee was the chiefest raiser, for doubtlesse if *Gloceſter* had lived; the Duke of *Yorke* had not risen, and the Queene who by his death thought to have established her authority, lost thereby all shee could loose (her life excepted) her Husband, sonne, and Kingdome, for her ignorance in things to come threw her headlong upon those evils which at the price of her owne bloud, shee would willingly have redeemed together with the life of *Gloceſter*, but too late foresight brings repentance; remedies not.

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Having by so cruell a way obtained her desire, shee employ'd all her 1448.

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her endeavours how to eſtabliſh an authority which under her Huſbands name might make her abſolute in the Kingdome, ſhe raiſed *Suffolke* from *Marqueſſe* to Duke, which title he but a ſhorte time enjoyed, for fortune of her owne nature inconſtant is much the more ſo, when her favours are conferr'd without merit. The Duke of *Yorke* who ſaw that all theſe things redounded to the advancement of his deſignes, ſlipt not his occaſions, for laying open to his friends, and the male contents in how bad a condition the Kingdome was, the King weake and governed by a Woman, under the haughty direction of the Duke of *Suffolke*, it was eaſie for him to perſwade them to eſtabliſh him in his owne right, ſince the houſe of *Lancaſter* did uſurpe the Crowne, and held it contrary to the lawes of the Kingdome; the lawes of bloud and nature, this hee did with ſo much vehemency inſinuate, ſo opportunely and to people who deſired nothing more then change, as it was eaſie for him to draw unto him ſubjects of the moſt eminent condition, who that they might have followers and preferments were apt to uphold him. To this was added the greatnes of his family, and the family of his wife; *Cicelli Nevill* by both which hee was allied to the greateſt men and chiefeſt families of the Kingdome; his reputation wonne in *France*, but chiefely his right unto the Crowne in a time, when if hee had no right they might have imagined ſome in him, ſo to withdrawe themſelves from the Government of an imperious Woman and a proud favorite who ruling all as they liſted, and excluding all others made uſe of the authority of a weake King who had nothing of Prince in him but name. This was the firſt ſtone which *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *Yorke* laid in the groundworke of the generall ruine and ruine, of himſelfe, wherein did no leſſe appeare the common conſent, by the ſecreſie in ſuch a buſines of great importance which was inviolabely obſerved, then the ill ſatisfaction given by ſuch as governed, who were not aware that by alienating ſuch as ought to have depended upon them, and not ſpying into their actions, nor making uſe of liberality and hopes, (things uſuall in him who knowes how to governe) they were of neceſſity to fall, but on the contrary they truſted every one whileſt they diſcontented all and minded not any friendſhip, beleeving the bare name of King to bee ſufficient, whileſt weakenes and ſimplicity made the King to bee deſpiſed, and them hated, who made uſe thereof.

The firſt day of *Aprill* 1447. the truce expired and the deſire of peace prorogu'd it till the firſt of *June* 1449. when an accident brake forth which interrupted the quiet, and quite daſht the hopes of a conceived peace: Duke *Francis* the firſt who was comprehended in the truce, raigned in *Britanny*, and *Francis Surianne* named the *Arroganne* who for ſervices done to the Crowne of *England* had deſerved the order of the *Garter*, was Governour in low *Normandy*, his Garriſons namely thoſe of Saint *Faques* and *Beveronne*, had by reaſon of their commerce diſcovered the weakenes of the neighbouring frontier Townes, eſpecially of *Tongereſſe* in *Britanni*, the which being rich and ill-guarded was by the *Arragon* ſcaled by night and taken toge-

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together with the Caſtle, not without the marke of much cruelty and avarice, for to boote with the breach of truce, and the taking of other mens goods in a time, when in all reaſon they ought not to have done ſo, they ſlew many of the Inhabitants and pilladged all they had, giving more ſcandall by the circumſtances then by the deed it ſelfe. Duke *Francis* complained hereof by a Herauld to the Duke of *Somerſet*, requiring of him amends for the injury and the reſtitution of the place, together with what was taken from thence. *Somerſet* cooly replied, that the accident diſpleaſed him, that hee did approve thereof, and that hee ſhould make ſuch ſatisfaction as hee ſhould thinke fit; *Francis* was herewithall no whit pleaſed, but repreſented his injury to *Charles* as done unto his Majeſty, requiring aide at his hands, affirming hee was reſolved to re-have his owne by the way of Armes, with him to force it, hee forthwith diſpatcht away Meſſengers to *England*, and *Normandy*: making his complaints and received the like anſwer as formerly the Duke had done. And *Somerſet* ſent unto him two Knights (one of which were Sir *John Hungerford*) affirming by them that the action diſpleaſed him, as being blamefull and done without his knowledge, but reparation for the injury and ſatisfaction for what was taken away being demanded, they ſaid they had no other order, but to endeavour that all places as well of the one ſide as the other ſhould remaine according to the truce in their former ſecreſie. To the which *Charles* replied, that if the Duke of *Somerſet* were really ſorry for what had hapned, hee ſhould doe well to ſhew it by making amends, for the injury done, which if hee ſhould not doe hee would faile his Nephew the Duke of *Britanny*, and therefore hee would not bee tyed to ſecure any place, nor was it reaſon, that being injured and endamaged, hee ſhould bee denied revenge, ſince hee was allied in bloud to the greateſt Princes and Lords of his Kingdome. That *Somerſet* ſhould minde his owne affaires, for ſo would hee doe, ſince it was, but reaſon that the *Engliſh* having poſſeſt themſelves of what was anothers in time of truce: the offended party might bee free from any tye of obligation, and allowed to recent the injury received. *Hungerford* not knowing how to anſwer him, deſired him to ſend ſome body to *Sonniers* a Towne belonging unto *Charles*, whither the Duke of *Somerſet* would likewiſe ſend ſome other.

Charles willingly did this, but hee ſent thither *Monſieur de Cowlant*, and two others, but whileſt they were treating with *Somerſets* deputies, *Monſieur de Breſſe* Captaine of *Sonniers*, in company with *Monſieur de Manni*, *Robert Hacquet*, and *James Claremont*, tooke *Pont d'Arc*, being therein aſſiſted by a Marchant who wonted to goe from one place to another, and therefore well knowne, was got to the Gate upon breake of day with a Cart, wherein were two Souldiers apparelled like *Carpenters*, and called for the Gate to bee opened, the which being done, hee ſtayed his Cart upon the draw Bridge, and faining to take out ſome mony to reward them, hee let a peece of ſilver fall, which the keeper of the Gate ſtooping to take up, he was ſlaine before hee could raiſe himſelfe againe by the two Souldiers, and

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and together with him an *Engliſhman* that came to open the Gate at the ſame time, the forenamed Captaines came from forth their ambuſh, and with their followers entered the Towne; they tooke ſixſcore *Engliſh* priſoners in their beds, amongſt which the Lord of *Faulconbridge* the Commander of the Towne (whom *Argentres* beleeves to bee a *Dutchman* came thither the night before) and ſent them all to *Sonniers*, this accident diſpleaſed the *Engliſh*, but *Charles* liked it well; of whom reſtitution being demanded: hee replied, hee would willingly doe it, when *Tongerres* with all the *Loſſes* and intereſts thereof ſhould bee reſtored to the Duke of *Britanny*. The which the *Engliſh* could not doe for the loſſes and intereſts of the Towne were irreparable, life could not bee reſtored to them that were ſlaine, and the ſpoiles eſtimated at 1600000. Crownes were diverſly diſpoſed of by them, that tooke them and emborſed them that were the Authors or Permitters thereof. This inconvenience could not have hapned in a better time; for *Charles* being enformed of the Duke of *Glocesters* death, the Nobilities diviſion, the Kings weakenes, and the Queenes detaſted government; hee thought it a fitting time to drive the *Engliſh* out of *France*: yet moved hee not ſuddenly, to the end that the breach of truce might bee on his ſide juſtifiable, hee made a confederacy with the Duke of *Britanny*; with an obligation of reciprocall aſſiſtance by Sea and Land, and under the name of the Duke of *Britanny* (*Charles* conſenting thereunto) *Gerbory* was taken by *Monſieur de Mony*, and as many as were found there, put to the ſword. *Conques* by *Robert Hocquet*; *Coignac*, and Saint *Magrine* neare *Burdeaux* in *Gaſcony* by *Verdenne*. *Somerſet* complained of theſe invaſions to *Charles* and required reſtitution, anſwer was made that hee wondered, that the *Engliſh* who had taken *Tongerres* in time of truce, without any occaſion given, and without reſtoring, ſhould pretend the Duke of *Britanny* unjuſtly injured: ſhould reſtore what by juſt repriſall hee had taken from them. At laſt they came to conference in the Abbey of *Boneport*, the which prooving fruitleſſe, *Charles* reſolved to make open warre, and it ſucceeded well unto him; for not having before any deſigne upon *Vernuille*, hee underſtood that upon day breake it was ſurpriſed by *Peter Breſſe* and *James Clavemont*: by the meanes of a Miller who was Sentinell there, of 120. *Engliſh*, that were there; ſome were ſlaine, the reſt fled into the Caſtle out of the Ditches, whereof the water being drained by the ſame Miller after a great aſſault it was taken by force, and thoſe who remained alive retired themſelves into a ſtrong Tower called *Legrize*, a part from the Caſtle and beguirt with a deepe Ditch full of water, and which was not to bee taken, but for want of victualls. The *Dunneſſe* was come to aſſiſt him in this ſiege, but hearing that *Talbot* came to the ſuccour, hee went to encounter him: *Talbot* hearing thereof withdrew himſelfe to *Harecourt*, ſo as they both failed in their deſignes, the one in ſuccouring the Towne, the other in giving battell. At this ſame time came Count Saint *Paul* into the field with 4000. horſe, hee tooke *Nurgent* by compoſition, from thence paſſing by *Ponte del Arc* in company with Count *de Eu*, hee marched on *Honneſteur* ſide to *Ponte de*

Mare, whileſt the *Dunneſſe* marched on the other ſide the River *Riule*. By joynt agreement, they aſſailed that Towne, each of them on their ſide, after long conteſtation taking it by force, and the *Engliſh* who had retired themſelves into a ſtrong houſe on the townes end, were conſtrained to yeeld themſelves priſoners; *Lizeux* by the Biſhops meanes yeelded it ſelfe before they came neere it, ſo as the Inhabitants received no damage, nor yet the neighbouring places who followed the example thereof. Saint *Faques de Beveron* battered by *Monſieur de Lochac*, and valiantly defended, was yeelded up, the lawes and goods of the inhabitants ſaved: The Tower *Gryſe* of which wee have ſpoken, after a few dayes did the like; there being but 30. Souldiers in it, the Garriſon of *Mantes* would defend themſelves, but the Inhabitants ſeeing *Charles* neere at hand, and that the *Dunneſſe* had appeared before it with 6000. men, made good certaine ſtations againſt the *Engliſh*, who having enemies without and within yeelded, and *Charles* his people entered the Towne to ſecure them, from them without, who pretended to ſack it. The Caſtle of *Laigni* was by the Captaine betrayed, and thoſe of the Garriſon made priſoners; *Vernon* yeelded it ſelfe, the Inhabitants whereof would not defend themſelves, ſo as the Garriſon having it, witneſſed under their hands that they were abandoned, came forth with their weapons and baggage, and the Towne was given to *Charles* by the *Dunneſſe* in conſideration of his ſervice; the *French* forces were divided into foure armies commanded by the Duke of *Britanny*, the *Dunneſſe*, the Counts *de Eu*, and Saint *Paul*, and by the Duke *d' Allanſon*, beſides the *Launces* and *Archers* which waited upon *Charles* his perſon, ſo as it is no wonder, if for the moſt part they woone it at firſt ſight. ſince notwithſtanding the forces, the Inhabitants inclinations did decline from the *Engliſh* party, the Caſtle of *Anion* yeelded as ſoone as ſommoned, by meanes of a *Portugall* who was Governour thereof, who *Charles* left in the ſame charge in recompence of his ſervice unfaithfully performed to his former Maſter: *Gourney* yeelded upon the like tearmes, *Rocheguione* commanded by *John Hovell* an *Engliſhman* was ſurrendered with liberty to the *Engliſh* Garriſon, and leave for himſelfe to enjoy his wives lands, who was a *French* woman and to continue ſtill Captaine of ſome Caſtle; the *French* now thinking, that they loſt too much time by keeping all in one body. The two Counts *de Eu* and Saint *Paul* went to beſiege *Chaſteaument de Nicourt*, they tooke the Towne by aſſault and the Caſtle upon conditions in 15. dayes, the *Dunneſſe* beſieged *Chaſteau Cambreſſe*, which yeelded in ſeaven dayes ſpace, *Le Chaſteau de Harecourt* bargained to doe the like if it were not ſuccoured within a preſixt time which it was not: *Fannes* yeelded ſuddenly. *Argenton* defended it ſelfe; but the Inhabitants having drawne the enemy into the Towne, the *Engliſh* retired into the Caſtle, which having a breach made in it by the cannon, they got into a tower, from whence they came forth with white truncheons in their hands; the Duke of *Britanny* accompanied by his Vncle, the Conſtable having left *Peter* of *Britanny* his brother upon the frontiers of *Tongerres* and *Arranches* with 300. *Launces* for defence

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fence of the Country) entered into *Normandy*, hee came before *Constances*, where when hee had tarried but one day, the Citizens forced the Garrison to depart, they themselves remaining in the same condition as before the warre. St. Lo. *Hommet*, *Nentreill*, *Tonigny*, *Benterill*, *Hambre*, *Mota*, *da Eresq*; *Haie*, *Chantelon*, *Auney*, and other like places compounded; upon the like tearmes *Carentesse* held out three dayes, the Garrison afterwards marching out with a Truncheon in their hands, and the inhabitants set at liberty, *Ponte D'ovey* and *Gaurey* were taken by assault, the Duke *d' Alanssonne* entred thereinto, and the *English* withdrew themselves into the Castle, but they made but short abode there.

Fortune this meane while (as if shee ment to undoe *England* on all sides) raised a rebellion in *Ireland*, which though it did no harme (for the Duke of *Yorke* was sent thither who appeased it) yet the evill not caused by the Mallady, was occasioned by the Phisition; for the Duke having quieted the tumults, wonne so much of friendship in that kingdome, that for his sake they forsooke the King to follow the house of *Yorke*, to the which they did ever after passionately adhere. *Charles* was then at *Sonnieris*, whither the King of *Scicily*, and Count *du Maine* his brother being come unto him, with fresh supply of men, he resolved to pursue his fortune in totally driving the *English* out of *Normandy*; hee gave order for the besieging of *Chasteau Gallarde*, this place was built upon a rocke, upon the River, not to bee lost but by famishing, the *Seneschall* of *Poicton* pitch his Campe before it, whither *Charles* came shortly after himselfe in person; this meane while the Duke of *Alanssonne* tooke *Grisney* upon composition, and Sir *Richard Marbury* Governour of *Glizors* who had married a *French* woman, made his peace by his brothers meanes, tooke his oath of Allegiance to *Charles*, betrayed his honour, kingdome and King, that without ransome he might re-have two sonnes which were taken at *Ponte de Mere*, and that he might enjoy his wives patrimony, and be captaine of Saint *Iermans* in *Say*: wealth being more powerfull with him then any sense of honour; there remained no place of importance in all *Normandy* except *Rhoan* her metropolitan, which did not take part with *Charles*; hee assembled all his Forces to take it in being come to *Ponte de Are*, hee sent his Heralds to summon it to allegiance, but the *English* would not suffer them to doe their office, fearing least the people might mutiny. The *Dunnesse* who was come before it, perceiving no commotion in the Citie, and annoyed by perpetuall raine and sallyes, after three dayes returned to *Ponte d' Are*. Those of *Rhoan* this meane while, having made themselves masters of two townes (by whose entre-pressed curtaine they might give him entry) recalled him, whereupon hee returned, and some 40. of his men having entred the towne by *Scalado*, they were surprised by *Talbot* who (though plaid upon from the towne) slew the greatest part of them, and drove the rest from the walls. The slaughter of the Townesmen, then of the assailants, the Rampard betweene the two townes was covered with blood and dead bodies, besides those who in throwing themselves from the Towers broke their limbes, or lost

their

their lives, but this inconnter in appearance little favourable to *Charles*, was that which brought him the victory, for the Citizens fearing leaſt that the *Engliſh* reſolute in defence of the towne might make them runne hazard of their lives, reſolved together with the Archbiſhop come what come would to ſurrender, ſo as preſenting themſelves before the Duke of *Sommerſet*, and acquainting him with the danger that the Citie was in, and with their reſolution; they demanded the ſurrendring thereof, hee willingly would have delayed and have puniſhed them, but having enemies without and within hee ſeemed to be therewithall content. The chiefe captaines, together with the Archbiſhop went to *Ponte d' Arc*, offered to ſurrender the citie, demanding leave for thoſe to depart who would the preſervation of their goods, who remained; and free paſſage for the *Engliſh* and their goods; the which being granted, and relation thereof made in the towne houſe, it pleaſed the inhabitants, but not the Duke, who going from thence, cauſed all his men take Armes and made himſelfe ſtrong at the Bridge, in the Pallace and in the Caſtle, the which when the Citizens ſaw they did the like, and placing ſtrong guards every where they advertiſed the King, offered to throw open the gates unto him, drive backe ſuch *Engliſh* as were fallen into the Citie, and ſlew ſome ſeven or eight of them: nor yet contented herewithall they made themſelves maſters of the walls, turrets, and gates. Upon this commotion the *Dunneſſe* came thither, and ſeeing the Citie defended by Citizens, he placed himſelfe before Saint *Katherines*, demanding the ſurrender thereof, the Captaine thereof when hee had not above 120. Souldiers, and who knew the King was comming thither with his Cannon yeelded. They were by a Herauld led to the gate S. *Owen*, where meeting with the King; he adviſed them to uſe no violence by the way, but to pay for what they ſhould take; and anſwer being made that they had no money, he cauſed tenne pound to bee given them, being come to *Rhoane* he alledged in the aforeſaid Fort of St. *Katherines*, whilſt the Keyes of the Citie were preſented to the *Dunneſſe*, as he was with all his Army in battle array before the gate *Martinville*, the troopes which he brought in, tooke their ſtand before the Caſtle, and the Pallace guarded by 1200. Souldiers, and kept by the Duke and *Talbot*. The Duke had quit the bridge, and was too late aware of his ill adviſement in excluding himſelfe from the Cities capitulation, whilſt he had neither ſtrength to defend it nor to puniſh it, he deſired to ſpeake with *Charles* who yeelded thereunto, he deſired he might be permitted to depart according to the capitulation agreed upon by the Citie, the King replyed he was not comprehended in that capitulation ſince he himſelfe had broken it by revolting againſt the Citie, by endeavouring to hinder the ſurrender thereof, and by fortifying himſelfe in the Pallace and in the Caſtle, actions contrary to that agreement which he pretended to make uſe of, that it behooved him to pay for this by ſurrendring of *Honneflour*, *Harflour*, and all the country of *Caux*, if he would have his liberty, to the which the Duke conſented not, but returned much confuſed to his former ſtation. The Pallace was beſieged, it had gates without and within the

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the Citie, but it was impoſſible to get out, for that without was ſtraightly guarded, the like was done unto the Caſtle, and nothing but giving fire unto the Ordnance already adjuſted againſt them both, was wanting to enforce them: to boote with this they had but little victuals, many mouthes, and ſmall hopes. The duke deſired a ſecond hearing, the King granted it, he was received by the Heraulds, and at comming forth of the Citie met by Count *Cleremont*, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of *Burbone*, his demands being the ſame as formerly. *Charles* his anſwer was likewiſe the ſame, ſo as the Duke was much blamed as being too impudently obſtinate, he had no reaſon to looke for better capitulation ſince his condition grew worſe, he thought it was booteleſſe to importune the King the third time, therefore forced by neceſſitie he ſpoke with the *Dunneſſe*, from whom hee obtained a truce till the 24. of *October*, which was prorogu'd 12. dayes, from day to day, in all which time granting what he had denyed to doe, to wit, the forenamed townes, and denying what was not before required of him, the delivery up of the Earle of *Shrewsbury* in hoſtage for the performance of his promiſes, it was at laſt concluded that he, his wife children and ſouldiers, as well of the Pallace as of the Caſtle ſhould goe their wayes, their lives and goods ſaved, that he ſhould ſet at liberty ſuch priſoners as ſhould be found with him, that hee ſhould not carry away with him his greateſt peeces of Ordnance, that hee ſhould pay unto the King within the ſpace of one yeare next comming 50000. Crownes to the *Dunneſſe*, and thoſe that joyned with him in the concluſion of the treaty 6000. that hee ſhould ſatisfie all debts ought by him, or his in the Citie, and that he ſhould deliver up into the Kings hands, or his Commiſſioners *Angues*, *Candale*, *Tancherville*, *Bon-Iſle*, *Honneſleur* and *Monſtrevilliers*; that he ſhould oblige himſelfe hereunto by hand writing, and give hoſtages thereupon; the chiefe whereof ſhould be *Talbot*, the Earle of *Shrewsbury*. The townes were reſtored except *Honneſlour*, the which the Governour thereof refuſed to ſurrender, which cauſed the detainement of *Talbot*, and the reſt of the hoſtages, whilſt theſe things were treated of at *Rhoan*, the Duke of *Brittany* made himſelfe maſter of *Tongerres*, after having beſieged it above a moneth, ſo as having battered it, and being ready to aſſault it; *Francis Surian* who did defend it, together with five or ſix hundred *Engliſh* yeelded it up, their Armes and Horſes ſaved, and not permitted to carry any thing out, ſave each of them a little bundle. Hee who had beene cauſe of the violation of truce, whereby ſo many miſchiefes were occaſioned, betooke himſelfe to the *French* ſide; I know not whether fearing his owne ſafetie or ſome leſſe excuſable cauſe. The Duke of *Alanſonne* beſieged *Bleeme*, a place which patrimonially did belong unto him, and which for ſome dayes was ſtoutly defended, they articled to ſurrender if they were not ſuccoured by the twentieth of *December*; this was the clematericall yeare to *England*, ſeven multiplyed it by it ſelfe, producing 49. which after ſo many loſſes, ended with the loſſe of *Harflore*; the King went thither in perſon the third of *October*, Cannons and Mines brought it, to parly on Chriſtmas eve, and on Chriſtmas day it yeelded, thoſe of the Garriſon were furniſhed

nished with shipping to transport them, and had safe conduct by land, together with their weapons and goods, the Souldiers without suffered much in this short siege, for the season was very violent in raine and inundations, so as the waters entered into all the Huts throughout the whole Campe; this notwithstanding they willingly underwent all incommodities, seeing the King expose himselfe to all dangers, his example made them willing to suffer with him, the onely way to infuse patience into the *French*, for being led on by their King they out did themselves, doing that under his command, which under anothers had beene impossible for them to doe; and because wee have diciphered this King elsewhere with affections, much differing from these present actions, wee must cite *Hallian* for our discharge, who will free us from reproach telling what happened in the yeare 1445. he falls upon these words. *Henry the 6.*

"In the concourse of so many affaires the King suffering himselfe "to be transported by pleasures, fell in love with a Gentlewoman "belonging to the Queene his wife, called *Agneta Sorrell* borne in "*Onvergne*, a Lady so faire, as shee acquired the name of *Agneta* the "faire, and to the end that shee might have the title, the King gave "her during her life *le Chastem de Beante*, neare to the *Boys de* Saint "*Vincent*; and caused there to be erected that great Pavillion which at "this day is there to be seene all covered. When shee was called the "Lady of Beauty; the King had by her foure daughters, all married "into good houses of this Kingdome, though some say hee had but one married to *Monsieur de Bresse*.

Of *Normandy* and others, That she lived not long, and that the King did not avow her for his, but though the affection the King bore her lessened his due respects unto his wife, and tooke from her much of of the rights of marriage, yet was she faine to swallow this bitter pill and patiently permit the faire *Agneta* enjoy the best of her husbands affections: 'tis said that when she saw the King careleste, effeminate, not minding the affaires of his kingdome, nor the victories which the *English* wonne; she one day said unto him, that when she was a very "young girle, she was told by an Astrologer that she should be belo-"ved by one of the most couragious and most valiant Kings of "Christendome, and that when she had the honour to be beloved by "him, shee thought hee had beene that valiant and couragious King "foretold by the Astrologer, but seeing him so soft natured, not min-"ding his affaires, nor making head against the *English*, and *Henry* their "King, who before his face had taken so many Cities of his, shee ve-"ry well perceived she was deceived, and that this valiant couragi-"ous King could be none other but the King of *England*, and there-"fore said shee, I will goe finde him out, for he is that King foretold "me by the Astrologer, and not you, who neither have courage nor "valour, since you suffer your kingdome to be lost and doe not resent it. These words pronounced by her, whom he loved better then hee should have done, did so touch him to the quicke as that hee fell a "weeping, and awakening himselfe, tooke courage upon him, gave "not himselfe so much to hunting and dalliance as hee was wont, so

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"as by his good fortune, and the valour of his good Commanders "who faithfully served him, he drove the *English* out of all *France*, *Calis* excepted. I was desirous to place here the words of this Historian, not so much to shew that I did not lie in my other contrary descriptions, as that it being my duty to praise vertue and blame vice, I have done it in their due places, as every writer ought to doe particularly where they speake of Princes, to this end that those who are alive may there by be admonished, that when they are dead the same rules will be observed in the writing of their story.

The affaires in Guienne.

Though they did not precipitate so fast of as those off *Normandy*, *Guichus* a strong Castle, foure leagues distant from *Bayone*, was besieged with a formall army by *Monsieur de Lantree*, brother to the Count, and Bastard *de Foix*; 4000. *English* went to succour it, and that their comming might be the more unlooked for, they embarked themselves in the River that passeth by *Bayone*, and landed not farre from *Guiches*; *Lantree* who by spies was enformed of their designe left the siege, and treated them as they thought to have treated him, for they not dreaming of being discovered, were taken at such unawares as not having time to put themselves in order, they fled towards their Barques, were followed by the enemy and 1200. of them slaine. *George Stapleton* one of their Commanders mistrusting to escape by flight, passed through the middest of the enemy, and was followed by 600. Launces, who valiantly fighting saved themselves within *Gueschin*; but it did but little availe him, for the towne being blockt up, and no body to succour it, he departed at unawares with his men, hoping to get into *Bayone*, but being followed by the Bastard *de Foix*, hee and many of his men were taken prisoners; the Castle was yeelded up the next day, and therewithall all the country which lies betweene *Auxe* and *Bayone*, wherein was contained 15. or 16. strong holds which afterwards caused to the *French* the more easie winning of whole *Guascony*.

1450. *Charles* did not forbeare to prosecute his designes in *Normandy*, for all the frost and cold in *January*; hee sent the *Dunneise* to besiege *Honnefleur*, whither hee afterwards came in person, and was lodged in an Abbey not farre from thence; valiant was the defence, and furious the onset, wherein neither wit nor labour was wanting. The towne articled to surrender, if they should not bee succoured by the eighteenth of *February*; but the Duke of *Somerset* not daring to trust the Citizens with *Caen*, which if he had done, wanting men to resist the *French* Forces, *Honnefleur* was enforced to runne the same fortune the other townes did. *Fearnsy* yeelded, and paid downe 10000. peeces of gold, not so much that the Garrison might be suffered free with their goods, as for the ransome of *Monfort* their Captaine not long before taken at *Ponte de Meere*. This meane while the *English* though at variance at home, sent Sir *Thomas Terrill* into *France*, a renounced Captaine, and who had beene trayned up in these warres from

his

his youth, but being landed at *Cherreburgh* with 1500. men he could doe no good with ſo ſmall a number; and though in a ſhort time hee tooke in *Liſeux* and *Valonges*, the matter was not ſo much, ſince the enemy being ſeverally buſied elſe where, had not leaſure to divert them; hee added to his number certaine troopes, drawne out of the few townes, which yet remained to the *Engliſh*, conducted by Sir *Henry Mowbery*, Sir *Robert Vere*, and Sir *Robert Gough*; which in all made us 5000. with theſe he judged it beſt onely to march towards *Caen*, whither all the enemies Forces were bent to beſiege it, and in caſe hee ſhould be met withall to fight as he did, for being come to *Fermingy*, a place betweene *Carenten* and *Baieux*, on the 18. of *Aprill*, they were met by Count *Cleremont* the Admirall of *France*, and the *Seneſchall* of *Poictou* with 600. horſe, and 6000. foote; they fell to blowes, and valiantly was the battell fought, till the Count *Richmont* comming in with freſh men, the *Engliſh* were defeated, 4000. of them ſlaine, 800. taken priſoners, amongſt which *Terrill*, *Mowberry*, and Sir *Thomas Drue*, *Vere*, and *Gough*, with the ſmall remainder ſaved themſelves; this is the relation made by the *Engliſh*.

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Monſtrelet ſaith the *French* had but 600. Launces, beſides their bowmen, whoſe number hee doth not ſpecifie (but as we ſhall ſee every of his Launces proved foure, and all on horſebacke) that the *Engliſh* pitcht their Swords & Daggers againſt the ground, to the end that the enemies horſe might thred themſelves thereon, they that were gotten into an advantagious place, with a little River and many Gardens full of trees at their backes, ſo as they could not be ſet upon behind, and that Count *Claremont* having with him but a ſmall number of men, ſent ſpeedily to the Conſtable at Saint *Lo*, to come and ſuccour him, who came thither with 240. horſe, and 800. Archers, that being come to a mill where the *Engliſh* had beaten backe 1500. Archers, and wonne two Culverins he ſet upon them, overcame them, and ſlew 3770. of them, and tooke 1400. priſoners. I will not relate what others write hereof, but onely what is ſet downe in the Chronicles of *Normandy* printed in *Rhoan*, the yere 1581. no authors name ſet there, the wch I cite in other places becauſe it particularly appertaines to the Province, it ſayes that the *Engliſh* who landed at *Chereburgh* were 3000. that they had added to their number from the Garriſon of *Caen*, five or ſix hundred from that of *Bayeux*, 800. from *Vires*, betweene foure or five hundred, which number it ſummes up to make betweene five and ſix thouſand whilſt; give the number granted which is there but doubtfully ſpoken of, it makes but 4900: that *Meſſieurs de Cleremont*, *de Caſtrus*, *de Mongaton*, *de Rayes* Admirall of *France*, the *Seneſchalls* of *Poictou*, and *Burbone*, and *Iames Renault* met with them neare to a village called *Iermingi*, where they ſkirmiſhed the ſpace of three hours, but that the Conſtable *Monſieur de Laval* and *Mariſhall Lowhac*, comming up with 300. Launces and their bowmen, the battle was valiantly fought on both ſides, the *Engliſh* diſcomfited, 3774. of them ſlaine, and 1440. of them taken priſoners, that but five or ſix of the *French* were found miſſing, ſo as the *Engliſh* being well 6000. the good people ſay that God was the cauſe of this victory.

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Belforeſt ſayes, there were 10. of the *French* ſlaine, *Hallian* 8. *Dupleix* 4. or 5. and *Serres* agrees in the number with *Hallian*, yet hee makes the miracle greater then doe the reſt for hee ſaith, the *Engliſh* threw away their armes, and ſuffered themſelves to bee ſlaine, and taken to mercy, many of them being ſpared through the courteſie of the *French*, his owne account prooves him a lier, but much more the accounts made by the reſt, for hee counting thoſe who came from *England* to bee 4000. and that with the addition, of the other Garriſons they made 8000. (whileſt the Chronicle makes them in all but 4900.) and counting 3774. ſlaine, and a greater number ſaved through the courteſie of the *French*, thoſe who hee makes to run away ſhamefully, will proove but a very ſmall number, and his number exceeds the number mentioned in the Chronicle above 3000. To boote, hee contradicts *Hallian* who writes that *Gough* eſcaped away with a good number, of horſe & 1000. Archers, & whereas he accuſed them of cowardiſe. I know not with what face he can do it, if they for the loſſe of one Battell ought to bee reputed cowards, what ought the *French* to be who loſt ſo many, to fight till the laſt gaſpe is not cowardiſe, to defeat 1500. Bowmen and take two culverins is not cowardiſe; cowardiſe is a thing not knowne unto the *Engliſh* as *Serres* ſaith, they either fight with valour or retire with reaſon. *Mathew Gough* who upon all occaſions gave triall of his valour, did not abandon his companions, as hee calumniouſly affirmes hee did, but the caſe being deſperate and the loſſe inevitable, hee deſerves commendations, in that hee reſerved himſelfe for a better occaſion, for had hee done otherwiſe, hee ſhould rather have merited the name of foole then of valiant. This battell being wonne the *French* went before *Virs*, Captaine *Henry Mawbery* their priſoner was there, ſo as it held not out long, the Garriſon withall they had got to *Caen*, here count *Claremont* parting from the Conſtable went into *Britanny*, and from thence to the ſiege of *Auranches*, which in about a Month was taken, the defendants being ſuffered to depart away weaponleſſe. *Tombelaine* a place neere Mount Saint *Michell* might have held out longer, but there being no hopes of ſuccour, the Inhabitants would not together with the Towne, looſe all that they had: The *Dunneſſe Nivers* and *Eu*, encamped themſelves before *Bayeux*, where much was done before it fell into their hands, for though great breaches had beene made by the cannon, and the Walles beaten downe in many places, yet would they not yeeld: whereupon the Aſſailants who longed to ſack the Towne, ſeeing the breaches made and the walles ready to fall downe, gave them two aſſaults, but in ſuch diſorder as doing it without their Captaines command, they were beaten back, yet *Mathew Gough* who after the Battell of *Fernimgi* was got thither, knowing they were not able to reſiſt the third aſſault ſurrendered it, comming forth with a cudgell in his hand, and with ſome 900. perſons, the greateſt part whereof were Women and Children, to whom carriages were permitted, though not articled for, wherein this route was carried a pitifull Spectacle into *Cheriburg*, *Bribec*, *Valonges*, and Saint *Saviours*, yeelded to the Conſtable, who muſtering

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all his forces together, beſieged *Caen* on two ſides, and made a Bridge to paſſe over the River; *Charles* came thither in perſon accompanied by the King of *Cicely*, the Duke of *Calabria* his ſon, the Duke of *d' Allanſon*, the Counts of *Maine*, Saint *Paul* and *Tancherville* with a great many other Noble men, Gentlemen, and Archers, and tooke his Quarter in the Abbey of *Dardenne*; at his comming with much a doe and loſſe of bloud. The bulwarkes of *Vancelles*, upon the River *Dine* were taken, mines were made in all places particularly towards Saint *Stephens*, ſo as the Walles being throwne downe, they fought at handy blowes. This not withſtanding, the City was not likely ſo ſoone to have yeelded, and much leſſe the Caſtle which very was ſtrong, had it not beene that a cannon ſhot lighting upon the *Dutcheſſe* of *Somerſets-houſe* (a particular which the *French* conceive) made her with teares in her eyes begge of her Husband, not to ſuffer her and her Children remaine any longer in ſo eminent danger. *Caen* was by King *Henry* given to the Duke of *Yorke*, ſo as though the Duke of *Somerſet* as Lieutenant generall had all plenary authority in all other places, yet had hee not ſo in this without Sir *David Halls* conſent, Commander of the Towne under the Duke of *Yorke*. But *Somerſet* ſummoning together, the chiefeſt Citizens told them, that it was impoſſible to defend the Towne, and that in endeavouring it, they would endanger being taken by force: His propoſition was gladly entertained by them all, *Hall* oppoſed him ſhewing him that though his authority was generall, yet had hee nothing to doe in that place, which did belong to the Duke of *Yorke*, and whereof the charge was committed to him, that the Towne was not in ſuch danger as hee pretended, for it neither wanted men, munition, nor mony, that therefore it behooved them to ſpin out the time till the Duke himſelfe might come to the ſuccour thereof, or els give order for the ſurrender thereof. That in the meane while, hee would defend it againſt whatſoever power, ſince the Caſtle was impregnable; and though ſubject to the thunder of a cannon, yet onely Women and Children were there at to bee affraid, not men of warre. Long were the diſputes hereupon, but the Inhabitants ſiding with the Duke all of them naturally enclined to the *French*, and fearing to bee ſackt they mutined againſt the Captaine, vowing that if hee did not yeeld up the Towne within three dayes they in deſpight of him would throw open the Gates to the King, their threats were not to bee deſpiſed, ſince the common ſort of Souldiers, and the Duke ſided with them, ſo as hee was conſtrained to yeeld, but would not have his name uſed in the articles, which were ſigned in this manner; the next day of the Feaſt of Saint *John Baptiſt*, that in the Towne & Caſtle ſhould be yeelded up on the firſt of *July*, in caſe they were not before that ſuccoured, that the Duke, *Dutcheſſe*, their Children & all others, that had a minde to depart might do ſo, the Souldiers with their horſes & harneſſe, the Inhabitants with their Wives, Children, and moveables, but at their owne charges, that they ſhould pay what they ought unto the Citizens, and ſhould leave behinde them all ſort of Artillery. Sir *David Hall* tooke ſhipping for *Ireland* to advertiſe the Duke of *Yorke* his maſter hereof, who

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who was so much offended thereat, that if his former injuries received from the Duke of *Somerset*, did touch him to the quick, this vext his very heart. Of a 100. Townes enjoyed by the *English* they now enjoyed but foure; *Lisieux* commanded by *Gough* yeelded, their lives and livelyhood saved, but the Garrison was to march forth with a white truncheon onely in their hand, *Falce* whereof the *Earle* of *Shrewesbery* was Master, by gift from *Henry* held out a while, the souldiers sailed forth to surprize the cannon which they saw appeare, but being repulsed and *Charles* himselfe comming thither in person, they demanded parly, which was granted them; they agreed upon two articles, one for each side for them, that they should surrender the place if they were not succoured within twelve dayes. For *Charles* that hee should set the Earle of *Shrewesbery* at liberty who was prisoner in *Dreux*. *Dumfronte* yeelded the second of *August*, the lives and goods of the Inhabitants saved, *Chereburg* held last out, it was valiantly defended as long as their munition lasted, from thence, the Governour thereof Captaine *Thomas Gonvall*, and the Garrison went to *Callais*, where he found the Duke of *Somerset* and the rest, who after so many adverse fortunes had retired themselves thither.

Normandy returned back againe to the possession of the *French*, 30. yeares after it had beene conquered by *Henry* the fifth, and 3. were the causes of her losse, the first that a small number of Souldiers were not sufficient to retaine it in obedience, for though it did patrimonially belong to the Crowne of *England*, yet did it not any longer retaine those former good affections to *England*, which had beene cancelled by the interposition of the government, of two ages from the time, that King *John* of *England* was deprived thereof by *Philip* the first, so as being *French* in scituation, tongue, and customes; it was impossible to preserve her with the weake forces of bare garrisons, devided conquests, and which are aloofe of, are not kept without great Collonies, or without the totall rooting out of the people, especially when they neighbour upon great Princes, that may helpe them, the common wealth of *Rome* doth antiently teach us this, and in moderne time the *Turke* and the *Spaniards*; the *Turke* in the Easterne Countries, and parts adjacent, the *Spaniards* in *Cuba*, *Muxico*, *Pera*, and the rest of *America*, wherein destroying as many as could hurt them, they reserved none alive, save some few, that they thought might doe them service; the second was the Duke of *Somersets* avarice, for that hee did not keepe such garrisons there as hee should have done, but pocketted up the money in his owne purse, as appeares by his conniving during the truce at the robberies, which with suppository beards were done upon the high wayes by his Souldiers, whereby hee gave just occasion of complaint unto the *French*, and by not paying of his Souldiers, lost all power either of suppressing their out rages, or punishing their selves, the third home divisions, of these three, the first is not to bee questioned, the second though some what obscure, yet cleare enough by the effects, the third may suffer a dispute, for though ill humours were conceived they were not

not ripe enough to cause the ruine of the state, nor would they have
been ascribed or bred under a princely spirited King. Faults
proceed from ill government, ill government from the want of
judgement, insufficiency and carelessnesse, and cruelty in the Prince; now
to come to these names, I say the chiefest of them had their begin-
nings from the Duke of *Suffolke*, of whom there are divers opinions,
Polidore, *Holinshead*, and *Hall*, judge evilly of him, following the vulgar
opinion which never adheres to favorites. *Camden* and *Speed* evilly,
but not with ingratitude, grounding themselves upon many truthes.
In like manner believe both well and ill of him, the good in him was,
that he was very vertuous, and of heightned conditions for what con-
cerned himselfe, he waged warre in *France* 44. yeares without inter-
mission, in seventeene of which he never saw his owne country, when
he was taken prisoner, his ransome cost him 20000. pound sterling,
though then he had no greater title then bare knighthood, he was of
30. yeares standing of the order of the Garter, his father was slaine at
the siege of *Harflore*, his elder brother in the battle of *Agincourt*, and
two younger brothers in the same warres, so as it cannot be denyed
but that his Prince and country ought much unto him, since he spent
his life and livelihood in the service of the one, his reputation in the
service of the other, his bad, that suffering himselfe to be guided by
a prodigious ambition (a usuall disease amongst great wits) hee of
himselfe did negotiate in an unexpedient and harmefull match, and
which was likely not to bee denied, since that thereby those territo-
ries were surrendered which ought not have beene quitted for any
whatsoever cause, that he did too indiscreetly make use of the Kings
favour, occasioned by the Queenes more then ordinary inclina-
tions.

The Parliament was summoned at the Blacke Friers in *London*,
wherein treaties being had against the Duke and the Queene, fearing
least he might therein suffer, she thought she might reape some ad-
vantage by removing the Parliament to *Leceſter*, but very few of
the Nobilitie comming thither she, was forced to remove it againe to
Weſtminſter, where both houses being full, the lower house presented
many complaints against the Duke, whereof some were true and
some false. The Articles were many, the chiefest that hee had treated
with the Bastard of *Orleans*, when he was sent Embassadour to *Henry*,
to move *Charles* to make warre with *England*, to the end that hee
might make *John* sonne to the said Duke King, by marrying him to
Margaret, daughter to the late Duke of *Sommerſet*, the presumed
heire to the Crowne, in case the King should have no children, Se-
condly that suborned by the sayd Bastard, he was cause of the Duke
of *Orleans* freedome, Thirdly, that the losse of *France* and *Normandy*
was happened through his advise, which was presented to the
King of *France* by the said Duke of *Orleans*, Fourthly, that being
sent Embassadour to make peace or truce he had condescended to the
surrendring of *Anjou* and *Mayne*, without the knowledge of the other
Embassadours his fellow Colleagues, and that being returned to *Eng-
land* he perswaded the King thereunto, so losing him the inheritance

of

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of those countries; Fiftly that having at the same time discovered the Kings counsell unto the enemy, together with the defects of the Forts and number of Souldiers, the *English* by reason of these informations were driven out of *France*; Sixtly, that he had given the like informations to the *Dunneſſe*, when he was Embaſſadour in *England*; ſeventhly, that the King having ſent Embaſſadours into *France* to treate of peace, he was the cauſe why peace was not made, having by way of Anticipation adverticed *Charles* of his advantages; eightly, that in the Starre Chamber hee had made his boaſts, that hee had as much power in the Councell of *France* as in that of *England*, and that by his power hee could remove whatſoever Counſellors there; Ninthly, that corrupted by *Charles* hee had retarded the *melitia* that was to goe to *France*; Tenthly, that in the concluſion of the peace, hee had not comprehended the King of *Arragon* nor the Duke of *Britanny*, both friends to the King, ſo as being comprehended by *Charles* hee alienated the former, and made the other ſo great an enemy as *Giles* brother to the ſaid Duke, remaining firme in his friendſhip to *England*, loſt firſt his liberty and then his life. His anſwers to the firſt three Articles were, that hee never had committed, nor ſo much as thought any ſuch thing: To the fourth, that the buſineſſe of the truce being left to his diſcretion, it could not bee concluded without the ſurrendring of thoſe ſtates which was but a weake anſwer: ſince the marriage of the Queene, in conſideration whereof this ſurrender was made, was not ſo much as dreamt of by any ſave himſelfe; But on the other ſide it being approved of in Parliament, wherein both the houſes did joyne in Petition to his Majeſtie to reward him for this his great good ſervice, it followes that either the one Parliament or the other did amiſſe, ſince the one deſired reward, the other puniſhment, for the ſelfe ſame action: the fift, ſixt, ſeventh, and ninth have no proofe at all, but the accuſers bare narration. In the eight he may be convinc't but more of vanitie then of any other errour; in the tenth his fault was omiſſion, but as it was not excuſable in a perſonage of his condition, ſo it was not to be puniſhed in the higheſt degree; his other accuſations contained the topicall faults of favorites, which in like perſecution are uſually alleaged, that he had enricht himſelfe out of the Kings treaſure, monopolized things belonging to the Crowne, diminiſhed the revenues thereof, removed worthy men from the Councell, placing ſuch in their roomes as had dependancy upon him, that he was the chiefe inſtrument in the death of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, which though it were likely enough yet were not their proofes ſufficient to condemne him. Vpon theſe complaints, he was ſent unto the Tower as to be there forth comming, till hee ſhould give an account of what he was charged of, but being ſet at liberty about a moneth after, the people were thereat ſo highly incenſed, that to avoyd ſedition, it was requiſite to take from the Lord *Say* his place of Treaſurer, all their places from all his other friends, and ſo baniſh him for five yeares out of *England*. But being imbarked in *Suffolke* to goe for *France*, he was ſet upon by a man of warre belonging to the Earle of *Exceſter*, was fought withall, taken, beheaded neare unto *Dover*

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in the ſame ſhip, and his body throwne upon the ſhore, from whence it was taken by one of his Chaplaines, and buried in the Colledge of *Winkefield* in *Suffolke*. This was the end of this man in whom ſo many cauſes both of blame and of praiſe concurring; I know not whether hee ought to bee blamed or praiſed. Vices are like Clouds which though they doe not totally obſcure the day, yet the thicker and blacker they are, the more horrid and feareſull doe they make it. Vices are not to bee ballanced with vertues no more then is ayre and water, with earth and fire, yet if amongſt puniſhments the law givers could have taken away the memory of what was good in the guiltie, I beleeve they would not have done it. *Henry the 6.*

If there had beene no other evill in the Duke of *Suffolke* then the death of the Duke of *Glocester* (whereof the ſignes are too manifeſt for him to cleare himſelfe) 'twere ſufficient to eccliſpe all his other vertues in the eſtimation of all honeſt men, but bee it as you will, his misfortune was very prejudiciall to the King, ſince thereby he was deprived of a ſervant as neceſſary for his preſervation, as by his Councell and valour he was ready to preſerve him.

This chance did much inanimate thoſe who ſyded with the Duke of *Yorke*, who ſpared not in what they could to render the King diſpiſed and hateſull, they forgot not to inculcate the ignominious loſſe of *France*; enough to bereave of reputation the moſt valiant Prince, that is much more him who was given to idleneſſe and wretchleſneſſe; that the ſtate was governed by a proud woman, the chiefe cauſe of all their evills.

Thus ſaid, the people ſhould doe well to take example by the government of *Ireland*, where the wiſedome and valour of the Duke of *Yorke* had domeſticated a ſavage people, reduced them to diſcipline and to obedience, that *England* ſtood in neede of ſuch a King, who were to bee ſought out if there were not ſuch a one, and were to be choſen, were it not by nature, and by the Lawes due unto him, ſo as if he were not priviledged by his lawfull pretentions, his onely vertues were ſufficient to purchaſe him the Kingdome. That *Henry* was illegitimate, yet a King to be borne withall, did hee reſemble his grandfather or his father; but that degenerating in worth, uſurping the lawes, and being by nature incapable, hee was unworthy and not to bee tollerated; ſince that as *France* had beene loſt by him, *England* would likewiſe runne danger of being loſt, if his preſervation ſhould bee endeavoured. That neceſſity, the times, and chiefely the danger the common wealth was in, required other reſolutions, that advantage and the common weales good being joyned to juſtice, it would bee injuſtice injury and ruine, not to provide for it.

They did not preach this Doctrine in private, but diſperſt it abroad; to the end that like ſeed ſowne in due time, they might there out reape to harveſt which they expected. Every man had the vanitie to publiſh theſe things to ſhew their wiſedomes and their affection

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to the publique neceſſitie, and to the end that theſe ſeditious practiſes might bee followed by effects.

Yorke before the death of the forenamed Duke had wrought the end of *Adam Molleins* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and Lord privy Seale; beleeving that hee being a man of integritie might oppoſe his deſignes: hee cauſed him to bee aſſaſſenated by Fiſhermen at *Ports-mouth*, to the end that hee might bee thought to bee ſlaine by the outragious commotion of that baſer ſort of people, but all theſe things tending more to undoing then to the doing of any thing, hee thought to beginne his worke by ſome popular ſedition, which precipitating the Rebells into a fault unpardonable, and their feare of puniſhment making them obſtinate in their errours, hee might make uſe of them either joyned together or ſeparated as occaſion ſhould ſerve; hee perſwaded one *Jacke Cade* an *Iriſhman*, a bold man, and who had a ſpirit which did not correſpond with his low condition, to faigne himſelfe to bee a Coſen of his, of the houſe of *Mortimer*, to the end that winning beleefe by reaſon of his blood hee might bee favoured by the true *Mortimers* who did not know him, and might ſeduce the reſt which hee was to worke upon; hee choſe *Kent* for his ſcene, beleeving it to bee fickle, and fitter for his deſigne than any other place, as being neare to *London*.

There did *Cade* exagerate the wickedneſſe of the Counſellours and of the government, the grievances and ſuch other like things; till ſuch time as having ſufficiently enflamed the Inhabitants of thoſe parts, hee made offer of himſelfe to bee their Leader, promiſing them that when hee ſhould have poſſeſſed himſelfe of the Kings perſon (the which hee faigned hee would doe) and driven away thoſe who governed him amiſſe, hee would put them in a way of ſo juſt a government, that the grievances introduced under ſpetious pretences, and which framed the chaine of their ſervitude, ſhould totally bee taken away and the chaine broken.

Thus perſwaded, hee aſſembled a great number of people, with whom hee encamped himſelfe not farre from *London*, and calling himſelfe the Captaine of *Kent*, hee ſent for one *Thomas Cocke* a Woollen Draper, under a ſafe conduct, commanding him to bring him certaine numbers of Armes, and Horſe, and a thouſand Markes of ready money at the charge of the ſtrangers that did inhabit the Citie; by the name the *Genowayes*, *Venetians* and *Florentines*, threatning that if theſe things were not ſent unto him hee would kill as many of them as hee could come by, and 'tis to be beleeved hee was herein obeyed. For when afterwards hee entered the Citie; hee did no harme at all to any forreigner, the Citizens were not diſpleaſed at his commotion, who did not conſider their owne danger, and the little beleefe which ought to bee given to ſuch people.

But the King and Councell who foreſaw the conſequences, ſent to underſtand from him the reaſons which had mooved him to take up Armes, and make the people riſe; hee anſwered to

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amend the evills under which the kingdome suffered, to chastise those who were the ruine of the Common-wealth, and to correct the errours of the chiefe Counsellours, which being said, hee gave unto those that were sent unto him two writings, the one was intituled *The Commons of Kents complaints*, the other *their demands from the King*. *Henry the 6.*

The Articles of the former were, that it was reported that *Kent* should bee destroyed and reduced into a Forrest, to revenge the Duke of *Suffolkes* death, whereof the Countie was no wayes guiltie, that the King had taken a resolution for the time to come to live upon the peoples contributions, and to give his owne revenue to particular men, that those of the blood royall were excluded from the government of the state, and people of meane condition introduced, so as businesses were not dispatch't according to the Lawes, but by corruption; that provisions for the Kings household were had, and not payd for, that by the Kings giving of confiscations unto his servants, the innocent were falsely convinced, and by being kept in prison lost the benefit of the Law, so as they could not defend themselves: that the like was practised against them, who being justly possessed of their goods were denied to shew their title, that they might bee thereof deprived. That *France* being lost through the faults of certaine Traitors, they should bee enquired after, and condemned without pardon; the writing which contained their demands was to this purpose, that the King that hee might live conformable to his royall dignitie, should retaine unto himselfe the patrimony of the Crowne, and not participate it unto others. That he should banish all *Suffolkes* kindred, should punish according unto the Lawes such of them as had deserved punishment, and should take neare unto him the Lords of the blood Royall (*viz.* the Dukes of *Yorke*, *Exceester*, *Buckingham*, and *Norfolke*, and all the Earles and Barons, for that so doing hee would bee the richest King of Christendome, that those who were guiltie of the Duke of *Gloucesters* death (who was injustly declared to bee a Traytor) should bee punished; the Commons declaring that they would live and die in this quarrell, and maintaine the imputation to bee false, that the Duke of *Exceester*, the Cardinall of *Winchester*, the Duke of *Warwicke*, *France*, *Normandy*, *Gascony*, *Guien*, *Anion* and *Mayne*, many Lords, Gentlemen and others were lost through the fault of these Traitors to the Kings great prejudice.

Finally, they demanded the Abollition of divers things which they termed extortions, the Councell was much vext at the Arrogancy of these men, and since there was none there who did not condemne them, *Henry* with fifteene thousand men marched towards them himselfe in person to give them battle; but *Cade* faigning himselfe to bee afrayd, retired himselfe into a Wood neare *Senack*, hoping that the King emboldned by his flight would in disorder fall upon him; which hee did not, beleeving that this vapour would of it selfe exhaule.

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But the Queene thinking they were fled for feare, ſent Sir *Humphery Stafford* and *William Stafford* his kinſmen after them who remaine both ſlaine, together with many other gentlemen. Thoſe of the Kings Campe who were both badly ſatisfied with the government, upon the newes hereof diſcovered themſelves, for hating the King the Queene and government, and eſteeming this putative *Mortimer* their Angell of deliverance, they wiſhed the Duke of *Yorke* with him, that they might reape the profit, and he make uſe of this occaſion, the King frighted at theſe whiſpers returned to *London*, where ſuch of his councell as were leaſt paſſionate doubting an inſurrection, cauſed the Lord *Say*, the Treaſurer to be ſhut up in the Tower of *London*, that they might ſacrifice him if neede ſhould require, to the fury of the people, they would have done the like with divers others, had they not ſaved themſelves. *Cade* growne proud by reaſon of this his victory, and having put on the armes of Sir *Humphery Stafford* (his richeſt priſe) returned to blake Heath, whither the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* were ſent unto him, to underſtand what his pretences were, they found him under a faigned humility, ſo puft up with pride and obſtinate preſumption, as they could not perſwade him to lay downe his armes unleſſe the King ſhould come thither himſelfe in perſon, and grant whatſoever hee demanded, hee was growne ſo ſtrong by reaſon of this victory (many flocking unto him from the neighbouring counties) that the King and Queene were perſwaded to relie themſelves to *Killingworth*, leaving no other Forces in *London* then what was requiſite to guard the Tower, under the command of the Lord *Scales*, and Sir *Mathew Gough* one of the moſt famous and antient Commanders in the Warres of *France*. This his retreat encreaſed *Cades* arrogancy, hee marched towards *London* and not ſuffered immediately to enter; hee lodged in *Southwark* whileſt the commons of *Eſſex* following his example had likewiſe taken up Armes, and were the ſame time encamped at *Mile-End*. The Lord *Major*, who held it equall danger to ſuffer him to come in, or to deny him entry called a Councell, where the buſines being debated with variety of opinion, *Robert Horne* one of the Aldermen ſtood ſtifly to it, that hee was not to bee ſuffered to enter the Citie, which when the rebells heard they raged and roared ſo lowd, as the *Major* was glad to put *Horne* into *Newgate*, and on the ſecond of *July*, *Cade* entered in over *London* Bridge, and being come into the City (to winne the more good will, and the better to deceive,) hee cauſed proclamation to bee made in the Kings names, that no man ſhould ſteale any thing, nor take ought not paying for it, upon paine of death, and paſſing by the ſtreets which led from the Bridge to Saint *Pauls*, hee with his ſword ſtruck the ſtone called *London-ſtone*, ſaying now is *Mortimer* maſter of *London*, the next day hee cauſed the Lord *Saye* to bee brought before the Lord *Majors* Court where together with the *Major* hee cauſed divers others of the Kings Judges to ſet, the accuſed party did in vaine demand his lawfull priviledge, of being judged by his peeres, hee was carried to Cheapſide, was beheaded, his Head ſtuck upon the point of ſpeare, his naked Body dragg'd at

a horſes taile into the *Sub-vrbs* and there quartered; hee would have done the like to Alderman *Horne*, had not his Wife & Friends ranſommed him at the price of 500. marks, beſides his being popular made much for his ſafety, but not here withall contented (for hee was as cruell as avaritious) hee went to *Milend* where hee ſeiſed upon the body of Sir *James Cromer* ſonne in law to the ſayd Lord *Saye*, and who was that yeere high ſheriffe of *Kent*, hee made him to bee beheaded not allowing him time to confeſſe himſelfe, and putting his head upon an other ſpeare, hee cauſed both the heads to bee carried before him, hee put many others to death, either for not obeying him, or for that hee feared that being knowne by them, they might publiſh the baſenes of his birth, being returned back to *London*, hee fell to ſack the houſes of the richeſt Citizens, hee began with Alderman *Malpals* houſe, to pay him for a feaſt which *Malpall* made unto him two dayes before, hee did the like with others of the beſt, ſo as the reſt of the Citizens frighted hereat, were forced to buy the ſafety of their houſes with great ſummes of mony, the Lord *Major* who too late perceived, that hee had taken a ſnake into his boſome called together the Aldermen and ſheriffes to adviſe upon a remedy, they reſolved to fortifie the bridge and deny him entry. (*Cade* kept alwayes his firſt quarter in *Southwarke*, from whence hee came each morning into the Towne and returned back at night.) They gave notice hereof to the Lord *Scales* Lieutenant of the Tower, and Sir *Mathew Gough* deſiring their aſſiſtance, the firſt promiſed to play upon them with his cannon, the other came to them to bee their leader, the Captaines and Traine-bands of the City being aſſembled, they began at midnight to barracado the Bridge, but this could not bee done without the knowledge of the rebells, whoſe conſciences and the danger they were in, made them vigilant, they with much fury aſſaulted them, the fight endured all night, and till nine of the clocke the next morning, which diverſity of fortune, ſome time the one, ſometimes the other, having the better they fired many of the houſes upon the Bridge, ſo as the fire, the outcries of thoſe that could not ſave themſelves from the flame; the complaints of women and children, the throwing themſelves into the River of *Soame*, who ſtand one death to meet with another, was a miſerable ſight to thoſe who had any pitty in them, but not ſufficient to aſſuage the anger of thoſe that fought, who drove one another alternately from one end of the Bridge to the other, in this bickering Alderman *Sutton* and many others were ſlaine, but the death of Sir *Mathew Gough* was moſt to bee deplored, who having defended oppugned and wonne many Caſtles, fought in private encounters, and publique Battels with the valiant'ſt Commanders, that were ſhould now bee miſerably ſlaine by baſe people, theeves, and rebells, which how it hapned is not juſtly knowne, moſt certaine it is that his life was of more value then a million of thoſe that ſlew him, nothing but wearines ended this bickering, and that cauſed a truce till the next day, upon condition, that each ſide ſhould keepe its quarter, the Citizens ſhould not paſſe into the *Sub-vrbs* nor the rebells into the City, there were then and yet are in that *Sub-vrbs*

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two principall prison's the Kings bench and the Marshalsea's which were then full of prisoners, and *Cade* hoping for good thereby, set them at liberty and armed them; but this did but little availe him, for the Archbishop of *Canterbury* having wisely framed a generall pardon and authorised it with the great Seale, (hee himselfe being Lord Chancellour,) hee crost the River over against the Tower, accompanied by the Bishop of *Winchester*, made it bee proclaimed in *South-wark*, where it was so welcomly received by the rebells, that without taking leave or seeing their Captaines face, they returned to their owne homes, so as being suddenly forsaken, and those aydes not appearing which were promised by such as sided with the Duke of *Yorke*, hee fled in disguise into *Sussex*, and was pursued by many to gaine the 1000. marks, which were promised to him that should kill him; this good fortune befell *Alexander Iden*, who did well deserve it, by reason of the danger wherein hee put himselfe; for finding him in a Garden, hee slew him hand to hand without any manner of treachery, and brought his Body to *London*, where the Head being taken of, it was put upon a spear's end, and set it upon the Bridge, as are usually the heads of Traitors: and *Iden* received the 1000. marks, which hee had generously wonne.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* plaid a discreet part in this busines, by applying the generall pardon to the seditious in a time when many of them being slaine, or hurt, the rest shreudly affrighted, and fearing yet worse, hee did that with a few stroakes of his pen, which many a stroake of sword neither could nor would have done, an act of a wise Minister, for the common people are for the most part like pettish children, who grow wilde at the whisk of a Rod, and are made tractable at the sight of a red cheekt apple. The King was advised to goe into Kent, where having chastised some, hee made good the pardon to all the rest to the great satisfaction of the Country.

Charles made use of these dissentions in *England* to impatronize himselfe of *Gascony*, just as hee did of the disorders of *Normandy*, to make himselfe master of that Province, the experience of so many yeares, wherein hee had governed himselfe amisse, had made him more minde his busines; *Monstrelet* observes, that the conquest of *Normandy* was an effect of his good order taken with his Souldiers, for hee had reduced the horse (which was the chiefest part of his strength) to so perfect a discipline, by well arming of them, and well paying them, as that the Country people did in safety enjoy their own goods, any transgression in that behalfe being severely punished, which if all Princes would doe, they would seldome bee loosers. Nothing did more preserve the *Guascons* for 300. yeares, and upward in their obedience to the *English* (not withstanding all the forces pollicies and proffers of *France*) then good government; for they were ruled under the liberty of the lawes, as if they had beene naturall *English-men*, not, that when a goverment is come to it's period any thing is able to uphold it, since the orders of fortune and of nature have their bounds prefixt, as well in what is good as what is bad:

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Bergerac was the first place besiege I in *Guien*, a place seated upon the River *Dordon* in *Perigord*; *Charles* made the Count *Pointeverres*, who was likewise Count *de Perigord* and Viscount *de Limoges* his Lieutenant in those parts, hee was accompanied with many Gentlemen, and with 2500. horse, 500. whereof were lances, for every lance consisted of five horse, the man at armes his page, his servant armed and two bow men. When the artillery came up, *Bergerac* yeelded; the *English* came forth on horseback, and with their goods, the Inhabitants enjoyed their owne as formerly; *Fansack* seated upon the same River was taken by assault: 35. *English* being there slaine, the rest taken prisoners; *Monferat*, Saint *Foye*, and *Chalois* yeelded: for the Inhabitants were affrighted, and resolved not to hazard their lives and livelyhoods, since the Lord *Cameile* had written into *England* for succour and no order was taken for any by reason of the home broyles there, so as no Towne now durst any longer hold out, but that which did chiefely quell their Spirits was the defeat given by *Monsieur de Orvall* the third sonne of the house of *Albret*, to the *Maior* of *Burdeaux*. *Orvall* was parted from *Bazas* to make an inroade into the *Island* of *Medock* with 4. or 500. fighting men, when night came on, hee staid some two leagues short of *Burdeaux*, and the next morning being all Saints day, as hee was on horseback to enter the *Island*, hee was tould, that betweene 8. and 9000. of those of *Burdeaux*, what Townesmen, what *English* were marched forth to give him battell, whereupon hee set his men in order, expecting to bee set upon. When they came to blowes, hee slew 1300. of them, and the *Maior* fled away abandoning the Infantry, which hee had placed in the front of the enemy; and besides those hee slew, hee tooke 1200. prisoners; this is according to *Monstrelets* relation. *Hallian* who taxeth, the *Geographers* of ignorance for calling the country of *Madock* an *Island*, since it is onely environed on the one side by the River of *Garronne*, and on an other side by a little arme of the *Sea*, all the rest being firme continent joyning to the lands of *Burdeaux*, doth agree almost in all things with *Monstrelet*, save that hee saith, that the *English* Authours write, that the *French* were twise as many as they, and that their victory cost them the lives of 1000. of their owne men; *Chartier* saith, that *Monsieur d'Orvall* had betweene 6. and 7000. fighting men, that as hee returned with his booty; hee was set upon by the *English*, that hee slew about 2000. of them, and tooke 2200. prisoners. The *English* writers on the contrary side say, that the *Maior* of *Burdeaux* was overcome more by number then valour, that those who were slaine and taken prisoners were about 600. and that 800. of the *French* were slaine. Which of these is the true relation is left to the judgement of him, who will take the paines to examine them; if *Chartier* bee to bee beleeved the 2200. prisoners will proove likelier to bee sheepe then men; for every one of the Victors must binde at least 3. or 4. and if it bee said, that they, who could kill every man 14. (which is not granted) might much easier take every man his 3. or 4. prisoners: The argument holds not, for it is easier for one man to kill 14. then to take and detaine 4. The *English* have divers times fought

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fought againſt 7. or 8. and have overcome; the *French* themſelves will not deny it, but there is ſome reaſon given for it, for though valour bee to bee accounted in the firſt place, (ſince without it no ſo diſadvantagious reſolution can bee taken) yet in the ſecond place may bee alleadged the diſorder of the enemy, their owne good order, and their arrowes which gawling and diſordering the horſe, were cauſe of the victory. In this preſent affaire neither the valour nor the fortune of the one ſide is deſcribed, nor the cowardiſe, nor diſorder of the other, no man doubts but that 150. *Spaniards* may have defeated great armies of the *Indians*. And tis no wonder, the novelty of their horſe, the reſiſtance of their armour, the noiſe made by their muskets and field peeces, made them bee beleeved to bee deſcended from heaven and were cauſes of their victories; if *Hallian* had read the *Engliſh* hiſtorians, hee would not have thought them ſo vaine gloriouſly light, hee would there have feared the death of 800. *French* not of 10000. as hee ſaith, however it was this defeate was the cauſe of the ſurrendring of many Townes this yeare, which were neither beleaguered, nor ſummoned; and the next enſuing yeare 1451. was the decider of the generall diſputes in *Guaſcony* which was by the ſword taken from the *Engliſh* and given to the *French*. The chiefe Commander in this enterpriſe was the *Dunneſſe* Lieutenant generall to *Charles*; hee was accompanied by his brother, the Count *de Angoveleſme* this being the firſt ſervice hee did his King and Country; after his impriſoment in *England*. *Monguione* held out againſt him, 8. dayes and then yeelded; from thence, hee went to *Blaye* to block up this Towne, great forces were brought both by Sea and Land. *John Bourchier* generall of *France* brought thither great ſtore of veſſells loaded with men, armes, and victualls, and finding five great *Engliſh* veſſels there, which had brought proviſion to the beſieged; hee fought with them forced them, to weigh anchor and flie, and gave them chaſe even to the haven of *Burdeaux*. *Meßieurs de Beßiere de Chabanes*, and Count *Pointever* came thither by land, a great breach being made, they gave an aſſault wherein the City was taken about 200. *Engliſh* were ſlaine, and taken priſoners. *Meßieurs d'Eſparre* and *d'Monferand* both of them *Guaſcons* ſaved themſelves within the Caſtle the which together with themſelves they ſoone after yeelded up. *Bourg* held out 6. dayes, *Libourne* ſummoned by the herauld delivered up its keyes. Whileſt buſineſſes proceeded thus in theſe parts, men were not idle as els where, every man of any account imployed himſelfe about ſome thing or other: foure Princes of the bloud *Cleremont*, *Angoveleſme*, *Vandoſme*, and *Eu*, did joyntly beſiege *Fronſac* (a place thought impregnable) both by Land and Sea. Count *de Foix* Lieutenant of *Guienne* beyond *Garronne*, accompanied by many Gentlemen, particularly by *Meßieurs d'Albret*, and *Laurec*, bretheren by *Tarras* and *Orvall* ſonnes to the former, went before *Arques*, and had it upon compoſition; Count *Armignac* not forgetting his affront touching the marriage of his daughter went to beſiege *Rions*; Count *Fointeverres* beſieged *Caſtelon*, which yeelded to him, as did likewiſe *Melion*, where hee ſtayed and ſent his troope to *Fronſac*, which was the moſt

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important place of all the reſt as hath beene ſaid; *Charles* had foure armies in the fields, which were all at the ſame time buſied in ſeverall places, ſo as it is no wonder, if the *Engliſh* were enforced to yeeld, ſince to boot with the mighty forces of the enemy, the Townes whereof they were maſters denyed to doe their duties, in defending themſelves being wrought upon either by inclination or feare. *Fronſac* was a very ſtrong place, but likely in a ſhort time to bee brought to extremity if not ſuccoured, foure armies did environe it, ſo as if the *Engliſh* had beene in caſe to have kept the field, yet would they not have beene able to ſuccour it, as well by reaſon of the beſiegers great forces, as likewiſe, for that the two Rivers *Dordonne* and *Darronne*, by reaſon of the very great encreaſe of waters were not navigable. Being thus difficulted, the defendants demanded a truce untill Saint *John Baptiſts-day*, upon theſe conditions, that if they were not ſuccoured before that time, ſo as the *Dunneſſe* ſhould bee enforced to raiſe up ſiege, they would ſurrender up the Fort, and hee was to give ſafe conduct to whoſoever would bee gone, and to fit them with carriages and ſhipping for themſelves and goods at their owne charges. That the garriſon ſhould march forth with their horſes and armes, and leave their artillery behinde them, that thoſe, who would ſweare obedience to *Charles* and to bee his good and loyall ſubjects ſhould enjoy their goods in whatſoever part of the Kingdome, and bee pardoned for what was formerly paſt; that ſuch as would ſerve him in the warre whether Citizens, voluntiers, or of the garriſon, ſhould have the like entertainement, as the other ſouldiers; that of the priſoners that were taken at *Blaye Gaches*, *Charnali* and 6. other ſhould bee ſet at liberty without ranſome, and that the like was to bee underſtood of *John Stafford* who was taken priſoner at the Battell of *Fermingi*; the 23. day of the Month being come, and the beſiegers not fought withall the City was yeelded up, and the Caſtle, the *Engliſh* retired themſelves to *Burdeaux*, whither likewiſe the *Dunneſſe* did immediately goe. The *Engliſh* ſtories doe not mention the particulers of the ſurrendring of this Citie, onely that finding it ſelfe abandoned, it ſhared in like fortune as did *Fronſac*, but thoſe of *France* doe ſpecifie that *Burdeaux* agreed to yeeld, if *Fronſac* ſhould yeeld, and that they would expect it till then to pay the duty they ought to *Henry*, and yeelded with the more honour to *Charles*. I forbeare to ſpeake of its long capitulations as likewiſe of thoſe made by *Gaſtonne de Foix* Knight of the Garter, and *Bartrand de Monferanda*, the former not deſirous to live in *France* diſpoſed of his goods to his grandchild, who bore the title of Count *de Candalle*, a child of three yeares old, who when ſhe ſhould bee of yeares was to ſweare allegiance to *Charles*, the ſecond agreed to yeeld up the places he held to the *French*, upon condition that when hee ſhould have ſworne Allegiance to *Charles* they ſhould be againe delivered up unto him. *Burdeaux* was eaſily brought to execute the agreement. The *Dunneſſe* made his entry therein to the 29. of the ſame moneth, and on the ſixt of *Auguſt* he beſieged *Bayonne*, which held out till ſuch time as the Artillery being come up and a breach made, ſo

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as it was in danger of being taken by assault, it yeelded with power, for the Garrison to retire, and a penaltie layd upon the Citie to pay 40000. Crownes, halfe of which was afterwards remitted by *Charles*. *Charter* reports a miracle which hapned the next day after the surrender thereof, he saith that the ayer being cleare a white crosse appeared in the skie for the space of halfe an houre, at the sight whereof the inhabitants tooke from of their ensignes the red Crosse the badge of *England*; saying that God by that white Crosse, which was the badge of *France* did admonish them for the time to come to be good Frenchmen. And because *Hallian* writes that this effect which proceeded from the clouds, was ascribed to religion and prodigie; *Dupleix* calls him a destroyer of all miracles, pretending him to bee convinced, no lesse by the serenitie of the ayre then by the Testimoniall letters of the Count *Dunnesse*, authenticated by his seale, both which are very slender reasons: The ayre ceaseth not to be termed cleare though some little cloud may appeare, wherein may be formed the forenamed Crosse, and for the testimoniall letters alleaged, they might be beleeved had they beene written by some *English* Generall. Factions are like Sexes, the one doth not succeed unto the other, especially when the one doth disagree within it selfe; *Hallian* one of the same faction not beleeving that the *Pucell* of *Orleans* was sent from heaven, was therefore reprehended, and now not beleeving this Crosse, his beleeving in the Crosse of Christ doth not exempt him from being reputed by *Dupleix* a bad Christian. We have the first and the second causes, and ignorant people not able to give a reason for the second have recourse unto the first, which is by all men knowne to cover their idiotisme with piety and religion: but the learned though alleadge the second causes, they omit not the first, though they name it not, supposing that no existence can be without it. God in the creating of nature hath given her her orders, to the end that without the name of Miracle (though all his workes are wonderfull) shee may operate accordingly. So as if the earth yeeld not 'its fruites so abundantly one yeare as another, and they alleadge for reason thereof the inequalitie of seasons, some conjunction of unfortunate Planneets, or some such like influence, they forbeare notwithstanding to have recourse to God Almightie. Knowing for certaine that he is able though contrary to the course of nature absolutely of himselfe to provide therefore, nor is there any so ignorant nor wicked body who doth not confesse this, but in miracles 'tis otherwise; the Church must alwayes examine them. *Hallian* denies not miracles, nay I doe verily beleeve, he beleeves them so much the better in that not admitting of them indifferently upon simple testimony; hee according to true Pietie discernes betweene devotion and superstition, as good Graine is discerned from Tares, but pietie is not there simply required by *Dupleix* though hee make shew thereof, hee useth it for a *vehiculum*, he would make us swallow a falsehood wrapt up in religion, with the same end hee had in the Pucells case, which was to strengthen *Charles* his pretences by the meanes of miracle; and in this case hee alleadges his testimonies with such seeming sinceritie at the busi-

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buſineſſe required. The *Dunneſſe* letters containe theſe words, that the Croſſe appeared in a cloud with a crucifix crowned with an *Azure* Crowne, which afterwards changed to a Flower *de Luce*, according to the relation of more then a thouſand that ſaw this prodigie; This was the end of the *Engliſh* government in *Guaſcony*, which had its beginning in the yeare, 1155. by the marriage of *Ellinor* Dutcheſſe of *Aquitany* with *Henry* the ſecond King of *England*: and came to its period after 296. yeares, in the yeare 1451. in *Henry* the ſixt his dayes; and as *William* the father of *Ellenor* forſooke his ſtake, the world, and his daughter to undertake a pilgrimage, and peacefully ended his life in an Hermitage, and was canonized for a Saint. So *Henry* the ſucceſſour to two *Williams*, the one a *Guaſcoyne* the other a *Norman*, did not quit it, but loſt it, for having too imperfectly imitated the ſanctitie of the one, and no whit at all the valour of the other, and being oppoſite in nature to the Conquerour, and in pietie not equall to the canonized Saint, he came to a violent end with the reputation of being innocent but no Saint.

The Duke of *Yorkes* machenations were a chiefe cauſe of all theſe loſſes, wherewithall the people being corrupted nothing was thought of but homebred rancour the praiſe worthy ambition of publique reputation, which ſo long had warmed every mans heart was extinct, the evill ſatisfaction given by the Queene augmented, and *Sommerſet* ſo much hated as that his houſe was broken open, and ranſack't every one deteſted his actions, envied his power and lay in Ambuſh for him as being the obſtacle of their worſt deſignes. The Duke of *Yorke* who was in *Ireland* had notice given him of all theſe proceedings, and becauſe the Kentiſh ſedition had had but an ill ſucceſſe, hee reſolved to come for *England*, his chiefe friends and Counſellors were Sir *John Mawbery* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Richard Nevill* who was ſtiled Earle of *Salisbury* in the behalfe of his wife, daughter and heire to the valiant *Thomas Montague* who was ſlaine before *Orleans*. *Richard Nevill* his ſon who was likewiſe Earle of *Warwick* in the right of his wife, *Thomas Courtney* Earle of *Devonſhire*, & *Edward Brooke* Barron of *Cobham*, all of them perſonages not inferior to any for their power, followers and valour, of theſe five, the firſt two were drawne to forſake the allegiance they ought to *Henry* their King and kinſman, by reaſon of their affinitie with the Duke of *Yorke*, the reſt were onely moved by *Englands* ill *genius*; the Earle of *Salisbury* diſcended from *Jane Beaufort* daughter by the third wife to *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*. *Henries* great grandfather, ſo as being ſo neare a Kin unto him he had no reaſon to take part againſt him, but the marriage of the Duke of *Yorke* with his ſiſter *Sicily*, was the reaſon why both he and his ſonne forſooke their former duty. *John* Duke of *Norfolke* tooke part with the Earle of *Salisbury*, as being the ſonne of one of his daughters, but more in the behalfe of his Father, who was baniſhed, and of his Uncle who was beheaded at *Yorke* in the time of *Henry* the fourth.

I know not what moved *Thomas* Earle of *Devonſhire*, who married the Daughter of *Somerſet*, firſt to ſide againſt him, and afterwards (to

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his misfortune) to joyne with him, the Lord *Cobham* had no other intereſt ſave his owne proper diſpoſition, alwayes enclined to actions of the like nature: their reſolution was for to cloake their firſt commotions, as that they ſhould not ſeeme to bee againſt the King, but the people ſhould bee preſt under pretence of the publique good. That the Duke of *Somerſet* ſhould bee their baite, who was fit by reaſon of the bad ſucceſſe in *Normandy* to colour the reaſon of this inſurrection, and conſequently they intended his ruine without the which they could not hope to effect their ends, ſince hee was the onely remaining *Buckler* for *Henries* defence and preſervation.

1452. Having taken this reſolution, hee went to raiſe people in Wales, many flocking unto him from all parts under the plauſible pretence of publique good, with theſe hee marched towards *London*. The King at firſt newes hereof had got together a good army to meete with him, but hee ſhund him, hoping to encreaſe his numbers, and like fame to yet by going, he would not hazard to trye his paſſage through *London*, the deniall thereof might leſſen his reputation: but paſſing over the *Thames* at *Kingſton*, hee went into *Kent*, and pitched his campe a mile from *Dartford*, ſome ten or twelve miles from *London*, and ſecured himſelfe with trenches and artillery. The King brought his campe thither likewiſe, and ſent unto him the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, and *Ely*, to know of him what had cauſed him to take up armes, hee anſwered nothing againſt the King nor yet againſt any honeſt man, but againſt ſome evill Counſellors who were enemies to the common-wealth and the peoples leeches: and naming the Duke of *Somerſet*, hee ſaid, hee was the cauſe, that brought him thither; and offered, if *Somerſet* might bee put into ſafe cuſtody, till ſuch time as in Parliament hee ſhould make defence to ſuch things as there ſhould bee objected againſt him, to diſmiſſe his troopes, and preſent himſelfe before the King, and ſerve him as all good and faithfull ſubjects ought to doe. The Dukes end in this enterpriſe was to juſtifie his owne actions in the beginning, for to fight with the King at very firſt would proove ſcandalous and diametrically oppoſite to the publique good. With this his anſwer hee would poſſeſſe the World of a good opinion of him, ſhun the dangers hee might light upon, if hee ſhould hazard a battell and have the worſt, and by making *Somerſet* ſafe ſo as hee ſhould bee enforced to anſwer to what ſhould bee objected againſt him: hee was ſure the Parliaments ſeverity conſidered, and the hatred which the people bore him, hee could not eſcape with his life: the which hapning, hee might with eaſe deprive *Henry* of this Kingdome rather by meanes of law, then by violence; for having loſt *Somerſet* hee loſt all councell, commanders, and followers. The King on the other ſide who thought that to reduce him to obedience by violence would be a hazardous affaire, ſeemed to gratifie his deſire, and gave order for *Somerſets* being forth comming, whereupon diſmiſſing his people according to his promiſe; *Yorke* came unto the King, but whileſt hee had publiſhed his complaints accuſing the pretended guilty perſon of treaſon and oppreſſion. The Duke of *Somerſet*, who was not farre off, and heard all that was ſaid, hearing himſelfe

selfe wounded in his honour and could not containe himselfe, but comming from where hee was concealed and not contented, to answer to what was objected against him, hee accused his accusor of high treason, for having with many others conspired against the Kings life, and consulted how with least danger they might bereave him of his crowne and scepter, an accusation which was not slightly to bee passed over. The King returned to *London* whither hee was brought as a prisoner and presented before a great counsell assembled for this purpose at *Westminster*, where the two Dukes accusing one another reciprocally, nothing could bee resolved of: for *Yorke* denyed all, nor were there any witnesses to convince him; but *Somerset* perceiving the evils that were likely to ensue, if hee should escape, did all that in him lay to have him put to the rack, which in this case onely is permitted by the lawes of *England*. He shewed how that if *Yorke* and all his generation were not bereaved of their lives a civill warre must needs ensue, which would bee the destruction of *England*, for that hee had long agoe resolved the ruine of the King, and of the house of *Lancaster*: that hee might make himselfe King and transplant the Crowne and Kingdome into his owne family or house. But these advertisements were of no force, his supposed innocence withstood them, since when hee was armed with considerable forces, hee had presented himselfe unarmed before the King, which it was not likely hee would have done, had hee beene guilty of any such thing. An opinion which easily prevailed, for that at the same there came two important newes; the one that the Earle of *Marsh* was marching with an army towards *London*, the other, that the Count *de Cardale* and *Monsieur Desperres* were sent from *Burdeaux* to make a new offer of their obedience, and to desire an army to recover what was lost, and which was easiliest to bee recovered, for that the *French* were weake and the Country weary of them, so as the eminent danger threatned by the comming of the Earle of *Marsh*; and the *Gnascons* request, the first not to bee excited, and the latter not to bee promised without peace and quiet, were the causes why the Duke of *Yorke* was released, and why hee retired himselfe to *Wales*, to expect a more opportune occasion whilest the Duke of *Somerset* had wherewithall to appease his griefe, remaining without rivall, the moderator of the whole government.

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The alterations of *Gascony* sprung from impositions laid by the *French*, caused fresh hopes in *England*, the w^ch though it be denied by *Dupleix*, who doth therefore taxe *Hallian*, who follow'es the opinion of *Pollidore*, yet are the proofes of the contrary very weake; hee saith, it is not likely, that *Charles* would have imposed grievances upon them contrary to his oath, especially the first yeare wherein he was to establish his government amongst them, and that the Souldiers were so well disciplined as that the open fields were free from rapine, as if Princes did alwayes, that which they ought to doe, and that military discipline not subject to corruption, should observe the reformation in *Gascony*: The King being absent which when he was in person present, he caused to be observed in *Normandy*. *France* hath

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hath had good Kings and good Officers, yet not sufficient to suppresse or change the inclinations of such as serve them, It is impossible for Princes to doe any thing of excellency, if their subjects appeare not in their interests.

Particular avarice hath at all times beene cause of remarkeable mischiefes. If *Francis* the first had had as many men fighting, as hee paid paye unto, hee had not lost his liberty before *Pavia*. King *Henry* entertaines the offer of *Burdeaux*, and suddenly sent *Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbery* thither, who though ever exceeding diligent in all expeditions, yet in this, hee did out doe himselfe, hee embarqued himselfe and tooke with him 3000. souldiers leaving order for such as were to follow him, hee landed upon the coast of *Meddock*, and the more to terrifie the enemy, hee made great spoiles in their Townes, but being sent for in by those all of *Burdeaux*, hee filled the adjacent parts with horrour; the City was of different opinions touching the *French* garrison, some would have them bee suffered to goe away free, others not, and these threw open the Gates to the *English* who entering at unawares imprisoned the garrison, but spilt no bloud, nor did no outrage neither to them nor the Townes-men: *Fronsack* did for a few dayes stop *Talbot* in his advancement, but when it yeelded, all the neighbouring Townes did alike, and did freely of themselves returne to their former obedience. *Castillian* sent for him, and the *French* garrison being put forth, his men entered; when *Charles* heard hereof, hee sent thither Count *Clermont* his sonne in law, and his Lieutenant in *Guienne* with 600. Horse and 1200. Crosbowmen under the Conduct of *Messieurs de Lorhac*, and *Orvall*, to make matters good till such time as he should come, which was not long after. On the other side to *Talbot* came the Lord *Lisle* his sonnes, the Lord *Mullins* and *Horington*, and Lord *Camus* the Bastard of *Somerset*, Sir *John Talbot*, Sir *John Howard*, Sir *John Montgomery*, and Sir *Iohn Vernon*, who brought with them 2200. souldiers, munition, & victualls, *Charles* being come to *Lusignano* mustered his men which flockt unto him from all parts when hee was come to Saint *Iohn d'Angeli*, he understood how that *Iaques de Chabanes* had taken *Chales*, and slaine many of the *English*, he divided his army which consisted of 22000. men into two parts: to the end, that he might weaken the enemy, who were to divide theirs; likewise, he gave 15000. to Count *Clermont*, and sent the *Marishall Lorhac* with the rest to besiege *Castillion*.

1453. In this case, *Talbot* resolved to fight with one of the armies, and made choise of the weaker to succour *Chastillion*, he went thither with 800. horse commanded by 3 Barons, his sonne *Lasle*, *Mullins*, and *Camus*; and 3. Knights, Sir *Edward Hall*, Sir *Iohn Howard*, and Sir *Iohn Vernon*, and gave order for 5000. foote to follow him conducted by the Count *de Candalle*, and *Monsieur Desparres*. In his march he tooke a Tower which the *French* had fortified, and slew as many as he found there, meeting with 500. of the enemy, who were gone a forredging, he slew some of them, the rest saved themselves before *Chastillion*, which was the cause of the ruine which ensued: for feare having caused them to withdraw from the siege and draw into the field,

field, fortified with trenches and deepe ditches, they put themselves in order to expect his comming, and hee, though hee knew, it would bee to his disadvantage to set upon them in that posture, yet fearing what hee could not shun *viz.*) that if new troopes of the enemy should come up, the enterprise would bee the more difficult, hee resolutely gave in amongst them: the fight continued along time before it could bee discerned which side had the better, but certaine forces sent by the Duke of *Britanny* to assist *Charles* comming up unto them, when the battell was at the hottest conducted by *Messieurs de Montalbon*, and *Hunnandy*, they tooke some colours and made the rest retreat. *Talbot* rid every where up and downe upon a little ambling nag, his age not permitting to fight in any other manner, when struck with a peece of Artillery, he and his horse were borne to the ground above 300. more faring alike with him, so as being ready to dye, and seeing his sonne close by him, he advised him to save himselfe; the which his sonne refusing to doe, the Father replied that his valour which in this case was to be esteemed meere rashnes ought to bee reserved for a better occasion, that it did misbecome him being old to run away, since thereby he should darken the luster of his past actions, but that it was not so with him, who being young and but a novice in armes, could not bee prejudiced by a flight grounded upon reason; but all these admonitions wrought nothing upon the generous youth, hee chose rather to imitate his Fathers actions then to obey his desires; he dyed by his side, though not without revenge, for hee fell valiantly fighting with his sword all bluody in his hand. His Bastard brother *Henry Talbot*, and Sir *Edward Hall* were slaine together with him, the Lord *Moullins* and 60. more were taken prisoners; most of those that fled saved themselves within *Burdeaux*, amongst which *Monsieur Desparres* was one. A thousand of the *English* were left dead upon the field, according to the *English-writers*, and 2000. according to the *French*; this was the end of *John Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbery* the terrour of *France*, hee put a period to his victories and his life the 13. of *July* in his 80. yeare of age, after a long uninterrupted warfare, he was borne not to dye by humane hands, had he not beene slaine by the hellish humane invention of guns. *Chastilion* served for a short refuge to many, especially to *Messieurs de Monferant & Anglades*, and the Count *d'Candalles* sonne, but after ten dayes defence, they yeelded up themselves, and the Towne upon conditions, all other places followed their example except *Burdeaux* which would yet have held out longer had not want of victualls enforced it to capitulate, and *Charles* who could not hope to keepe there long, for the plague grew very hot amongst his people, received their offers, without any shew of severity, making them onely promise never to rebell againe. He suffered the *English* freely to depart and reserved 20. of those who were chiefe authours of the rebellion to be banished *France* for ever; amongst which *Monsieur d'Espares*, and *Monsieur de Duras*. The losse of this *Duchy*, according to the *English* stories, was as prejudiciall to particular men as to the Crowne for being of no charge, but rather of benefit both within and without

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(the revennes thereof being great and the commerce very great) it was of great consequence, for the breeding up and maintaining the youth of *England* as in an Academy of warre especially younger bretheren, who having but little to live on were there provided for with honourable entertainement.

Hence forward, I shall not speake of *France* save in such occurrences as often times happens betwixt neighbouring Countries, for though these two Kingdomes did not cease to doe mischiefe each to other, as much as in them lay, yet did they it not in like manner as formerly they had done, but answerable to the common state rule to keepe their neighbours from growing greater: and if they should have beene otherwise minded, it was out of their power to mischiefe one an other, it was hard for the one to recover what was lost since they had lost all, and very difficult for the other to wage warre with the former in his owne home. The Queene of *England* was brought to bed of her only sonne Prince *Edward* the thirteenth of *October* in this present yeare, such as bore ill will to the house of *Lancaster* and endeavoured the subversion thereof talked lewdly of this birth. They would have the child to bee the issue of adultery; affirming *Henry* to bee insufficient, whether hee were adulterously got or not was onely knowne to the Queene: but that the King should be unsufficient is a thing which could not by any one bee better knowne then by himselfe, and it to the prejudice of others, he should avowe a child for his owne which he knew was not so, he should not have beene that sanctified Prince which by his very enemies, he was at all times acknowledged to be, in celebration of this birth, or for that he thought it otherwise convenient, he made his two brothers by the mothers side *Edmond* and *Iasper* Earles, *Edmond* who was Father to *Henry* the seaventh Earle of *Richmond*, and *Iasper* who dyed without issue Earle of *Pembrooke*.

1454. We have already spoken of, and we shall now continue to relate the art and cunning used by the Duke of *Yorke* to insnare the King and Kingdome, his pretensions were just according to the lawes of *England*, but according to the chiefest of all lawes (which is the peoples welfare) directly unjust; for it is more convenient that a private man suffer, and smart alone, then the weale publique be ruinated and every one smart: for if the meanes to claime be unjust, there cannot any thing be thereunto framed, but an injurious and blamefull justice: he doubted that *Henries* knowne goodnes would render this his busines difficult, and that the people borne by their love to a Prince who bore the Crowne, not by his owne usurpation, but by two successive discents from Father and Grandfather, both worthy Princes (the house of *Yorke* never having beene in possession thereof) his pretensions would appeare a dreame, and if not such, yet not such as were likely to be applauded. The evill consequences considered which were to ensue, such controversies not being to bee decided, but by the bloudy law of the sword, and the losse of many an innocent life, that therefore they were not likely to forsake *Henry* long in possession, for him a new pretender, these considerations prevailed

so far with him as to keepe him within the bounds of simulation, for doubting that the danger might consist in making knowne his designes, he thought it best to make that be beleeved to be done for the weale publique, which was indeed done for his owne ends, and that by taking his former pretences touching the Duke of *Somerset*; he might take revenge of a mortall enemy, free himselfe of his greatest obstacle, deprive the King of his chiefest leaning stocke, and afterwards purchase the love of all men, the love of the people by the ruinating a man detested for the losse of *Normandy* the love of the Nobility, by reducing him who by reason of his too powerfull authority and greatnes was by the most of them infinitely envied. Not herewithall contented, hee forbare to villifie *Henries* reputation giving him out to bee poorely spirited, and affirming that the condition of the now present times required a King who would not bee governed by his wife, nor any third person, but by his owne judgement, a wiseman and endued with such vertues as not being to bee found in him, were requisite in a Prince who was to governe, so as having by these meanes prepared the peoples inclinations, he made firme unto him such as sided with him especially two, the Father and the Sonne, the one Earle of *Salisbury*, the other Earle of *Warwick*, the first excellent for matter of councell, the second endued with such qualities as vertue doth not impart, but to those who are ordained for heroicall actions, he wonne the good will of all men by approving his wisedome, and valour with his innate liberality and magnificence. Vertues by how much more solide then others, and proper to make him be esteemed so much the lesse, to be commended in this occasion, altogether unworthy of any manner of praise, he ordered things in this manner, by the assistance of those forenamed, he caused the Duke of *Somerset* to be arrested in the Queens lodgings, and sent unto the Tower, the which he was emboldned to doe by reason of the Kings being at that time sicke, whose double weakenes both of minde and body had encourag'd him, assisted as he was to worke himselfe into the government. *Henry the 6.*

But as soone as *Henry* recoveted his health, he did not only restore him to his liberty but made him chiefe commander of *Callis* (the then the most important charge the Kingdome had) which caused great alterations, for he was thought unfit for the custody of the only place which remained beyond the Sea: who had lost all *Normandy*, but *Yorke* perceiving that he had twise failed in his endeavours of ruinating him, went into *Wales* where having got together a good army, he marched towards *London*, being accompanied by the forenamed Lords and many others, the King so much distrusted that City as that he would not expect his comming there, but went to encampe himselfe at Saint *Albans*, where the adversary presented himselfe to give him battell, the King had in his campe the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham*, the Earles of *Pembrook*, *Stafford*, *Northumberland*, *Devonshire*, *Dorset*, *Wiltshire*, and many Barons, amongst which *Clifford*, *Ludley*, *Berneis*, and *Rosse*, and proceeding according to the peacefull instinct of his nature, he sent some unto him to know why 1455.

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hee came in that hoſtile manner, and what hee did pretend unto, but the meſſengers were hardly arriued, when the Earle of *Warwick* at unawards ſet upon the *Vantguard Royall*, and diſordered it before the Duke of *Somerſet* could remedy it, ſo as all forces on both ſides giving together a bitter battell was begun: each ſide made good its ſtation, no man recoiled ſo many were ſlaine, as it was thought, there would not be a man in all the field left alive. The Duke of *Yorke* ſtood obſerving all occurrences, and ſent freſh men to ſupply the place of ſuch as were wounded, whereby he made good the fight, which *Somerſet* could not doe as not having ſo many men and being more buſy in fighting then in making proviſion. The *Royalleſt* were almoſt all ſlaine. The chiefe that dyed there, were the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earle of *Stafford* ſonne to the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earle of *Wiltſhire*, and *Thomas Thorp* Lord chiefe *Baron* together with ſome few that eſcaped, fled away wounded. This victory which hapned the 23. of *May*, was a good *Omen* to thoſe that enſued, and to the putting an end to this difference for the prevailing party, though not without ſhedding their owne teares and bloud, did ſome few yeares after effect what they deſired; the Duke of *Somerſet* left three ſonnes behind him, *Henry*, *Edmond*, and *John*, who adding their Fathers revenge to the hatred of the faction, came all of them to miſerable ends as wee ſhall ſee in middeſt of this good ſucceſſe.

The Duke of *Yorke* would confirme the people in the beliefe, that he had taken up armes onely for the good of the commonweale. For the Duke of *Somerſet* being dead (who was the pretended reaſon of his commotion) nothing remained for him to doe but to aſſume the Crowne, ſo as having the King in his hands, and under colour of his name, power, to frame the golden age, which all ſeditious people promiſe in their rebellions: he reſolved to arrive at his end by degrees, not thinking to meete with any more oppoſitions; but he was deceived as are all thoſe who not able to effect their deſires, but by wicked meanes dare not withſtanding bee ſo wicked as it were requiſite for them to be. Some report, that the King in this occaſion was but ill ſerved by the three Lords, that fled, and by his domeſtique ſervants their flight cauſed him to forſake the field, and mightily diſhartned the few that remained, the King had withdrawne himſelfe to a poore mans houſe, where being found by the enemy, he was with all appearing reſpect carried from thence and comforted, and made beleeve that the Duke of *Somerſets* death had eſtabliſhed the Crowne upon his head, being come together with them to *London*. A Parliament was called, wherein all things were decreed directly oppoſite to what had beene enacted in former Parliaments, to teſtifie, that the late government had beene unjuſt, and the King abuſed by the malice of thoſe that councelled him, *Humphery* Duke of *Gloceſter* was declared to have beene *Loyall* unto the King and faithfull unto his Country, all *Donnatives* howſoever made whether by patent from the King or by Parliament were revoked, beginning from the very firſt day of his raigne to the preſent time, as things which impoveriſhing

the Crowne bereaved the royall dignity of luſtre, and that the now ſpoken of inſurrection, though condemned by all lawes might bee thought meritorious; declaration was made, that the Duke of *Somerſet*, *Thomas Thorp* Lord chiefe Juſtice, and *William Ioſeph* (the third that governed the Kings will) were the occaſioners thereof by detaining a letter, which if it had beene delivered unto the King his Majeſty would have heard the complaints, and ſo taken away the occaſion of the aforeſaid diſorders, that therefore the Duke of *Yorke*, the Earle of *Salisbury*, *Warwick* and their aſſociates ſhould not for the future be blamed for it, ſince the action was neceſſary to free the King from captivity and bring health to the common weale. Theſe pretences thus paſt over they came roundly to their worke, by framing a Triumverat the ground worke of the deſigned monarchy; *Yorke* cauſed himſelfe to be created protectour of the Kingdome, *Salisbury* Lord Chancellor, and *Warwick* Governour of *Callais*, ſo as the politique authority remained in the firſt, the civill in the ſecond, and the military in the third: whileſt *Henry* King onely in name was bereft of all authority and ſafety; all that had dependency upon the King and Queene, were put from the Councell bereft of whatſoever charge they bore in the City or Kingdome, and *Iohn Holland* Duke of *Exeter* was by force taken from *Weſtminſter*, whither he was fled for ſanctuary and ſent priſoner to *Pompheret*; a ſacriledge not formerly ventered on, that I know of by any King. They now thought no more needed to the eſtabliſhing of their power whileſt tyrannies are not eſtabliſhed without meanes much more abominable; the Duke of *Yorke* ſhould have done that wickednes then which once was to be done, and which not long after was done by his ſonne *Edward*. A Kingdome cannot brooke two Kings, and if experience had made knowne unto him his errour in preſerving *Henries* life, his careleſſenes was very great to ſtumble the ſecond time upon the ſame ſtone, and thereby looſe his owne life as hee did. Moderate evills in ſuch like caſes have alwayes beene their authours overthrowe. *Henry the 6.*

The reſpect due to *Henry* was not yet ſo much diminiſhed, nor his Majeſty ſo much darkened, but that *Henry* the now Duke of *Somerſet*, *Humphery* Duke of *Buckingham* and other Lords that ſided with him, reſolved no longer to endure the injury that was done unto him, and together with them to quit themſelves of the eminent danger that hung over them, for every man ſaw *Yorkes* end to be the uſurpation of the Crowne, and that his delay proceeded from the feare of danger, for the King being by reaſon of his ſanctifie reverenced by the beſt, hee thought, hee could not on a ſudden compaſſe his ends without ſcandall: and the being oppugned by the greateſt part of the Kingdome, the wch if it ſhould happen, he ſhould for the preſent ruine, and for the future totally looſe all his hopes. So as conſultation being had with the Queene who being highly ſpirited did with impatiency endure the preſent ſubjection;) a great Councell was called at *Greenwitch*, wherein it was reſolved, that ſince he was now no child, and conſequently needed not a Protectour, nor was ſo void of wit, as that he was to be governed by other mens diſcretions, that therefore the 1456.

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the Duke of *Yorke* ſhould be underſtood to be freed from his protectorſhip, and the Earle of *Salisbury* from his being Chancellour and that he ſhould ſurrender the great ſeale to whom the King ſhould pleaſe; *Yorke* could not fence himſelfe from this blow being taken unprovided, and it ſelfe ſtrengthened with reaſons not to be gainſaid without a note of rebellion ſo as he was enforced to endure it, but not without the diſlike of ſuch as ſided with him, who were not wanting in adding fuell to the fury of the people; by making them riſe up in tumult occaſioned by a diſſention betweene a Marchant and an *Italian*; which though they did, yet did not things ſucceed as they would have them; for after having pilledged many houſes of the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and *Lutcheſſes*, the tumult was appeaſed, and the chiefe authours thereof puniſhed, but the preſent remedy had nothing to doe with the threatning miſchiefe, and both ſides failed therein. The Duke of *Yorke* ſince that he did not quit himſelfe of his enemy, when he might have done it in expectation of an opportunity, to doe it with leſſe danger to ſo horrid a cruelty, and thoſe of the Kings ſide in that they durſt not venter upon the Duke of *Yorks* life for feare of ſome inſurrection, ſince the City was for him, and the greateſt part of the greateſt adhered more to the hopes of a profitable tumultuous change, then to the preſervation of a quiet condition, whereby they could not be advantaged: for the King did no more diſtinguiſh of deſerts then doth a diſtaſted pallate of taſtes, and the Queene ſo jealous as that ſhee durſt onely truſt thoſe who being injured were to run the like fortune with her Husband. But where laſt extreames are in queſtion extremities are to be choſen, for chance may doe that which councell cannot.

Yorke left the Court confirmed in his former deſignes by this new affront, whileſt the *Scotts* entered *England* in one part, and the *French* in two; the *Scotts* having endamaged the confines retired themſelves with their booty into *Scotland*, the *French* pilledged ſome houſes, ſurpriſed *Sandwich*, tooke ſome ſhips and returned to *Normandy*, the ſurpriſe of *Sandwich* did but little availe them for they went away and quitted it, it not being to be made good by ſmall forces againſt many enemies. *England* was like a body oppreſſed by a general diſtellation, humours diſperſt themſelves every where abroad, the vitall faculties which are the lawes had not force enough to repulſe them. *Thomas Percy* Baron of *Egremont* one who was an enemy to the Earle of *Salisbury* ſonnes, fought with them in open field and ſlew many of their followers, he thought to have eſcaped but could not, for the King who would not have the fault to goe unpuniſhed had uſed meanes to have his body ſeiſed upon, and the offended parties being of the contrary party, he (as not willing to be thought partiall in juſtice cauſed him to be roundly fined and impriſoned, from whence hee eſcaped to the much trouble of his keepers, the Queene this meane while not being able to ſecure herſelfe, The King and Kingdome, but by the ruine of the Duke, and the two Earles of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, nor yet able to worke their ruine, but by coſenage and deceipt, made the King to goe to *Coventry* under pretence of paſſing

away his time in hunting and hawking, and of changing the ayre (ſhe thought *London* enclined too much to them, and fayning ſome great affaire ſent for them by expreſſe letters from the King, the which they beleeved, and had beene caught had they not beene advertiſed by their friend which cauſed them to eſchew the danger. *Henry the 6.*

The King was diſpleaſed at theſe proceedings of the Queene as contrary to his good inclination, and being returned to *London* he called a councell, wherein having ſtated the condition the Kingdome was in, he ſhewed how that the rent and diviſion had encouraged both the *Scots*, and the *French* to aſſault him at home, and that therefore a reconciliation was neceſſary, the which if particular mens offences, and the offences of his owne family were likely to impeach, he for his part would forget the injuries done unto himſelfe, and would endeavour his kindreds agreement with them, who in the late uproares had ſpilt their bloud promiſing that the Duke of *Yorke* and his followers ſhould in this buſines have nothing to doe, but barely to deſire. When he had ingeniouſly ſaid this, every man beleeved him, for of himſelfe, he was not accuſtomed to couſenage. Choiſe was made of ſome perſonages of quality to be ſent to the Duke of *Yorke*, and to thoſe of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, many of which had forborne comming to the Court ſince the battell of Saint *Albans*, they told how they were ſent to treate of things neceſſary and expedient for the publique and private peace, the Duke of *Yorke*, and the Earles of *Salisbury*, and *Warwick* came accompanied with 1500. men, the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford* waited upon by as many, theſe were ſonnes to the three Fathers ſlaine in that battell, the Dukes of *Exceſter* and of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Egremont* and almoſt all the nobility of the Kingdome appeared in like manner: lodgings were ſeverally appointed for them in different places, to ſhun their encountering, the City was aſſigned to *Yorks* faction, The *Saburbs* to that of *Lancaſter*, the King and Queene lay in the Biſhops houſe, ſerving as a barre betwixt the two, the Major and Magiſtracy together with 5000. armed men ſupplied the place of guard, walking the ſtreets day and night to prevent tumults; thoſe of *Yorke* aſſembled themſelves together at *Black-Friers*, and thoſe of *Lancaſter* at *Weſtminſter*, much a doe, there was to compound the buſines, wherein the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* laboured much. 1458.

At laſt, a reconciliation was ſigned, wherein the offendors being fined in certaine payments to the offended, they all indifferently obliged themſelves to the obedience of the King, and to eſteeme thoſe as friends or enemies who the King ſhould eſteeme ſuch, the which being done a ſolemne proceſſion was made, wherein all the Nobility of both factions intermingled did walke before the King, in his roabes and diademe, and the Duke of *Yorke* followed after him, leading the Queene by the arme, but the more diſcreet might read in their countenances that their ill wills were not changed, according as they endeavoured to make them appeare to be, and as almoſt immediately did appeare. 1459.

The Duke of *Yorke*, and Earle of *Salisbury* went to *Yorke*, *Warwick* ſtayed

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ſtayed at *London*, his charge of *Callais* detaining him longer in Court. It hapned, that as he was one day ſitting in Councell one of his men fell into conteſtation with one of the Kings ſervants, by whom hee was provoked, wounded him and withdrew himſelfe to a place of ſafety. The guard and others of the Court who were hot upon the revenge of their fellow ſervant, not able to get him who had offended them, reflected upon the perſon of the Earle his Maſter, and ſet upon him as he was comming from councell to take boate, and had beene ſlaine had he not beene aſſiſted by ſome: he had leaſure to leape into his boate, and recover the City. The Queene were it that ſhee was misformed of the buſines, or that out of malice, ſhee tooke his pretence to bereave the Earle of his life, commanded his being detained, the which if it had hapned he had bin for ever loſt. But being by his friends advertiſed, he haſtned to *Yorke* and brought the firſt newes himſelfe to the Duke, and his Father. He concluded, that the violation of oaths, and of the peace, brooked no more diſſimulation, that the laſt of fortune was to be attempted either to live or dye, and taking leave of them hee went to *Callais*, to ſeaſe himſelfe of the Towne as it well behooved him to doe: where hee was received according to the authority of his charge, which had not beene, had the King given order to the contrary at his departure from *London*: without this fort the Tryumverat had beene ill beſieged, for from thence they tooke their firſt advantage. *Yorke* and *Salisbury* were of opinion that this diſorder proceeded from the Queenes malice; to the end, that *Warwick* being ſlaine they might the eaſilier be ſuppreſt, and although they reſolved to make uſe of force, yet they thought beſt, that the Earle of *Salisbury* ſhould goe to *London*, with ſuch troopes as were moſt in readines, ſhould complaine of the violated faith and demand juſtice, to the end that if it ſhould be denied, their actions might appeare more juſtifiable. That the Duke aſſembling, this meanewhile a good army ſhould come to joyne with him, that they might joyntly adviſe, what reſolutions to take according as time and occaſion ſhould ſerve, the Earle marched towards *London*, with neere upon 5000. men, whileſt the Queene advertiſed of his comming, gave order to the Lord *Audely* (through whoſe territories, hee was to paſſe) to give him battell out of pretence that juſtice ought not be demanded at a Princes hands with troopes of men, contrary to the tenure of the lawes; ſince ſuch proceedings were fit for him that would enforce not entreate: the Baron having this commiſſion meet him neere *Drayton* in *Shropſhire* with 10000. fighting men. The Earle ſeeing himſelfe twharted, reſolved to fight; ſo as encamping himſelfe neere unto him, the two armies being onely devided by a ſmall water, he tarried there all night, and commanded his bowmen to ſhoot upon breake of day into the enemies campe: ſo to provoke him, and at the ſame time they ſhould retreat. *Audely* egg'd on by the arrowes, but more by the Queenes expreſſe command to take the Earle alive or dead, ſeeing him retire, commanded his vanguard to paſſe over the water and ſtay him, he himſelfe paſſing over at the ſame time, whileſt the reſt which were on the other ſide were of no uſe. Unto him

which

which was the very thing, the Earle aimed at in his retreat, so as turning about he furiously assaulted him. The welfare of his men proceeded from their desparing of faring well, for being certaine to fare ill if they should loose, they resolved rather to dye fighting then to live in shackells, and perchance be hanged. The Baron was one of the first that was slaine and together with him about 2400. more, a sorrowfull happines for some dayes to the Earle, for his two sonnes *John* and *Thomas* being wounded in the Battell were both taken as they were providing for their cure, and seeking out a bed in some neighbouring place, they were led away to *Chester*, and were likely to have fared ill, had not the Inhabitanes of that Towne affectionate to *Yorke* set them at liberty, so as the Earle having recovered them, did plenarily enjoy his good fortune, this battel was the chance which ruined both the parties, though for a while it was fortunate to *Yorkes* Successor, for God after having chastised the one side, & the other, was pleased to appease his anger, by the uniting of both the houses which put an end to the civill warres. *Henry the 6.*

The Duke of *Yorke* having received advertisement from the Earle himselfe of this good successe writ thereof to *Callais*, from whence came the Earle of *Warwick*, with a good band of old souldiers commanded by *Andrew Trollop* and *John Blunt* Captains, who were accustomed to the *French-warres*, they marched all three to *Shrewesbery*, so strong as they feared not to meete the enemy, the King who had notice of their designe gathered together a very great army, part of which came for the love they bore to him part for feare of the Queene whose anger was implacable. The Duke had pitcht his campe not farre from *Ludlow* upon the confines of *Wales*, whither the King went likewise to plant his, and where they stood looking one upon an other waiting their best advantage, but the Duke thinking it would be dangerous for him to temporise, since consciences are subject to repentance, & the insurrections of subjects against their Princes ought either to be suddenly executed, or not at all undertaken, resolved to give him battell early the next morning. The Earle of *Warwick* had not declared himselfe to the two fore named Captaines to be an enemy unto the King, so as when they saw, they were led to fight against their owne Prince, in whose service and under whose pay they ever had, and yet did live, they fled to the Kings campe, and acquainted the King with the Dukes intention, who imagining his designe was discovered, as it was resolved to flie, which whether it proceeded out of his feare of *Trolops* valour and wisedome upon whom he had much relied, or for that he thought his example would enduce others to doe the like, I doe not know. He went to *Wales*, from thence to *Ireland* together with his second sonne the Earle of *Rutland*, his eldest sonne the Earle of *March*, together with *Salisbury* and *Warwick* embarkt himselfe in *Devonshire*, and made for *Jerneſey*, from whence he went to *Callais*, where without any manner of difficulties, he and his companions were received: the King sent after the one, and the other but in vaine, he pardoned all that stayd, save some few who could not be left unpunished for examples sake, he sackt *Ludlow*, and *Ludlow* 1460.

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lowe Castle, hee detained the Dutchesse of *Yorke* and her Sister the Dutchesse of *Buckingham*; he banished those that were fled, and by Parliament declared them to be rebells, traitors, enemies, to the Kingdome and confiscated their goods; he disposed of their commands, he gave the wardenship of the *North* marches to the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, and the command of *Callais* to the Duke of *Somerset*: on the which if he had thought at first (as hath beene said) their ruine had beene inevitable wanting that place of refuge, the Duke of *Somerset* beleeving to have possession given him, with as much ease as hee had the grant of the place, went thither with a good band of souldiers, but being shot at by the cannon from within the Towne, hee withdrew himselfe a little of, and sent unto the Captaines of the garrison to let them know the occasion of his comming, and caused his letters patents to be shewed them, but this availed him nothing nay having retired himselfe to *Guines* by skirmishing, from whence he thought to bring them to obedience, his ships went into the haven at *Callais*, bearing a long with them those to whose charge they were recommanded, who being enemies to *Warwick* were forthwith beheaded. His skirmishes this meane while did daily diminish the number of his souldiers, the which though it did the like to those within the Towne, yet did they not so much feele the losse for they had every day fresh supplies, many of the same faction flocking apace unto them, from *England* unsent for, whereupon having advertised the King and Queene of what straits he was in, they dispatcht away unto him, the Lord *Rivers* and Sir *Antony Woodveile* his sonne with 400. souldiers, who being come to *Sandwitch* had the windes so contrary as they could not put to Sea, the Earle of *March* had notice of all these proceedings and those of *Callais* who sent away Sir *John Denham* with a company of souldiers more valiant then numerous, who with a winde as favorable to them as it was contrary to their enemies, entred the Haven and Towne of *Sandwitch*, which being unguarded and free from suspition, her Inhabitants thought they might sleepe securely, hee tooke the Lord *Rivers* and his sonne in their beds, and though the souldiers awakened made head and wounded *Denham* in the legge, whereupon hee remained lame, hee not withstanding mastered them, hee sackt many houses, hee being favored by the marriners made himselfe master of the chiefest of the Kings-ships, furnished with all manner of warlike provisions, and returning to *Callais* hee presented them to the Earle of *March* together with the prisoners; the Earle of *Warwick* made use of these ships to convey himselfe into *Ireland* to the Duke of *Yorke*: in his going and returning, hee was so favored by the windes as hee spent not above 30. dayes in his whole journey, but he had come short home being waited for by the Lord Admirall the Duke of *Exceter* in his returne, had not the Dukes commands beene in like manner set at nought by the souldiers and marriners, being come to *Callais*, hee tould them that the Dukes pleasure was that passing into *England*, they should vexe the King, till both the King and those, hee should bring along with him should come and joyne with them; the

King

King to inhabite their landing had cauſed the Seaports to bee fortified deputing Sir *Simon Monfort* for that worke, who to effect it went to get into *Sandwich*, but nothing being done in Court, whereof the Earle of *March* had not notice even by the Kings domeſtiques, hee ſent thither the Lord *Falconbridge* who tooke it the ſecond time, and ſent *Monfrot* with divers other priſoners unto him, adviſing him that the inclination of that ſhire conſidered, ſhee ſhould doe well not to looſe time, but croſſing the Sea, hee ſhould march up to *London* as to a certaine victory, this adviſe was approved of by the three Earles, ſo as having cauſed *Monfords* head to bee ſtruck of, and the heads of other twelve leauing good order for what belonged to *Callais*, they came to *Kent* where they were met by the Lord *Cobham*, and ſo vaſt a number of others as were eſteemed to amount to 4000. fighting men. The Lord *Scales* both a favorite of King and Queene hearing of their comming, gathered ſome forces together, and having in his company the Count *de Candale Aguaſcon* and the Lord *Lovell*, hee haſted to ſecure *London*; but being told by the Lord Major that hee ſtood not in need of that ſuccour, nor would permit that other men ſhould meddle with what was his charge, he much incenſed entered the Tower, underſtanding by that deniall that the City was not for the King, as the effects made manifeſt, for when the three Earles came thither, they were received with generall applauſe, and the Earles of *March* and *Warwick* going from thence with 20000. fighting men, the Earle of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *John Vanlock* tarried behind to keepe ſo important a City true unto them. The Queene (for the King had no thought but of his ſoules health) had aſſembled a good army, and *Coventry*, which conducted the King to *Northampton*, amongſt other Lords there was in that army, the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was newly returned from *Guienes*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* they were no ſooner come thither, but they heard of the enemies approach, ſo as paſſing the River, they went to encampe themſelves in the neighbouring fields, the Earle of *March* egg'd on by his youth, early in the morning began the battell their arrowes plaid on both ſides whileſt any were left, then they came to handy blowes for 5. houres together without any indifferency. At laſt the King was the looſer with the death of 10000. men, a great loſſe, but not of ſo great a conſequence as it was, had hee not loſt himſelfe for being bereft of his defendors who were ſlaine round about his perſon, hee fell into the power of the enemy. There dyed of Lords the Duke of *Buckingham*, *John Talbot* Earle of *Shrewſbery* (who fighting valiantly did not degenerate from his Father) the Lord *Egremont*, the Viſcount *Beamont*, beſides many other Knights and Gentlemen: great was the number of priſoners eſpecially of Knights and Gentlemen; for being lighted from horſe to fight on foote they had no meanes to ſave themſelves. The Queene, Prince *Edward* her ſonne, and the Duke of *Somerſet* fled to the Biſhoprike of *Durham*, the victor being returned to *London* inflicted ſuch puniſhments as are accuſtomed in the injuſtice of civill Warres, upon ſuch his adverſaries as hee found in the City, thoſe who could eſcape

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fared better; *Thomas Thorp* ſecond Baron of the Exchequer endeavouring to eſcape was taken with his head ſhaven like a Frier, and in a Friers habit hee lodged a long time in the Tower, thoſe of the Tower had yeelded upon certaine conditions which not being cleere enough for the Lord *Scales* his ſafety, hee thought to eſcape unknowne, but being diſcovered by certaine Watermen hee was taken, ſlaine, his body wallowing in his bloud and ſtript of all of his apparell left to the publique view of all men, poſt after poſt was ſent into *Ireland* to acquaint the Duke of *Yorke* with this victory, ſo as perſwading himſelfe, that nothing now remained to hinder him from poſſeſſing the Crowne, hee tooke ſhipping and came to *London* at the ſame time that the Parliament was aſſembled, hee made his entry with great troopes of men, and trumpets ſounded before him, hee made the ſword bee carried before as Kings uſe to doe, onely with this difference that where as it is carried ſheathed before them, before him it was carried naked, hee lighted from horſe at the Kings pallace of *Weſtminſter*, and entring into the upper houſe of Parliament where the Kings throne was, hee laid his hand a good while upon it, as if by that act, hee had taken poſſeſſion of it, when hee tooke of his hand, hee turned to thoſe that were by, as deſirous to reade in their countenances what ſucceſſe hee ſhould have, and as it is uſuall for us to flatter our ſelves, in what wee paſſionately deſire, hee thought they approved of what hee had done. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſtanding up and asking him if hee would bee pleaſed to goe and ſee the King, hee changed countenance and angerly anſwered him, hee knewe not any in the Kingdome to whom hee ought that duty, but that on the contrary all men ought it to him, ſo as the Archbiſhop going forth to acquaint the King with this anſwer who lay in the Queens lodgings not in his owne, hee likewiſe went forth and entered into the Kings lodgings, where finding many doores ſhut, hee cauſed the doores to bee broke open, to the much diſdaine of thoſe who could not brooke ſo great a pride: ſince that the King living and in poſſeſſion of the Crowne for 38 yeares (not numbring thoſe of his Grandfather and Father) at his firſt arrivall hee by his owne proper authority pretended to bee King. But they were more ſcandalized when comming againe into the Parliament houſe, hee ſate himſelfe downe in the Kings Chaire under the cloath of State, where after having ſet a while hee told them a long rabble of reaſons, why hee had ſate downe in that place, that by the law it was due unto him, and that contrary to the law it had beene uſurped by the three laſt Kings from the houſe of *Mortimer*, the lawfull heire to the Duke of *Clarence*, and laſtly from his houſe of *Yorke*, the others lawfull heire. He exagerated the evill means *Henry* the fourth uſed in uſurping the Crowne, his cruelty in depoſing and murthering *Richard* the ſecond, the injuſtice of *Henry* the fifth in cauſing his Father to be beheaded at *Southampton*, that he might eſtabliſh himſelfe, and that he being now of yeares, & without hope of ever enjoying what was his right by faire mean's, was enforced to betake himſelfe to force, not for any reſpect of himſelfe, but to reſtore peace unto the kingdome,

which

which was not to be had by any other mean's, that he ought rather to be praiſed then blamed for this, ſince thereby the evills ſhould be redreſſed which were ſprung up and were to ſpring up, eſpecially under a weake King, who to the ſo much ſhame of the *Engliſh* nation had loſt *France*, *Normandy*, *Maine*, *Anjou*, and in one onely yeare; *Aquitany* after the Crowne had beene hereditarily poſſeſſed thereof little leſſe then 300. yeares, that for theſe reaſons, hee had taken the Chaire wherein he ſate as belonging to him, and that his minde gave him that with their aſſiſtance he ſhould reſtore it to its ancient glory, and that it behooved them as peeres to concurre with him in equall actions affections and ends. When he had done ſpeaking, the Lords were all ſo aſtoniſhed as looking for an anſwer no man opened his mouth, but all ſtoode like dumbe immoveable ſtatues, whereat not much contented, hee wiſhed them to think upon what he had ſaid, and being againe deſired to goe viſite the King, he ſaid (God excepted) he knew no ſuperiour: two prodigies are ſaid to have hapned at the ſame time, that the Duke of *Yorke* alleadged his reaſons of laying claime unto the Crowne in the upper houſe; from the top of the lower houſe there hung a Crowne with certaine branches ſerving for Candleſticks affixed to it, and on the top of *Dover* Caſtle was an other antiently placed for the adornement of that place. At this inſtant time they both of themſelves fell downe, no cauſe at all being to be given for it, whereupon judgement was made that in like manner the Crowne of the Kingdome was to fall; The Duke of *Yorke* at his very firſt commotions againſt King *Henry*, had ſent unto *James* the ſecond King of *Scotland*, to deſire his aide and to acquaint him with his pretenſions, but *James* not willing to meddle in other mens affaires anſwered, that the *Engliſh* had taken many of his Townes, whileſt having enough to doe with rebells at home, he had not meanes to defend them, that if he would promiſe to reſtore them he would aſſiſt him, the Duke promiſed him ſo to doe: upon theſe hopes, *James* aſſembled a great army, and at the ſame time, the Earle of *Marſh* tooke the King priſoner beſieged *Roxborough*. *Yorke* who had now no more need of him ſeeing in what danger the Towne was, ſent unto him to let him know, that now he had ended the Warre, that he thanked him for the promiſe of his aſſiſtance, but that the ſiege of *Roxborough* being a thing which did diſlike the people, and himſelfe, thought the occaſion thereof, he deſired him to riſe from before it without endamaging *England*, and that he had much a doe to detaine the *Engliſh* from taking up armes to ſuccour it; the King rejoycing at the Dukes proſperous ſucceſſe enquired of the Meſſengers whether they had any commiſſion or no to reſtore unto him ſuch places as were taken from him, and as was promiſed by the Duke to which they anſwering no, neither will I ſaid he quit a ſiege, which I hope ſuddenly to put an end unto uninterrupted by theſe threats, be they his or the peoples; then playing with his cannon upon the Towne with more fury then formerly. ſuch was his misfortune as a peece of Ordnance burſting in two, a ſpilter thereof ſlew him, and hurt the Earle of *Angus* not hurtihg any other body, this accident

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dent did notwithstanding breake off the siege, for the besieged wanting all things requisite, and they themselves reduced to a small number by reason of the often assaults, they yeelded themselves to the new King *Fames* the third, their lives and goods saved.

The death of this King was accompanied by the death of *Charles* King of *France*, which though it were not violent, yet was the strangest that ever was heard of, being sicke some of his flatterers to make their zeale appeare the more, put a conceipt into his head that surely somebody meant to poison him. He forbare from taking any manner of food seaven dayes, and when his Phisitians tould him that his weakenes proceeded from his forbearing meat and not from any sicknes, he would have eaten but could not, for the channells through which his meat should passe were closed up; whereupon he dyed, and left the Kingdome to his sonne *Lewes* the eleaventh.

The difference betweene the King and the Duke of *Yorke* was by the Parliament, after many disputations thus ended; that though the Crowne had beene usurped by *Henry* the fourth from *Edmond Mortimer* Earle of *Marsh*, then living and did lawfully descend upon him, the Duke of *Yorke* as borne of *Anna* the heire of *Philips* rights, the onely Daughter to *Lionell* the Duke of *Clarrence*; yet to withstand the evills which might arise from *Henries* deposing, who had beene King above the space of 38. yeares; the Duke of *Yorke* should bee contented, that *Henry* should raigne as long as he should live, and that after his death, he the Duke of *Yorke* or his next heire should succeed him in his Kingdome. The next day being all Saints-day, the King with his roabes on, and Crowne upon his head went in Procession to Saint *Pauls* waited upon by the Duke, who after being proclaimed next heire and protectour of the Kingdome, desired that to annull all jealousies; the King would send for the Queene and her sonne Prince *Edward*, the which he did, but shee denying to come and having taken up armes to set her Husband at liberty and to nullifie whatsoever had beene done in prejudice of her sonne, the Duke resolved to prevent her; hee recommended the Custody of the King to the Duke of *Norfolke* and Earle of *Warwick*. Hee commanded the Earle of *Marsh* to follow him with the greatest forces he could get, as speedily as he could, and he himselfe accompanied by the Earle of *Salisbury* went to *Sandalls* a Castle of his owne neere Wakefield, where of friends and dependants, he assembled 5000. men, the which, when the Queene heard of, shee hasted to meete with him before he about should joyne with his sonne. Shee had with her above 18000. fighting men, and was followed almost be all the Lords of the *Northern* parts of *England*. Together with Prince *Edward* her sonne, the Dukes of *Exceter* and *Somerset*, the Earles of *Devonshire* and *Wiltshire* and the Lord *Clifford*, with these shee presented herselfe before the Walles of *Sandall's*, the Earle of *Salisbury* and Sir *David Hall* who councelled the Duke, were of opinion that hee should keepe within the Walles till the comming of the Earle of *Marsh*, since shee had no artillery to batter the Castle. But hee more apt to generous then discreet resolutions thinking it a shame, that a Woman should keepe him shut up within a

Walle,

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Walle, when ſo many valiant *French* Commanders in his ſo many yeares warfare in that Kingdome could not boaſt of ſo much, ſallied forth the laſt of *December* and deſcended into the fields beneath to confront her; this Caſtle is ſeated upon a pleaſant Hill, and the Queene having divided her people into 3. parts ſhee laid two of them in Ambuſh, under the Earle of *Wiltſhire*, and the Lord *Clifford* on two ſides of the Hill, and with the third wherein were the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exceſter*, ſhee met him in the plaine as ſoone as the Battell was begun hee was environed on all ſides, defeated in leſſe then halfe an houre, and himſelfe valiantly fighting ſlaine together with 2800. of his men, the Earle of *Salisbury* was wounded and taken priſoner. *Robert Aſpell* Chaplain to the Duke, and Tutor to the Earle of *Rutland*, a child of 12. yeares old ſeeing the ill ſucceſſe of buſineſſes led his charge forth to ſave him, but by the Lord *Cliffords* troopes, and by *Clifford* himſelfe, obſerved who ſaw him nobly attired, hee was by him with his dagger in hand demanded who hee was, the unfortunate Youth ſtruck dumbe with feare with hands held up, and a ſubmiſſe countenance did tacitely pray for mercy and pardon; the Chaplain who by naming him thought to ſave him, told him who hee was, and that if he would ſave his life, he would ſpend it in his ſervice, but *Clifford* ſwore fearefully, that as his Father had ſlaine his, ſo would he doe him and all his race, then ſtruck his dagger to his heart, and went his way rejoycing at the moſt barbarous and inhumane revenge, that ever cruell man tooke. Then caſting himſelfe upon the Dukes dead body, hee cut off the head, and crowning it with a Crowne of paper, he preſented it upon the point of a lance to the Queene: the Earle of *Salisbury* and other priſoners were beheaded at *Pumfret*, and their heads together with the Dukes ſet upon the Gates of *Yorke*; whileſt they rejoyced, who not many dayes after bewailed their owne calamity as did the Queene, or ſhared in the like fortune as did *Clifford*.

The Earle of *Marſh* in *Gloceſter* received the newes of his Fathers defeate and death, but being comforted by thoſe of the City and ſuch as lived along the River *Seaverne*, who were infinitely affectionate to the houſe of *Mortimer* of the which he was heire; he with 23000. men ready to ſpend their lives in his quarrell as they did very well demonſtrate, reſolved upon revenge, he was ready to be gone when he underſtood that *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrook* brother by the Mothers ſide to the King, and *Iames Butler* Earle of *Ormonde* and *Wiltſhire* followed by great troopes of *Iriſh* and *Welſh*, were joyned together to ſurpriſe him; changing reſolution, he made towards them and met them not farre from *Hereford*; on Candlemas-day, he defeated them and ſlew 3800. of their men, the two Earles fled away, and *Owen Tudor* the ſecond Husband of King *Henries* Mother, and Father to the Earle of *Pembrook* was taken priſoner, and with others that were taken with him immediately beheaded, though ſome will have him to be dead many yeares before by the command of the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

The Queene at the ſame time with an army of *Iriſh*, *Scots*, and people

Henry the 6.

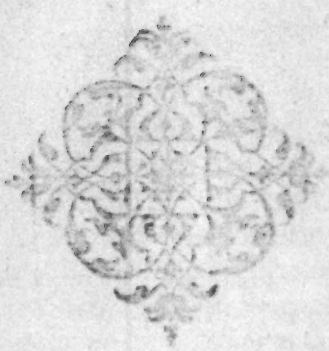
ple of the *North* parts of *England* went towards *London*, with intention to set her Husband at liberty and to undoe what in the preceding Parliament was done by the Duke of *Yorkes* authority, to the prejudice of her sonnes succession. The ill opinion the Citizens had of her, and the feare of being pillaged by those stranger people, made them not onely resolve to put an extraordinary guard into the City, but to take up armes under the conduct of the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earle of *Warwick* who carrying the King along with them did not remember that his presence brought alwayes ill fortune along with it. They came to handy blowes neere to Saint *Albans* where though they were not wanting unto themselves, the Queene not withstanding had the victory, the two Lords fled away, leaving the Lord *Bonneveile* and Sir *Thomas Terrill* with the King, who might have fled with the rest had they not thought the Kings authority sufficient for their safe guard; in this Batttell 2300. persons dyed, amongst which no person of note except *John Graye* who that very day was Knighted; The Queene having recovered her Husband made him Knight; Prince *Edward* her sonne a Child of eight years old, and 30. more of those who had valiantly behaved themselves in the Battell, and perswading herselfe that having caused the principalls to flie, diffipated their partakers and recovered the King, *London* would bee obedient to her, shee sent command to the Major, to send her in victualls for her men, the which hee obeyed, but the people opposed him and stayed the cartes at the City gates. This examples shewes the errour which some time Princes run into when flattering themselves, they promise themselves obedience from a distasted people, and who without feare of punishment have already begun to disobey. The Magistrate for all hee could say to shew the evill that might ensue could not prevaile for they still cried out the more, that the City had not need to succour them, who came with an intention to pillage it. This disobedience grew yet more obstinate by reason of an insolent troope of horse, who at the same time came from Saint *Albans* to pillage the Suburbs, and many of them hasting to *Cripple-gate*, the Gate whereat the cartes were stayed and endeavouring to enter, they were beaten back, and three of them slaine to the great trouble of the wisest sort, for it was to bee feared that the Queene being in armes, and so many severall wayes offended would rigorously resent it: The Major sent to excuse himselfe to the Councell which lay at *Barnet*, and the *Dutchesse* of *Bedford* accompanied by the Lady *Scales*, and some Prelates went to the Queene to pacifie her, they perswaded her, that some Lords might bee sent, with 400. armed men, who riding about the streets might appease the tumult, and that part of the Aldermen should come to meet her at *Barnet*, to bring her, and the King peaceably into the City, but all these appointments did on a sudden proove vaine, for whilest they whereupon the execution thereof came the newes of *Pembrooks* and *Wilshires* defeate, how that the Earle of *Marsh* and *Warwick* were met, and making towards *London*, so as shee not affying in the neighbouring Countries and lesse in *London*, went presently towards the *Northerne* parts; which were affectionate

to

to her, having before her departure cauſed the Lord *Bonnaveile* and Sir *Thomas Terrill* bee beheaded, though the King had promiſed them ſafety, whileſt ſhee ſhould have uſed clemency to winne upon the enemy, not cruelly to make him deſperate. The Earle of *March* on the contrary who for his amiable conditions was in every mans mouth and deſires, underſtanding the Kings retreat rid ſtreight to *London*, where being received with univerſall applauſe, and all the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Countries gone to make offer unto him of their perſons lands and goods, hee cauſed a great aſſembly of Lords Eccleſiaſticall, and Temporall to bee made, and joyned unto them the chiefeſt of the Commons, wherein when hee had laid open his ancient pretences and the late agreement made in Parliament betweene King *Henry* and the Duke of *Yorke* his Father, hee deſired, that ſince that agreement was broken by *Henry*, *Henry* might bee declared not to have any right thereby to the Crowne (whereas hee was onely King by vertue thereof) and that hee might bee ſubſtituted in his place according to the ſaid agreement, and the juſtice of his claime, the which being by the aſſembly conſidered, and the title of the honour of *Yorke* judged ligitimate, it was declared that *Henry* having violated the oath, and broken the accord made by the authority of the laſt Parliament, had made himſelfe unworthy of the Crowne, and was by the ſame authority deprived of all regall honour and title being thereof incapable, and a prejudice to the Common wealth, that inſtead of him *Edward* Earle of *March* ſonne and heire to the Duke of *Yorke* was to bee acknowledged King. The people joyfully received this declaration, and the next day (which was the fourth of *March*) hee went to Saint *Pauls*, where *Te Deum* being ſung, hee made the offering which Kings uſe to doe, and was in *Weſtminſter* proclaimed King, by the name of *Edward* the fourth.

Henry the 6.

FINIS.



THE SECOND PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE CIVILL WARRES OF ENGLAND

Between the two Houſes of

Lancaſter and Yorke.

WHEREIN IS CONTAINED

The Proſecution thereof, in the lives of

EDWARD *the fourth* & RICHARD *the third, and*
EDWARD *the fifth* & HENRY *the ſeventh.*

Written originally in Italian

By Sir *Francis Biondi* Knight, late Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to His Majeſty of *Great Brittaine.*

Engliſhed by the Right Honourable,

HENRY Earle of *Monmouth*:

The ſecond Volume.

LONDON,
Printed by *E. G.* for *Richard Whitaker*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the Kings Armes in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1646.

To the Readers his beloved COUNTREY-MEN.

I Know it is not uſuall to ſay any thing before Second parts of the Same continued Story; nor, truely, am I ſo inamour'd of my own Pen as to write more then according to ſome acception may be thought Needfull. The reaſons then that drew me to this (otherwiſe Unneceſſary) Epiſtle, are; Firſt, to let my Readers know, leſt I may ſeem to derogate from my Authour, by tacitely arrogating to My Selfe, that the three Laſt lives of this Volume are not yet (as I can heare of) printed in Italian, and the Authour being dead, out of whoſe written Papers, whilſt he was here in England, I tranſlated them; I know not whether they may ever undergoe the Preſſe in the Language wherein they were by him penn'd, or no. My next inducing reaſon is; That the ſubject of both parts of this Treatiſe being Civill Warres, and this Second comming forth in a Time of Civill Warres in the Same Countrey, I hope I may be excuſed for doing what in me lies to perſwade to a Happy Peace: whereunto I know no more powerfull Argument, then by ſhewing the Miſeries of Warre, which is a Tragedie that alwaies deſtroyes the Stage whereon it is acted; and which when it once ſeizeth upon a Land rich in the plenty of a Long Peace, and full with the Surfeit of Continued Eaſe, ſeldome leaves Purging thoſe Superfluities, till All (not onely Superfluous but meere Neceſſaries) be waſted and conſumed, as is ſufficiently made to appeare throughout this whole Hiſtory. I know no Nation in Chriſtendome that could (till of ſome late yeeres) more truely have boaſted of the bleſſings of Peace, Plenty, and Eaſe, then this now Miſerable Kingdome of Ours; inſomuch as it may be truely ſaid of Us, Quæ alia res civiles furores peperit quàm nimia fælicitas? Arioſto ſayes.

Non cognoſce la pace è non la ſtima
Chi provata non ha la guerra prima.

We have now ſufficiently try'd both Peace and Warre; let us wiſely betake our ſelves to the Beſt choice, and ſay with Livy; Melior tutiorque certa pax quàm ſperata victoria: illa in tuâ, hæc deorum in manu eſt. *And what though the ballance of Victory may leane ſome times much more to the one ſide then to the other: many Checks may be taken; but the Game is never wonne till the Mate be given: and if you will believe* Guicchiardine, *who was a Solid and Experienced Stateſman, he will tell you, that* Nelle guerre fatte communemente da molti Potentati contra un ſolo, ſuole eſſere major le ſpavento che gli effetti; perche preſtamente ſi rafreddano gli impeti primi cominciando a naſcere varietà de pareri, onde s'indeboliſce tra loro la fede e le forze: e coſi ſpeſſo auviene che le impreſe commenciate con grandiſſima riputatione, caggieno in melte difficultà, e finalmente diventano vane. *If all be true that is of late reported, our two great neighbouring Kings are concluding a Peace; if ſo, we may invert the Proverbe of* Tunc tua res agitur, &c. *I believe we are much concerned when Their walls are Loaſt on fire; and unleſſe it pleaſe Almighty God ſo to inſpire the hearts both of our King and Parliament to the ſpeedy piecing up of theſe unfortunate Rents, and miſchieveous Misunderſtandings, as that we may have a happy and ſpeedy Peace, cordially agreed on by all ſides; I am afraid we may finde my beliefe to be too true; for Civill Warres give faire Advantage to Forraigne Powers. Remember then that an honourable Peace is the Center of Warre, wherein it ſhould reſt, and that when Warre hath any other end then Peace it turnes into Publique Murther: and conſider that if* injuſtiſſima pax juſtiſſimo bello ſit anteferenda, *as it is held by ſome, how Bleſſed will the Peace-makers be in ſetting an end to that warre which is by all ſides acknowledged to be Unnaturall? having our Saviours word for their atteſtate, that they ſhall be Own'd for the Children of God.* Ita bellum ſuſcipiatur (*ſaith* Cicero) ut nihil aliud quàm pax queſita videatur. *That this may be the endeavour of all parties interreſſed, is the Sincere Counſell and Humble Adviſe of him who is a Faithfull and Loyall Subject unto his King, an earneſt Interceder to God Almighty for a Bleſſing upon the Parliament, a Hearty Well-wiſher to his Countrey: and who will conclude all with the words of the man according to Gods owne heart,* Seeke Peace, and purſue it.

Imprimatur

May 18. 1645: *No. Brent.*

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE CIVILL WARRES OF ENGLAND

In the Life of Edvvard the Fourth.

With what eaſe *Edward* came unto the Kingdome, is worthy of obſervation, but hard it is to give a juſt reaſon thereof: whether power, Juſtice, or the peoples inclination. It was not power, ſince he was admitted of by election; not Juſtice, for to decide the right of the Crowne without an Aſſembly of Parliament is not a duty belonging to the people, eſpecially the tumultuous people of a City, though Metropolitan, without the joynt approbation of all the Shires; and ſay it did by right belong unto him, a buſineſſe of ſuch importance, againſt a King that was no uſurper, who ſucceeded to two, who for the ſpace of more then threeſcore yeares (his owne reigne comprehended) were acknowledged and received for Kings, was not to be decided in ſo ſhort a time: he being Sonne to the laſt, one of the beſt deſerving and moſt glorious Princes that *England* ever had, and being King himſelfe ever from his cradle for the ſpace of eight and thirty yeares; ſo as he had

his goodneſſe been as uſefull as it was innocent, the Duke of *Yorke* durſt not have conteſted with him for the Kingdome, nor *Edward* bereft him of it. The peoples inclination was then the onely thing which tooke the Kingdome from the one, and gave it to the other, whereby Princes may learne, that long poſſeſſion without the practice of Princely actions, and the foregoing ſuch affections as are hurtfull and hatefull to the people, is not ſufficient for their conſervation, eſpecially when they are not naturally indued with ſuch vertues as are pleaſing, which *Henry* was not: for the firſt advantages which *Edward* had over him, were the endowments of his minde; and the comlineſſe of his perſon, which though it may decay, is notwithſtanding eſſentiall to captivate mens affections; when accompanied, as his was, with clemency, liberality and valour; the moſt eſſentiall vertues requiſite in a worthy Prince, and moſt efficacious to make him be deſired: and though all theſe were not wanting in *Henry*, yet wanted he the moſt ſubſtantiall: and if he had any of them, they were ſo poorely clad as they wanted thoſe characters of Majeſty which become a King; and though they were ſufficient to content himſelfe, yet were not they anſwerable to his quality, nor ſuch as gave content unto the world. Vertues in Princes are lights not to be put under a buſhell, but on a candleſticke, to the end that they may give light to all men. Their actions ſhould reſemble the Sunne, which generates, nouriſhes, and propagates. *Edward* notwithſtanding his vertues and good fortune was deſcended from an unfortunate houſe, he being the only one (except *Edward*, ſonne to *Richard* the third who died a child) who of all his houſe died a naturall death, after it layed pretence unto the Crowne. The Earle of *Cambridge* his Grandfather was beheaded at *Southampton*: the Duke of *Yorke* his Father ſlaine before *Sandall*: of his three brothers, the Earle of *Rutland* was ſlaine at the ſame time; the Duke of *Clarence* drowned in a Butt of Malmſey, and the Duke of *Glouceſter* after having ſtrangled his nephewes, was by *Henry* the ſeventh bereft both of life and Kingdome. You will meet with no Tragedy, be it or true or fabulous, where you ſhall finde ſo many various and cruell deaths as in this family. To dye by the hands of the enemy, or by the hangman, though miſerable, is yet ordinary; but by a prodigious brother and unkle, unheard of. As there is nothing more uncertaine, nor more wrapt up in fancy, than to affirme that deſtiny was the cauſe of this, ſo is it to be believed that it proceeded only from ambition, which diſturbing his counſell and advice, made it endeavour to get the Kingdome at the coſt of his owne and others lives. Not any one of them ſave this *Edward*, having enjoyed the Crowne unto their end, and that which they did enjoy they enjoyed with ſuch loſſes, and ſo much trouble, as that whatſoever fortune (ſo it be within the bounds of honour) may ſeem rather to be deſired than a Kingdome at ſuch a rate. For to live happy being the end of humane nature, it is no happineſſe to poſſeſſe by violence what is ſuperfluous, but being free from perturbations,

turbations, peaceſully to enjoy what is ſufficient, according to a mans proper ſtate and fortune, which might be enjoyed, were it not that ambition the enemy to true felicitie did perſwade us, that no ſuch happineſſe had any thing of generous in it. We doe not here exclude all ambition, but rather commend ſuch as doth awake in us good actions. He cannot be ſaid to be good who is not ambitious of a good report; nor can that ambition be had without an endeavour by our workes to deſerve it. Yet when ſhe lives ſolitarily, ſequeſtred from the multitude, in ſilence and philoſophicall habite, no man followes her, nor makes mention of her. A ſound body affords not ſo much matter of diſcourſe, as doth an infirme; nor a State well compos'd, as one miſ-govern'd. The one for all her deſerts ſhall be notwithſtanding alwaies neglected; and the other, notwithſtanding all her vices, purſued; ſo much is our vanity delighted with her luſtre. Moreover, deeds of violence being thoſe which doe enrich ſtory, and which make vertue or vice indifferent, we covet them, alwaies provided that our name doe in ſome ſort live in our poſteritie. But the houſe of *Yorke* ſtood not in need of this; It had reaſon to hope for remembrance in perpetuity, and to be contented with its owne eſtate, her Nobility was reall: She was for Riches and Title to be envied. This notwithſtanding ſhe aſpired to the Crowne, ſhe diſturbed her owne quiet, and the quiet of the weale publique, for one that reigned, hundred thouſands died; and all of the ſame houſe came to evill ends excep this *Edward*, who for his part would not have murdered his brother, had he not made himſelfe King, nor had his ſonnes been ſlaine, had they not beene to inherit the Kingdome. And *Richard* the third, though naturally wicked, never had attained to the height of all cruelty and wickedneſſe, had it not been for the thirſt of government; ſo as it had beene better for them to have enjoyed their naturall greatneſſe under a moderate ambition, than by an immoderate one to make themſelves the ſubject of Tragedie and to be praiſed but for a few things in future ages.

Edward being received for King, and for ſuch proclaimed, immediately left *London*. The condition of affaires were not ſuch as would ſuffer him idly to enjoy that dignity, the duration whereof could not be hoped for but by the ruine of his adverſary. He eaſily gathered together great forces, advantaged therein by his predeceſſors wretchleſneſſe. Each man made offer unto him of all he had, he muſtered in the field 49000 men, with the which he ſtaied at *Pumfret*, and ſent the Lord *Fitzwater* to guard the bridge over the River *Ayre*, called *Ferrybrigs*, that he himſelfe might make uſe thereof, and inhibit the enemy. *Henry* on the other ſide, who by having put to death the Duke of *Yorke*, thought he had now done all that was requiſite, gave the charge of his men to the Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, not ſo much for that their qualities did deſerve it, as for that being inflamed with revenge for their fathers deaths at the battell of St. *Albanes*, he could not make choice of any more paſſionately his;

And tarrying himſelfe, together with his wife and ſonne at Yorke, they marched on towards the enemy. As ſoon as they underſtood that they had made themſelves maſters of *Ferrybrigs*, they made a ſtand: The Lord *Clifford* onely advanced with the Light-horſe, and ſetting upon the bridge by breake of day, he eaſily wonne it: the guards being all aſleepe, and not dreaming of the enemy. The Lord *Fitzwater* awakened with the outcries of thoſe that were ſlaine, and that did ſlay, (believing it to ariſe from ſome tumult amongſt his own men) threw himſelfe out of his bed, and unarmed with onely a ſtaffe in his hand, went to appeaſe them. But too late aware of his miſtake, he was there ſlaine, and together with him the baſtard of *Salisbury*, brother to the Earle of *Warwicke*. They who could ſaved themſelves, the *Lancaſtrians* remaining maſters of the place. The Baſtards death did ſo much grieve his brother *Warwicke*, (added to the unhappie ſucceſſe of the enterprize, which as being the firſt he thought might diſmay the Army) as haſting to the King to advertiſe him of the ſad event. hee lighted off horſe-backe, and thruſt his Sword into his horſes belly, ſaying, Flie who flie will, I will not flie; here will I ſtay with as many as will keepe me company, and kiſſing the hilt of his Sword by the way of vow, he put it up againe. But *Edward* who did very much reſent this misfortune, not that it was of ſo great conſequence in it ſelfe, but for that being the firſt encounter, it might be taken as an evill *omen*, and deject his men, made Proclamation, that it ſhould be lawfull for whoſoever had not a minde to fight to depart; hee promiſed large recompences to thoſe that would tarry, but death to as many as ſhould tarry, and afterwards runne away, with reward and double pay to any that ſhould kill them. No man accepted ſo ignominious a leave, they all choſe rather to die than to declare themſelves ſo baſe cowards. This good ſucceſſe of *Clifford* was in the meane time of no long continuance, for the Lord *Faulconbridge* had paſſed the *Ayre* at *Caſtleford*, three miles above *Ferrybrigs*, accompanied by Sir *Walter Blunt*, and *Robert Horne*, with intention to ſurprize him, as he did, though not in that place: for *Clifford* being thereof advertiſed, whilſt hee thought to ſhunne the enemy by going another way, he met with him, and having his Helmet off by reaſon of the heate of the day, he was with an unexpected ſhot of an Arrow one of the firſt that was ſlaine, and together with him the Earle of *Weſtmerlands* brother, the reſt were almoſt all left dead upon the place. This death was too good for him: The innocent blood of the Earle of *Rutland* did require of him a foreſeen, painfull, cruell death. But the puniſhment which he failed of, his ſonne met withall; who being ſaved by a poore ſhepheard, he lived a begger, and unknowne during the reignes of *Edward* and *Richard*, till ſuch time as *Henry* the ſeventh comming to the Crowne, he was by him reſtored to the honour and inheritance of his family. The Duke of *Norfolke*, who led *Edwards* Vanguard was at this time ſicke, ſo as *Faulconbridge* tooke the charge upon him, and marcht by breake of day towards *Saxton*, to ſee how

how ſtrong the enemy was, and finding him to be 60000 men ſtrong, he advertiſed *Edward* thereof, who though much inferiour in number, went forthwith to encounter him. The day was Palm-Sunday. *Edward* tooke his ſtand in the middle Squadron, ſent the Bow-men forwards, and recommended the rere-ward to Sir *John Venloe*, and Sir *John Dinham*, both of them valiant Gentlemen. He gave command that no priſoner ſhould be taken, but all indifferently put to the Sword. The *Lancaſtrians* marcht towards them, and met them in the fields betweene *Towton* and *Saxton*. The firſt ſalutation was given by Arrowes, but with different event, for at this time there fell a ſhowre of ſnow, and the wind driving the ſnow upon the faces of *Henries* men, they were therewith ſo blinded, as they ſhot in vaine, and their Arrowes beaten backe by the wind, fell halfe way ſhort; the which *Faulconbridge* obſerving, after the firſt volley, hee forbad his men to ſhoot, and when the enemy had ſhot all their Arrows he drew up neerer unto them, letting flie at them not onely with his owne Arrowes (which aſſiſted by the wind, did hit where they were intended) but thoſe likewiſe of the enemie, which in his march he found ſticking in the ground. Hereupon the Earle of *Northumberland* and *Andrew Trolop* who led the Van-guard perceiving the diſadvantage, made haſte to come to handy-blowes. The combat endured ten houres, it not being known who had the better, and all of them fighting, as if they had overcome. Such was the hatred of the two factions, and their reſolution not to yeeld, as the command not to take priſoners was bootleſſe, for they reſolved either to overcome or die. Nothing doth more encourage an Army then the preſence of the Prince, and the Captaines example. *Edward* was an eye-witneſſe of his ſouldiers valour, as King, and they of his Captaine-like courage. A ſight which made them chooſe rather to die than not to imitate him. The *Lancaſtrians* were at laſt enforced to yeeld, by reaſon of the ſmall number that was left, not able to make reſiſtance. They gave backe, but not as men overcome; they were ſtill purſued, but did not ſtill flie away; they oftentimes reunited themſelves, and though in weake Troopes, they made ſuch reſiſtance, as thoſe of *Yorke* could not be termed Conquerours till the next day. Thoſe who remained alive went toward *Tadcaſter-bridge*; but not able to get ſo farre, and thinking to wade over a little rivelet named *Cocke*, the greateſt part of them were drowned. The waters of that River and of the River *Warfe*, into which it diſgorges it ſelfe ſeemed all to be of blood. The number of the dead was 36776. amongſt which the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, the Lord *Dakers*, and *Wells*; and amongſt many Knights, Sir *John Nevill*, and Sir *Andrew Trolop*. The Dukes of *Somerſet* and of *Exceter* ſaved themſelves, and the Earl of *Devonſhire* was (I know not how) taken priſoner, I believe for that they were weary of killing. Had not *France* had a yong King at this time, or had the new King found *France* in a better condition, after ſo many yeeres warres; or had not *Scotland* had ſo yong a child for its King, and diſtracted with inteſtine

inteſtine factions, *England* had runne a danger, having loſt the flower of all her Warriers, who were fit not onely to have defended her, but to have made whatever difficult atchievement. *Edward* having obtained this bloody victory, went to *Yorke*, where he cauſed the Earle of Salisburies father, and other of his friends to be beheaded, as likewiſe the Earle of *Devonſhire*, and ſome other. This meane while *Henry* was got to *Barwicke*, and from thence to *Scotland*, where he was with all humanity received, comforted, and had proviſion made for him of ſome ſmall penſion by that young King, who likewiſe agreed that Princeſſe *Margaret* his ſiſter ſhould marry Prince *Edward*, *Henry's* ſonne; but this marriage was not afterwards conſummated, and *Henry* to requite theſe courteſies, did what if hee had been in his former condition hee would not have done. He gave the Town of *Barwicke* to King *James*, a place very advantageous to the Scots, and long before deſired by them. The Queene his wife went with her ſonne into *France*, to procure ſome meanes by her father the King of *Sicily*, whereby to recover what was loſt. She obtained of *Lewis* King of *France* free acceſſe for as many Engliſh as were of her ſide, and baniſhment for thoſe who ſided with her adverſary; but ineffects of no great conſequences. *Edward* returned triumphant to *London* the 29. of *June*. He was Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, in a Parliament which was there held, he revoked all ſuch thing as had been done by *Henry* to the prejudice of the Houſe of *Yorke*, and of himſelfe; he reformed many enormities, which civill diſſention had brought in; he created his two brothers Dukes; *George*, of *Clarence*, and *Richard*, of *Glouceſter*: hee made *John Nevill* brother to the Earle of *Warwicke*, Baron, and afterwards Marqueſſe. He created *Henry Burchier* Earle of *Eſſex*, who was his uncle, as husband to his fathers ſiſter; and the Lord *William Faulconbridge* Earle of *Kent*. All which promotions did ſucceed the deaths of *John Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, and *Auberey* his eldeſt ſonne, who together with others were beheaded, either through the malice of their enemies, or that the King held himſelfe injured by them. By reaſon whereof *John* Earle of *Oxford* his ſecond ſonne, was alwaies his profeſt enemy. Paſſion makes us alwaies abhorre the authours of our evill. This happy ſucceſſe of *Edwards* made many (amongſt which the Duke of *Somerſet*, and Sir *Ralph Peirey*) to change ſides: they were graciouſly received to mercy by the King, who together with their lives, reſtored unto them their goods, making them thereby inexcuſable of ſecond faults. The firſt plighted faith ought alwaies conſtantly to be obſerved, and if by neceſſity broken, it ought not to be broken againe, for ſo both the former and latter oathes are violated: an errour common amongſt thoſe who eſteeme of all advantages, breach of faith the moſt advantageous.

Queen *Margaret* did at laſt obtaine from King *Lewis* (for the King of *Sicily* her father could not aſſiſt her in any thing) a Troop of 500 men conducted by *Monſieur de Varennes*, with the which ſhe paſſed over into *Scotland*; but ſhe had no ſooner landed, then ſhe

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was forced to re-imbarke her ſelfe being way-laid by the enemy. So as putting to Sea againe, the Veſſell wherein ſhe was, was by a tempeſt parted from the reſt, and not without difficulty put in at *Barwicke*, whereby ſhe preſerved her liberty, which ſhe had loſt had ſhe kept with the other ſhips. For the French being driven upon the ſhore, and not knowing what ſide to take (the wind forbidding them to put to Sea, and the enemy to Land) they tooke ſuch reſolution as nature taught them. They prolonged the ruine which could not be eſcaped; they burnt their ſhips and retired themſelves to *Holy-Iland*, where they were ſet upon by the baſtard *Ogle*, and defeated, many of them ſlaine, and 400. of them taken priſoners; *Varrennes*, and ſome few more, by meanes of a Fiſher-boat got into *Barwicke*. This bad ſucceſſe did not allay the Queenes courage: for adding to the *Scotiſh* forces ſuch of *England* as upon the newes of her arrivall were come to ſerve her, ſhe together with her husband entered *Northumberland*, (leaving her ſonne at *Barwicke*) and winning the Caſtle of *Bambury*, ſhe paſt forward to the Biſhopricke of *Durham*. The newes hereof being come to *England* the Duke of *Somerſet*, and Sir *Ralph Peircy* (forgetting the late favours received from *Edward*) did with many others come over to her ſide. And ſhe affording all liberty to the ſouldier, as not having wherewithall to pay him, did thereby invite all ſuch as had more mind to filch than to fight. Her courage thus increaſing with her numbers, ſhe was not aware that ſuch like men are ſeldome beneficiall; eſpecially when they want Commanders who know how to reduce them to diſcipline. It fared cleane otherwiſe with *Edward*. He was not enforced by neceſſity deſperately to hazzard his affaires; but proceeded wiſely with the counſell and authority of a King, valiant in himſelfe, having with him the Earle of *Warwicke*, a moſt underſtanding Commander, followed by the Nobility, and choice men well paid, having ſhips well rig'd, and well munitioned, in readineſſe. Thus hee came to oppoſe her by Sea and Land. He Commanded the Lord *Nevill* to goe before him into *Northumberland* with ſuch forces as were moſt in readineſſe to withſtand the dammages which were there done, whilſt he prepared to follow him. He fortuned to meet with the Lord *Hungerford*, Lord *Roſſe*, and Sir *Ralph Peircy*. He diſcomfited them all. The firſt two ranne away at the firſt encounter; the third, with many others who fought valiantly, was ſlaine, and as he died, uttered theſe words, That hee had preſerved the Bird in his boſome; as much as to ſay, He had kept his faith unto *Henry*. *Edward* was a cauſe of this victory, by ſending unto him new Forces, as ſoon as he was come to *Yorke*, which infuſed ſo much courage into him, as he thought to overcome *Henry*, and winne that honour himſelfe alone, which he could not doe if he ſhould expect the comming of others, and ſo it fell out: for having notice that *Henry* was at *Hexam*, and imagining that if hee ſhould offer him battell hee would not accept it, hee ſet upon him in his Trenches, and finding him in good order, hee had much adoe to overcome him;

him; But nothing is impoſſible to a reſolution accompanied by vertue the mother of courage, which was in him, when it meets with deſperation the ſtepdame of courage, which was in his adverſary. The *Lancaſtrians* were defeated in their Trenches, and the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lords *Roſſe*, *Moulins*, and *Hungerford*, together with many Gentlemen whilſt they fled were taken, and *Henry* who in all his life-time was never eſteemed an extraordinary horſe-man, ſhewed himſelfe upon this occaſion a very good one; for as he fled many that were very neere him were taken, in particular ſome that were upon his horſes of State, and he who carried his Helmet, or (as others will have it) a Hat adorned with two rich Crowns, which was afterwards preſented to *Edward*, whilſt hee yet eſcaped untouch'd. The Duke of *Somerſet* was forthwith beheaded at *Hexam*, the Barons elſewhere, and five and twenty others at *Yorke*, and in other parts. Many there were that did hide themſelves in ſundry places; but at ſuch times, farewell friendſhip and faith, for Proclamations being made forth againſt them, they were taken and put to death. *Edward* hearing of this victory came to *Durham*, whither came likewiſe the victorious Lord, from whence together with his brother of *Warwicke*, and the Lords *Faulconbridge* and *Scrope*, hee went to recover ſuch places as were yet poſſeſt by the enemy. The Caſtle of *Anwicke* where the Queen had left *Monſieur de Varrennes* Governour, was valiantly defended by the *French*, and thoſe of the garriſon, affording thereby leiſure to the *Scots* to come in unto their ſuccour, thirteen thouſand whereof commanded by *George Duglas* Earle of *Angus* (ten thouſand horſe, ſaith *Buchanan*) came thither, which the *Engliſh* were not able to reſiſt, being much fewer in number, for they were divided, and were come to this enterprize with ſmall forces. But *Duglas* not willing to trouble himſelfe with keeping of the Caſtle, his deſigne being onely to free the beſieged without more adoe, left it to the enemy; who on the other ſide being more deſirous of the Caſtle, than of thoſe that did defend it, were well contented to have it upon theſe termes. And leaving a ſufficient Garriſon there, they tooke in *Duſtambery*, commanded by *John Joyce*, a ſervant of the Duke of *Somerſets*, who was ſent to *Yorke* and executed. They tooke likewiſe *Bambery* defended by Sir *Ralph Gray*, who having ſworne allegeance to both ſides, was before his death degraded from the Honour of Knighthood in this manner: He had a Coat of Armes put on him reverſt, his gilt Spurs were by a Cooke hewed off his heeles, and his Sword broken over his head; a thing much more ignominious than death it ſelfe, eſpecially to a man of ſo Noble and Worthy a Family. *Edward* having thus with a little water quencht a flame which was likely to have ſet all *England* on fire, fortified all the Frontiers, & built Forts upon ſuch parts of the Sea as were fitteſt for landing, hee denounced heavie puniſhments againſt any who ſhould favour or give receptacle to *Henry*, Queen *Margarite*, or any of their aſſociates. He forbare not to uſe the like care in the other parts of his Kingdome, eſpecially in the Southerne parts, where landing was eaſieſt for ſuch

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as ſhould come from *Normandy*. In the places of the Earle of *Northumberland* and Earle of *Pembrooke* who were fled with *Henry*, hee created *John Nevill* Lord *Montague* Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *William Herbert* Earle of *Pembrooke*. But *Nevill* ſoon after gave up this title to the King againe that he might reſtore it to *Northumberland*, who had his pardon, and in recompence he had the title of a *Marqueſſe*.

Henry together with his Wife and Sonne was now in *Scotland*, where all men, his conditions conſidered thought any fortune indifferent for him as his humour differing from the humour of other men, made them believe a Kingdome and Cottage to be all one to him: But wee may eaſily erre in our judgements, not ſo much that we are altogether blind, as by reaſon of the falſhood of the objects which we propound unto our ſelves; the which preſumed to be permanent, doe vary either becauſe of the alterations of the humours of the body, or by reaſon of the change of opinion, proceeding from the inconſtancy of imagination, which together with the diverſity of time doth diverſifie the thought of our affaires. King *Henry*, were it either that his underſtanding was troubled, or that he was impatient to live in this condition, or that hee hoped by his preſence to put life into his affaires, (which required another manner of man to worke ſuch a miracle) or that his Wife perſwaded him thereunto, went himſelfe alone into *England* in diſguiſe. I rather believe his Wife was the cauſe thereof, for that if it had ſprung totally from him, ſhee would not have ſuffered him to have put it in execution, knowing how little was to be expected from his dexterity. This reſolution, though it were raſh, and not to be done but by men of ſingular judgement and valour, was hazzardous enough: Deſperate affaires require deſperate reſolutions. The good King had no ſooner ſet foot into *England* but he was known, taken, and with his legges tied underneath his horſes belly, ſent to *London*, and met by the Earle of *Warwicke*, not out of any reſpect, but that he might the more ſafely be brought to the Tower, where hee was ſhut up, and a good guard ſet upon him. The Queen hearing of this misfortune, all her hopes being fruſtrated, went with her Son into *France*, the Duke of *Sommerſet* together with his brother *John* went into *Flanders*, where they lived miſerably, till being long after known by *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, whoſe Father *Philip* died not till the yeare 1467, they had a ſmall penſion whereon to live conferred on them by him. *Charles* was deſcended from the King of *Portugall* Son to *Philippa*, ſiſter to *Henry* the IIII. and therefore very affectionate to the houſe of *Lancaſter*. *Philip Commines* writes, that hee hath ſeene a Duke following this Princes Court, bare foot and bare legged, begging from doore to doore, not being knowne by any man, that hee was the nigheſt a kinne of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and Husband to a Siſter of *Edward* the Fourth; that being at laſt knowne, hee had a ſmall penſion for livelyhood given him by *Charles*; That the Duke of *Sommerſet* and divers others were there likewiſe. But he

is deceived in his name; hee in the margent calls him the Duke of *Chester*, whereas there was never any such Duke, the County of *Chester* belonging properly to the Princes of *Wales* since the time of *Edward* the black Prince to this very day. The begger Duke, who had to wife the sister of *Edward* the Fourth, was *Henry Helland* Duke of *Exceter*, who escaped in those parts, and chose rather to begge his bread from doore to doore, than to be knowen for feare of danger. Amongst so many unfortunate men, none did better outlive their calamities than did the Earle of *Pembrook*, Brother by the Mothers side to *Henry*, for though hee went a long time wandring up and downe, full of feares and dangers, yet he outlived his enemies, hee saw the extirpation of the house of *Yorke*, and that of *Lancaster* reestablished in the person of *Henry* the Seventh his Nephew, and dyed peacefully in the eleventh yeere of his Reigne, Earl of *Pembrooke* and Duke of *Bedford*.

Henries imprisonment, his Wives and Sons being in *France*, the flight and banishment of the chiefest of that faction did secure *Edward* and quieted the Kingdome for a while. This calme afforded him occasion of reforming such disorders as by reason of civill dissention were sprung up in Courts of Justice, in his Revenues, in Monies, and foraine correspondences: and to shew his liberality and gratitude to those who had served him, by distributing the confiscated goods which were very many, as many they were who had merited reward, wherein he dealt so fully, as there was not any one unsatisfied. By his affability he afterwards wonne the hearts of all men, but with some observation of excesse; for vertues when they part from their center doe usually insensibly passe from one denomination to another; for if affability become familiarity, it loseth its name; not that familiarity accompanied with decency doth not become a Prince, for if he desire to recreate himselfe, no recreation can be had without some kind of domestiqueneſſe; but that it is sometimes to be used, not alwaies; and therein choyce alwaies to be made of the best, most vertuously given, and those of the noblest sort, for they being in next relation of greatnesse to the Prince, they free him of indifferency, which would make him be despised by all men. Affability which is commendable consists in giving free accesse to such as demand Justice, in listning to good counsell, and in looking upon the people with a gratious eye; all which may be done without that excesse which was observed in *Edward*. To his affability he added clemency, which did not slip like the other out of its naturall precincts; for it being a difficult matter to pardon ones enemies, he pardoned all those who in what manner soever had formerly opposed his greatnesse, so as they would forsake further adhering to such as did yet persist in their aversenesse to him. The part of a wise man, for by this meanes hee got the hearts of those who were opposite unto him before; and hee afterwards found the good thereof, when losing his Kingdome, as hee did, he never had recovered it, had he not thus wonne upon the peoples affections

ons, which is the Prince his chiefeſt ſafeguard. Publique affaires being thus accommodated, he deſcended to what more particularly concerned himſelfe; which are not notwithſtanding to be ſeparated from what concernes the State. Marriage from whence proceeds lawfull ſucceſſours, is the ſtrength as well of Kingdomes as of private families. Three marriages were propounded to him. The firſt, *Marguerit* ſiſter to *James* the third King of *Scotland*, whoſe advantages were the breach of the marriage with *Edward* ſonne to *Henry*, and thereby the undoing the chiefeſt hopes of the houſe of *Lancaſter*. That upon any new occaſion of civill broyles, he ſhould either have *Scotland* ſide with him, or remaine neuter. He ſhould thereby free himſelfe from the daily troubles nouriſhed by the obſtinate enmity of ſo hardy and warlike a neighbour. But underſtanding that ſhe was of a ſickly body, and conſequently not likely to beare children, he would none of her. The ſecond was *Iſabell* ſiſter to *Henry* the fourth King of *Caſtile*, his hopes by her were the ſucceſſion of that Kingdome, and by the aſſiſtance thereof the recovery of *Gaſcony*; in like manner as by the aſſiſtance of *Gaſcony*, given by *Edward* the blacke Prince, King *Peter* father to the great grand-mother of this King *Edward*, recovered *Caſtile*. The *Engliſh* writers ſay, that her being too yong, as not being then above ſix or ſeven yeeres old, was the cauſe why that match was no further proceeded in. But I finde that ſhe being married to *Ferdinand*, and dying Queen of *Caſtile*, not when ſhe was three and fifty yeeres old, and in the yeere 1506. as *Edward Hall* doth calculate it, but in the fiftieth yeere of her age, and in the yeere 1504. ſhe muſt be in the yeere 1464. (which was the time when this marriage was treated of) thirteen yeeres old; ſo but ten yeeres younger than *Edward*, ſo as their yeeres were not unproportionate. *Halls* calculation is grounded upon the ſtories of *Spaine*, which he does not particularize in; and upon an Epitaph ingraven upon this Queenes tombe in *Granado*, which he never ſaw. Mine upon the *Spaniſh* ſtorie written by *Lewis Myerne Turquet*, my father in law, a moſt exact writer, and by the Jeſuit *John Mariana*, who ſaith ſhe was borne the 24. of *May* in the yeere 1451. So as ſome other cauſe made him not chooſe her. The third was *Bona*, daughter to *Lodowicke* Duke of *Savoy* and ſiſter to *Charlotte* Queene of *France*, with whom ſhe at the preſent was. This was imbrac'd, the Earle of *Warwicke* was ſent to *Lewis* the eleventh to demand her of him, neither could *Edward* put on a better reſolution. For his affaires in *England* being ſetled by *Henry's* impriſonment, no feare was to be had of *Scotland*, without aide and provocation from *France*, which was not better to be eſchewed by any meanes than this; for though *Charlotte* bore not ſuch ſway with her husband as to governe him as ſhee liſted, yet held ſhee very good correſpondency with him. And *Lewis* (whoſe onely ends were to leſſen the power of the Princes and great Lords of *France*, particularly that of his brother *Charles*, and the two Dukes of *Brittany* and *Burgundy*) laid willingly hold upon this occaſion to acquit himſelfe of the importunity

nity of *Margarite* Queene of *England*, who endeavoured to perſwade him to a dangerous and fruitleſſe warre, and which was averſe to his genius and deſignes by withdrawing him from the other, to the which reaſon and his owne inclination bore him. Moreover the Duke of *Savoy* having been an ancient confederate and neere allie to the Duke of *Burgundy*, this would be a meanes to marre their intelligence, for though he were his father in Law, ſuch ties amongſt Princes, unleſſe they be knitted with new knots, are ſubject to be looſed and broken by every daies occaſioned intereſt. For theſe reaſons this match was agreed upon between King *Lewis* and the Earle of *Warwicke*; and *Monſieur de Dammartin* was ſent into *England* to ſtrike it up with *Edward*. But whilſt *Warwicke* thought he had ſucceſfully executed his Maſters commands, he unexpectedly heard that hee was married. *Edward* was gone a hunting progreſſe towards *Grafton*, a houſe belonging to *Jacoline* of *Luxenburg*, ſiſter to the Count *St. Paul*, wife to the Lord *Rivers*, and widdow to the Duke of *Bedford*, who died Regent in *France*. With her was a daughter of hers named *Elizabeth*, widdow to Sir *John Gray*, who was ſlaine in the ſecond battell at St. *Albans* ſiding with *Henry*; ſo as having loſt a part of her Jointure by the confiſcation of her husbands goods, ſhee deſired him to conferre it againe upon her. She was a woman of no extraordinary beauty, but of ſuch conditions, as ſurpaſſing what was in her of beauty, made her to be valued and beloved by all men. The King did not onely grant her what ſhe deſired, but growing in love with her, became her petitioner for wanton dalliance, which ſhe reſolutely denied to yeeld unto. His appetite increaſing by meeting with an obſtacle, he reſolved to marry her, taking therein advice of thoſe who never counſell Princes contrary to their inclinations. *Yorkes* Widow the Kings mother foreſeeing the evils that were to enſue, admoniſhed him. She bid him beware of the injury hee did his couſin the Earle of *Warwicke* (the Dutcheſſe was ſiſter to *Warwickes* Father) whoſe ſpirit would not endure ſuch an affront, ſince the King of *France* would not believe that he was come to treat of a match, but to couſen him, laugh at him, and pry into his ſtate; nor was it likely hee could thinke otherwiſe, ſince that hee having got the Crowne by the Earles valour and the purſuit of his friends, it was not likely that beeing ſo neere a kinne unto him, and a man of ſo great an eſteem, he ſhould offend him by doing ſo miſ-becomming a thing without his knowledge. She ſhewed him how that the marriage of Princes had for their ends the good of their State, the alliance of ſuch as could or doe them good or harme, and portion proportionable to the charge of a wife, and their own reputations. That none of all theſe were met withall in this which was now treated of; rather in laying a foundation for a peace, hee ſhould offend a great King, and expoſe himſelfe to ſo unjuſt a warre (the cauſe whereof being blame-worthy) as he ſhould not therein finde any friends or confederates. That yet if ſhe were a maid, it might admit of ſome excuſe; but being a mother of children, a ſubject,

and

and without portion, theſe were conditions likely to produce, inſtead of benefit, hatred and enmity abroad, hatred and enmity at home, danger and blame every where. *Edwards* anſwer was, that he doubted not but that his couſin would conforme his will to his; that he was ſure enough of his love; that the King of *France* was not in a condition to hurt him, having other thoughts which did more neerely concerne him; that nothing could be more acceptable to ſubjects than to take a wife from amongſt them, ſince children muſt iſſue from the ſame blood; that for portion he valued it not, having more than he knew what to doe withall; that for all other inconveniences, contentment in a wife, with whom one was to live and die, did out-weigh them all. His mother finding her perſwaſions to be of no force, bethought herſelfe of another means, which proved alike vaine. The King upon promiſe of marriage had wrought to his deſire a Lady of great birth, named *Elizabeth Lucy*; She alledged, that ſince before God this Lady was his legitimate wife, he could not marry any other. An impediment which delayed his ſatisfaction in the other, for the Biſhops required proofe thereof. But the Lady *Lucy* examined upon oath, in oppoſition to the inſtigation of the Dutcheſſe and her owne honour and intereſt did depoſe; that the King did never paſſe unto her any direct promiſe; but that hee had ſaid ſuch things unto her, as had ſhee not thought them thereunto equivalent, ſhee had never condeſcended to his will; Upon this depoſition the King did privately marry the other, the marriage being afterwards publiſhed by her Coronation.

None were pleaſed herewithall, the Nobility leſſe than the Communalty: their greatneſſe being obſcured by the ſudden ſplendor of the Queenes kindred. Her father was created Earle *Rivers*, and ſhortly after made Lord High-conſtable of *England*. Her brother *Anthony* was enricht by the marriage of the daughter and heire of the Lord *Scales*, which Title was likewiſe conferred upon him. Her ſonne *Thomas Gray*, which ſhe had by her former huſband did afterwards marry the daughter of *William Bonneville*, Lord *Harrington*, and was created Marquis *Dorſet*. Hiſtorians obſerve many miſchiefes that enſued from this marriage, beſides the death of ſo many that was cauſed thereby. *Edward* did thereby loſe his Kingdome; his children were declared to be baſtards, and ſtrangled; the Queenes houſe extirpated; the Earle of *Warwicke* and his brother ſlaine. But they name not the death of King *Henry* and his ſonne, which had not hapned had not the Earle of *Warwicke* for this cauſe taken up Armes. King *Lewis* though thus abuſed, did not ſuffer himſelfe to be tranſported by paſſion, but making uſe of his naturall diſſembling, expected a time for revenge. And to pacifie the two ſiſters, hee not long after married *Bona* to *Galiazzo Maria Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, ſonne to *Francis*; but not with ſo good ſucceſſe as *Hall* reports; for her husband being ſlaine, ſhe within a few yeeres became a widdow, and by her ill government afforded occaſion to his couſin *Lodowicke Sforza* to take from her the

the government, and the government, life, and Dukedome from her ſonne *John Galeazzo*.

The Earle of *Warwicke* this meane while wounded in his reputation, parted from *France* more ſenſible thereof than he made ſhew for; he could not though ſo farre cloake his anger, but that *Lewis* was aware of it Being returned to *England*, he ſo behaved himſelfe with the King, as that he ſeemed not to be at all diſtaſted, whilſt this preſent injury did call to mind many other formerly received, which would not though have hurried him to his ruine, had it not been for this. He ſaw how the King did apprehend his greatneſſe, and grew jealous thereof; that his deſigne was to ſuppreſſe him, when himſelfe ſhould be better eſtabliſhed; that he thought not himſelfe King, whilſt men thought him as neceſſary to the conſervation of the State, as he was to the obtaining thereof. That the ſervices hee had done him were of ſuch a nature as to ſhunne the tie of obligation, ingratefull people doe oft times deſire to rid themſelves of the obliger; That the ſtate of buſineſſe was ſuch as would not ſuffer him to be debarred the communication thereof, though *Edward* thought hee did thereby communicate unto him his government, and made him Colleague of his Kingdome; That he had ſought after all occaſions to bereave him of mens good opinion. All which made him believe that he was ſent into *France* to this purpoſe. To this may be added (and which boyled in him more than all the reſt) that *Edward* would have diſhonoured his houſe by tempting the honeſty of, I know not whether, his daughter or his neece; wherein though he did not ſucceed, the offering at it ceaſeth not to be miſchievous and wicked, as a thing whereby he endeavoured to diſhonour the family of his kinſman, ſervant, and benefactor. All theſe things put together, begat in him ſuch an hatred, as hee reſolved to depoſe him, and re-inthrone *Henry*, as ſoone as a fit occaſion ſhould preſent it ſelfe. And though hee retired himſelfe to *Warwicke*, under a pretence of an indiſpoſition of health; yet did the King ſpie his diſcontents, though not ſo much as it behoved him to have done: for hee thought him not ſo ſufficient to depoſe him, as he was to raiſe him up; and that out of two reaſons: Firſt, that Princes doe ſeldome miſtruſt their owne power, eſpecially with their ſubjects; ſecondly, for that they doe believe the injuries they do are written in Braſſe by thoſe who receive them, whilſt they who doe them, write them in Sand. The Queene was this yeere delivered of a daughter, named *Elizabeth*, who put a period to the Civill warres, by marrying with *Henry* the VII.

1466. *Edward* did this meane while peaceably poſſeſſe his Kingdome, his enemies were all or ſlaine, undone, or frightned. He had none to feare ſave *France*, and her but a little; for *Lewis* was more inclined to wage warre at home than abroad. Hee forbare not though to joyne friendſhip with *John* King of *Arragon*, who upon occaſion might by way of diverſion aſſiſt him in *Languedocke*, a good, though deceitfull foreſight: for it often happens that many

yeeres

yeeres are ſpent in the cultivating of a friendſhip, which proveth faulty in the harveſt. Yet wiſdome it is to manure ſuch as put us not to too great charge, for the opinion of having friends weighes with our enemies. This friendſhip occaſioned the tranſportation of a great many ſheepe into *Spaine*, whereby *England* was as much impoveriſhed as *Spaine* was inriched. He likewiſe, for the ſame reſpect, concluded a Truce with *Scotland* for 15 yeeres. But the friendſhip of the Duke of *Burgundy* was that which moſt availed him, and which re-eſtabliſhed him in his Kingdome when he had loſt it.

Philip the Duke of *Burgundy* did yet live, and his ſonne Count *Caralois*, who by two wives had one onely daughter, (afterwards the ſole heire of all thoſe Territories) the Duke was minded to marry him the third time, hoping to ſecure the ſucceſſion by iſſue male. He bethought himſelfe of *Margaret* ſiſter to *Edward*, a Princeſſe of great beauty, and indued with a ſpirit not uſuall to her ſex; but her being of the houſe of *Yorke* made him ſtagger in his reſolutions: For that the Queene of *Portugall* his wives mother was a daughter of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, by reaſon whereof her ſonne *Charles* did love that houſe and hate the other. But ſince he could make no alliance of more jealouſie to *France*, nor of more commodity to the Low-Countreys, he ſent *Anthony* the eldeſt of his naturall ſonnes, commonly called the Baſtard of *Burgundy*, with ſome others, Ambaſſadour into *England* to this effect. He came with a retinue of 400. horſe, with rich Liveries and richer furniture. He was graciouſly received by the King. The buſineſſe being propounded in Councell, none withſtood it but the Earle of *Warwicke*. For framing the Rebellion which hee had formerly plotted with himſelfe, hee conceived this match would be harmfull to *Lewis*, on whom he intended to relie, and good for *Edward*, whom he intended to deſtroy. But he having but one vote the Ambaſſadours requeſt was granted, and *Edward* promiſed friendſhip to the friends of *Burgundy*, and enmity to his enemies; He preſented his ſiſter to the Baſtard, and other Ambaſſadors, who kiſſed her hand, as their Princeſſe, and preſented her with very rich Jewels, which ſhe accepted of with termes of gratitude both to her father in law, and husband. Great were the entertainments that were made. Challenges at Tilt paſſed between the Baſtard and the Lord *Scales* the Queenes brother, and between his followers and the Engliſh Gentry, the which I paſſe by, as not requiſite to our ſtory. In midſt of theſe revellings came the newes of *Philippes* death, which much grieved the Baſtard, ſo as taking leave of the King, and of the new Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, and being richly preſented, he paſſed over into *Brabant*, and made ſuch a relation to the Duke his brother, of his Bride, as did very well ſatisfie him. Who as ſoon as he had appeaſed the *Legeois* (wherein he ſpent ſome time) he deſired *Edward* to ſend her over unto him, according to the Articles of the Contract; which he forthwith did. She tooke ſhipping at *Dover* being attended on by 500. horſe, and accom-

accompanied by the two ſiſters *Anne* Dutcheſſe of *Exceter*, and *Elizabeth* Dutcheſſe of *Suffolke*. She landed at *Slewes*, and went from thence to *Bourges*, where the marriage was celebrated.

The Earle of *Warwicke* could not at length ſo well diſſemble his diſtaſts, as that the King did not perceive them. But Princes are not wont to give ſatisfaction to their inferiours, eſpecially to their ſubjects, leſt they might tacitely confeſſe thoſe faults, into which as being exempt they pretend they cannot fall; or elſe ſhew ſome ſort of humiliation repugnant to their greatneſſe. This increaſed the Earles indignation, for ſurpoſed ignorance admits of excuſe, which confeſt knowledge doth not; ſo as thinking himſelfe injured before, contrary to all reaſon, and his injury being now doubled by the no account that was made of it, he reſolved forthwith to doe what he along time before had thought upon. And ſo dangerous reſolutions not being to be undertaken without aſſiſtance: he judged the aſſiſtance of his owne brothers fitteſt, the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, and the Marqueſſe. When he had begun his diſcourſe, and laid open the reaſons which moved him thereunto, hee made an odious Parallell between *Henry* and *Edward*, magnifying the gratitude and goodneſſe of the former, the ingratitude and wickedneſſe of the other. He ſhewed how that their houſe had been the forwardeſt to ſpend their lives and livelihoods in the ſervice of the Duke of *Yorke* the father, and of *Edward* himſelfe, to make him King, who had not recompenced them according to their high deſerts, and yet durſt upbraid them with having been the raiſer of their houſe, whilſt next under God they ought their chiefeſt honour to *Henry*; that not contented thus to vilifie them, he had endeavoured to diſhonour their family, and render it infamous by attempting to vitiate a daughter thereof. He exaggerated the affront about the match with the Lady *Bona*, which would not have been offered to the moſt contemptible man in the world; Moreover that he had no waies excuſed it unto him, but paſſed it over in ſilence, not weighing that a mans honour ought to be more deare unto him than the apple of his eye, or life it ſelfe. Yet that he did not wonder at all this, for that *Edward* judging other men by himſelfe, he thought other men ſhould make as ſmall account of their honour, as he had alwaies done of his promiſes. That his reſolution was to doe what poſſibly hee could to take from him that Crowne which he had placed on his head, and place it againe upon *Henry*, a good and lawfull King. That ſince they did partake with him in the injuries, they ought likewiſe ſhare with him in the revenge; which would eaſily be effected if they would chearefully and heartily betake themſelves unto it, as they ought, and as the chiefeſt of the Kingdome would doe: And that he did aſſure himſelfe they ſhould not want aſſiſtance from Princes beyond the Seas, neceſſity requiring it.

This propoſition as it was unexpected, ſo was it not at the firſt accepted of by the brothers. But the Archbiſhop after long diſputes giving way thereunto, the Marqueſſe, though with much difficulty,

ſuffered

ſuffered himſelfe at laſt to be perſwaded likewiſe, moved by the tie of blood, not any inclination of his owne, for he loved *Edward*, and was beloved by him. This ambiguity was the ruine of them all; for hee not able to deny his brothers, nor yet to betray his Prince, did amiſſe on both ſides. He aſſiſted *Edward*, by not cordially aſſiſting his brother, and he betrayed his brother, by not heartily betaking himſelfe to betray *Edward*. *Warwicke* having laid this firſt groud-worke of his ruinous building, he purſued the fabricke thereof with the Duke of *Clarence*, for ſeeing him no waies pleaſed hee reſolved to trie him. Hee ſeemed to be ſenſible of the coolneſſe uſed by the King of late to the Duke, and expected what he would reply. But he like a Cornet which with the firſt breath ſends the ſound abroad, anſwered, It was in vaine to complaine of things ancient and deſperate. That the King was in his owne nature diſobliging and ungratefull, and moſt to ſuch as he was moſt obliged unto. That ſince he made no account of his owne brothers, much leſſe would he doe it of other friends. That he more valued his wives blood than his owne. That he had diſpoſed of three rich heires by marrying them to her ſonne, her brother, and the Lord *Haſtings*, Muſhroms ſprung up in one night, not having any conſideration of his owne brethren. Continuing in ſuch like angry and threatning diſcourſe, hee gave the Earle occaſion to lay himſelfe open unto him, who offered unto him his daugher, with equivalent portion to thoſe that he had named, with numberleſſe other promiſes and hopes. The Duke was ſo blinded with his anger as hee minded not the injury he did unto himſelfe; that favouring the houſe of *Lancaſter* (the thing now in queſtion) hee deſtroyed his owne. When it was more available to him to have his brother King, than all the good could derive to him from this his ill taken advice. The Earle more blinde than he did not conſider the intereſt of brotherhood and blood; which being of no force then, would much prevaile when his paſſion ſhould be over; ſince that hee could not pretend to any honour which would not come ſhort of the condition now he was in, the which, this reſolution once taken, he was for ever to loſe. Great therefore was the Earles folly to ground a buſineſſe of ſuch importance upon two ſo wavering foundatious, as upon his owne brother forced thereunto, and his brother, whoſe deſtruction was deſired, ſince hee muſt needs repent himſelfe at laſt. The order they tooke was to retire themſelves to *Calleis*. That the Marqueſſe and Archbiſhop ſhould under-hand procure ſome inſurrection in the Northerne parts of the Kingdome, and ſo give the occaſion of the warre, whilſt they being on the other ſide the Sea, might not be thought Authors of it. Being thus gone to *Calleis*, and having vowed by the holy Sacrament to all things agreed upon betweene them, the Duke upon the aforeſaid promiſes and hopes, married the Earles daughter.

The two brothers being gone to Yorke, whereof the one was preſident, the other Archbiſhop, failed not to put in execution

what was agreed upon. There was in that City an Hoſpitall dedicated to St. *Leonard*, where by an ancient inſtitution the poore were fed, and the diſeaſed healed. So as there was no owner of ground in all that ſhire, who moved by ſo good a worke did not in the time of harveſt give ſome proportion of Corne thereunto; the which at firſt was voluntary, but in the proceſſe of time cuſtome made it be thought a due debt, and Collectors were choſen for the gathering of it in, who were oppoſed by none. Now to give a riſe to the intended inſurrection, and make way for their impiety, they thought no meanes better to effect it, than by the way of piety, which when diſguiſed, mades things appeare otherwiſe then they are. They made a ſpeech be ſpred abroad that the Hoſpitall having ſufficient revenues of its owne, had no needs of the contribution of Corne, ſince the poore were not the better, and that the Provoſt and Prieſts grew onely rich thereby, ſo as it was a folly to continue the contribution. It was no hard matter to perſwade the people hereunto, ſince no argument is of greater force, than ſelf-intereſt. This newes paſſing from one mouth to another, the people did not onely deny the wonted contribution, but wounded ſome of the Collectors, who were forwardeſt in the gathering of it in. Many being herewithall aggrieved, about ſome 15000 men gathered themſelves together, and went towards *Yorke*. The Inhabitants of that City were ſurpriſed at this newes, not knowing whether they ſhould keepe within the Towne and defend their Walles, or ſalley forth and give them battell. The *Marqueſſe* eaſed them of this trouble, for having made a ſelect choyce of not many, but good men, hee encountred them and overcame them, killing many of them, and taking many of them priſoners; amongſt which *Robert Huldarne* their leader, whoſe head he cauſed to be ſtrucke off. Some were of opinion that having beene himſelfe the cauſe of this inſurrection, hee had done this ſervice the better to deceive the King, to the end that not being thought confederate with his brother, hee might the eaſilyer worke him miſchiefe. But this and other accidents that happened make others thinke otherwiſe, for if ſuch had beene his intention, he could not have wiſhed for a better occaſion; for hee might have joyned with thoſe Rebells, have ruined the King, and advantaged his Brother; and hee himſelfe being the author thereof, as hee was believed to bee, either hee ought not to have occaſioned it, if hee had deſired to ſerve the King, or elſe not have broken it, had he deſired to aſſiſt his Brother. I for my part believe that repenting himſelfe of the firſt action, hee made amends by the ſecond. But if hee were faithfull to his Prince, hee was a Traytour to his owne bloud; not that loyalty to a Soveraigne ought not to be preferred before all other reſpects, but his brother doing ill, he ſhould not have confirmed him therein by treacherouſly complying with him, hee ſhould have diſſwaded, not betrayed him. And hee having governed himſelfe from the beginning of this enterpriſe very uncertainely,

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makes mee believe him to be, if not treacherous, (which I am induced not to thinke ſince hee ſuffered for it) yet irreſolute in his undertakings either for the one or the other ſide. The Rebells were not diſheartned for all this, but growing thereby more incen- they tooke for their Leader the Sonne and Heire of the Lord *Fitſhue*, and *Henry Nevill*, Sonne and Heire likewiſe of the Lord *Latimer*, both of them young men, but choſen (under the direction of *John Conniers*, one of the moſt valiant Gentlemen of all thoſe parts) for that the one of them was Nephew, the other couſin to the Earle of *Warwicke*. They would have gone againe towards *Yorke*, but wanting Artillery, they marched towards *London*, with reſolution to doe what they were able, to make *Edward* bee depoſed, as being no lawfull Prince, and of prejudice to the Common-wealth. *Edward* was not ignorant of all the Plots, but judging that if the Rebells ſhould come neere *London*, it would redound much to his diſhonour, hee writ to *William Herbert* Earle of *Pembroke*, willing him to gather together all the Forces he could, and not to ſuffer them paſſe further on. The Earl obeyed, not more out of gratitude for the honour hee had received, than out of his deſire to doe ſome action of merit, and moſt of all, for that hating *Warwicke* (who had hindered his Sonne from marrying with a rich Heire) hee coveted revenge: ſo as taking with him his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, a very valiant Gentleman, and aſſembled together ſome ſix or ſeven thouſand *Welchmen* well armed, hee went to meete them, and was met by the way by the L. *Humphrey Stafford*, who led along with him 800 Bowmen. But not knowing what way the Rebells tooke, hee went ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, till being advertiſed that they came by *Northampton*, hee tooke that way, and being deſirous to know their Number, and their Order, Sir *Richard Herbert* offered to make the diſcovery. Hee together with 2000 good *Welch* Horſe tooke ſhelter by a Woods ſide, by the which they were to paſſe. They were already paſt by him, when hee deſirous to returne with his relation to his brother, his men would by all meanes fight with them, neither could hee withhold them from furiouſly aſſaulting the rereward, which marching in good Order, as if they had expected to be ſet upon, turned faces about, and fighting valiantly ſlew many of them, and tooke many priſoners, and made the reſt retreate, too late ſorry that they had not obeyed their Leader. The King was not any whit diſmayed at this newes, but encouraging the Earle, commanded him to finde them entertainment till hee ſhould ſend more Forces to him, or come himſelfe in perſon. The adverſaries though ſomewhat proud of this good ſucceſſe, did not become more inſolent. But conſidering that they were likely to meete with many ſuch bickerings before they ſhould come to *London*, and not likely to hold out againſt them all, their numbers not being anſwerable to the way they were to goe, they turned towards *Warwicke*, intending to expect the comming of the Earle thereof, who being come from *Calleis*, did

together with his Sonne in Law, raiſe people in all parts. But before either the King or *Warwicke* got thither, fortune brought the two Armies face to face, within three miles of *Bambery*, in a certaine place, where were three hills. In two whereof the two Armies were encampt, the third left to the ſucceſſe of fortune, not aſſayed by the *Welch*, becauſe they could not without much hazzard make themſelves maſters thereof, though they had a great minde ſo to doe. The Earle of *Pembrooke* and the Lord *Stafford* were lodged in *Bambery*; where to ſhunne diſputes which upon the like occaſion might ariſe, they agreed each of them to take ſuch lodging as they firſt ſhould light upon. The Baron being lodged to his liking, the Earle (forgetting his agreement and uſing his authority) would, I know not why, have him change lodging, the which he unwillingly did, becauſe ſo doing he was to quit the company of a Gentlewoman whom he found lodged there. And having no other meanes to ſhew his reſentment at the preſent, hee together with all his people left the Towne, leaving the Earle without any Bowmen, who by their ſhooting were likely to bee the beſt advantage of the Battell. The Earle was not herewithall diſmayed, but going to the Campe, tooke any reſolution rather than to retire. It was juſt the day after St. *James* his day, when Sir *Henry Nevill*, Son to the L. *Latimer*, thinking hee had been too long idle, went forth to skirmiſh early in the morning being followed by a company of light horſe. But delighting more therein than he had reaſon, hee ſo far advanced himſelfe, as not knowing how to retire, hee was taken, and ſoone after put to death upon coole bloud. His youth, nobility, and valour (the chiefeſt of all endowments) not being ſufficient to ſave him. This act of cruelty incenſed the *Northerne* people, who reſolving to revenge his death, let flie their darts at the hill where the *Welchmen* lay, whereby inforcing them to come down into the plaine, where the battel began. It was not ſufficient for the E. of *Pembrook*, who fought upon diſadvantage, to execute the part of a Commander, it behoved him to play the part of a ſouldier; whilſt his brother S^r. *Rich. Herbert*, minding nothing but the battel, did ſo behave himſelf, as the true ſtory of his valour is not to be exceeded by any fabulous *Romanza*; for making way through the enemies troops, with his ſword in his hand, he paſſed twice through the whole length of their army, returning to his own men, if not untoucht, yet without any mortall wound. The which (as I believe) was occaſioned for that his worth admired by thoſe that ſaw it, did by joyning delight with danger, and wonder with delight, with-hold the hands of all men from injuring him. The battell did almoſt totally lean to his ſide, when *Iohn Clapham*, a Servant of the E. of *Warwicks* (who had gathered together 500 of the pooreſt & baſeſt ſort of people about *Northampton*) appear'd upon the top of one of thoſe hils with a white Beare in his Enſigne, crying out, a *Warwicke*, a *Warwicke*, the which did ſo much frighten the *Welch*, as believing *Warwicke* to be there with all his forces, they began to fly, Sir *Richards* valour not being ſufficient to detain them.

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In this fiight (the priſoners not numbred) 5000 men were ſlaine. The Earle of *Pembrooke*, his brother Sir *Richard*, and many other Gentlemen wer taken priſoners, and without any triall at Law beheaded at *Bambery*. The Earle who was appointed firſt to ſuffer, addreſſing himſelfe to *Conniers* and *Clapham*, entreated them in the behalfe of his brother; hee objected unto them his youth and comelineſſe of ſtature anſwerable to his Martiall mind; that his valour, even by themſelves admired, might one day be ſerviceable to his Countrey. But Sir *Henry Nevils* death had ſo exaſperated them, as that it occaſioned his death, the death of his brother, and of many others. A lamentable Tragedy preſented by ſo worthy men. So as it is no wonder if vertue be hated, ſince it is not uſefull, but rather harmefull to the owners thereof. Sir *Edward Herbert* Baron of *Cherbery* doth at this time live, deſcended from them, a Gentleman, who hath given ſuch proofe of his valour, as well in his owne private occaſions in *England*, as in the warres in the Low-Countries, as hee may juſtly be ſaid to ſympathize with the ſaid Sir *Richard*; but in ſchollerſhip he hath the advantage of adding that glory to his Anceſtors by his famous Philoſophicall compoſures, which in the like kind hee hath not received from them. Their cruelties did not here ceaſe; for thoſe of *Northampton* having choſen unto themſelves one *Robert* of *Riſdale* for their Captaine, and joyned certaine others unto him, they ſurprized the Earle *Rivers*, father to the Queen, and his ſonne *John*, in his manſion-houſe of *Grafton*, brought them to *Northampton*, and without more adoe beheaded them. The Lord *Stafford* was generally accuſed for the loſſe of this battell, who for ſo ſleight a cauſe, and upon ſo urgent an occaſion forſooke the Kings ſervice, to revenge himſelfe upon the Earle of *Pembrooke*. And to ſay the truth this misfortune had not hapned, at leaſt not with the death of ſo many and ſo worthy men, had hee been there. *Edward* therefore ſent forth Commiſſions to the Sheriffes of *Devonſhire* and *Somerſetſhire* to ſeeke him out, finde him, and upon paine of their lives to put him to death. They were not wanting in diligence, they found him where he thought he had been ſufficiently concealed, and executed their command. The victors this meane while had retired themſelves to *Warwicke*, whither the Earle thereof was come with a great body of armed men. And underſtanding that the King was marching towards him, hee advertiſed the Duke of *Clarence*, who forthwith joyned with him, bringing along a great number of armed men. They were likely preſently to have come to blowes according to the cuſtome of *England*, had not ſome great perſonages deſirous of peace, and of the good of the Weale publique interpoſed to finde ſome way of accommodation. This negotiation made *Edward* ſo careleſſe, as that confidently believing in peace, hee neglected all duties of Military diſcipline; whilſt *Warwicke* more wary than he, being by his ſpies certified of the Guards negligence, and the heedleſneſſe of all the reſt, who behaved themſelves as if no enemy had been, ſet upon the King by night, and without

without any reſiſtance tooke him priſoner. A blow likely to end the difference without blood-ſhed. He firſt put him in the Caſtle of *Warwicke*; from thence (that no man might know what was become of him) he ſent him to *Medlam* a Caſtle in *Yorkeſhire*, then in the cuſtody of the Archbiſhop his brother. But as through negligence he fell into this condition, ſo by good fortune he freed himſelfe thereout, making uſe of his wonted affability, whereby he made the Archbiſhop treat him like a King, not a priſoner, allowing him not onely the liberty of the Caſtle, but the freedome to hunt, ſetting but a ſmall guard upon him, who either could not, or would not keepe him. For *Edward* having ſent to Sir *William Stanley*, and Sir *Thomas Borrowes* his truſty friends; that they ſhould come with a band of good men to reſcue him, they did ſo, and meeting him whilſt he was hunting, they reſcued him, not being at all withſtood by his guardians: either for that they were too weake, or (as it is more likely) for that they were corrupted. I know not whether the Archbiſhop were hereof guilty or no (being allured by promiſes) but if he were, hee very much failed his brothers truſt; and if hee were not, his folly was too great. He firſt retired to *Yorke*; but not able there to raiſe Troopes ſufficient to bring him in ſafety to *London* (the way being long and dangerous) hee ſtayed there onely two daies, and from thence went towards *Lancaſter*, where hee was met by the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlaine, by whoſe meanes hee got ſo many men together as brought him ſafely to *London*. This accident wounded the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earle of *Warwicke* to the quicke, falling thereby from thoſe hopes which having the enemy in their hands they did not vainly frame unto themſelves; and being now (were it either out of negligence or treachery) ſoundly derided, ſince in ſtead of having ended the warre, they were now to begin it afreſh, with the hazzard of their lives, goods, and honours. The greateſt part of thoſe that followed them were already returned to their owne homes. The reſt thought there had been no more need of Armes; that they ſhould againe in peace and liberty ſee *London*, and *Henry* reeſtabliſhed. That all ſlaughter and ſhedding of blood had been ended in the laſt battell. That Countries, Cities, and Churches robbed of their ornaments ſhould returne to their former luſtre: All which were onely humane imaginations, contraried by divine providence. Fortune, and the Starres were alwaies contrary to the miſerable unfortunate *Henry*. His contagious malady was an Abyſſe which together with him ſwallowed up as many as ſided with him. Many notwithſtanding, to ſhunne relapſing into the former calamities, mediated for peace. And becauſe they thought to treat of it by third parties would be a way about the buſh, they agreed upon a parley between the parties themſelves at *London*, *Edward* by his word ſecuring *Warwicke* and his aſſociates, though in buſineſſes of the like nature, hee was obſerved ſometimes to be faulty. *Clarence* and *Warwicke* being come to *London*, parlied with the King at *Weſtminſter*, where in ſtead of giving ſatisfaction, they fell

fell mutually to upbraid each other with benefits repayed by ingratitude, each pretending to be the obliging benefactor, the other the ungratefull repayer, ſo as they departed more invenom'd than before.

The two confederates raiſed an Army in *Lincolnſhire* under the conduct of Sir *Robert Welles*, ſonne to the Lord *Welles*, a Gentleman of a knowne valour. The King on the other ſide for all the ill ſucceſſe of the parley, thought that buſineſſe would not ſo ſuddenly have broke forth. But finding the contrary, he aſſembled a powerfull army: He commanded the Lord *Welles*, father to Sir *Robert*, to come unto him, not admitting any excuſe either of age or ſickneſſe. *Welles* being by his friends advertiſed of the great danger he ranne (the King being grievouſly offended with him by reaſon of his ſonne) got, together with his couſin Sir *Thomas Dimocke*, who came to accompany him to *London*, into Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*. *Edward* thought he ſhould much weaken the enemies forces, if he could bereave them of young *Welles* their Commander, the which he might doe by his fathers meanes; whom he fetched out of Sanctuary upon promiſe of pardon And cauſing him write unto his ſonne, hee marched toward *Stafford* where *Robert* was expected. But hee not regarding his fathers Letters, but rather preparing to meet the King as an enemy, did ſo incenſe the King, as not regarding his plighted faith, his promiſe of pardon, nor that the father was not bound to anſwer for the ſonnes faults (who had neither put him upon this imployment, nor perſwaded him thereunto) he unjuſtly cauſed the old Lord to be beheaded, as likewiſe his couſin, though incomparably leſſe faulty than the other. *Wels* though ſorely provoked by his fathers death would willingly have forborne comming to blowes, for that the Kings forces were by much the greater: but not believing he could deferre fighting till ſuch time as *Warwicke* ſhould come up to him, fearing leſt many of his Army might be wrought upon by the Kings preſence, his promiſe of pardon, and reward, hee gave battell, which after a long and valiant bickering was by him unfortunately loſt; himſelfe, Sir *Thomas Deland*, and many others were taken priſoners, and all of them immediately executed. Thoſe that were ſlaine in this battell were 10000; And more would have been ſlaine, had they not been diſheartned by their Captaines being taken, which made them flie. This was a deadly blow to *Warwicke*. The few forces hee yet had were hereby much weakned. It was difficult and tedious to raiſe more, ſince the enemy was at his backe. His laſt refuge was to trie the Lord *Stanley*, who was his brother in law, but receiving an anſwer contrary to his deſires, he gave way to fortune, and together with the Duke of *Clarence*, their wives and families, he tooke ſhipping in *Devonſhire*, making for *Calleis*, intending to land the women there, and paſſe further into *France* himſelfe; he hoped there to finde helpe, truſting in the ancient friendſhip of that King, ſince the originall of his misfortunes ſprung from the affront done to him in the marriage of his ſiſter in law, the Lady *Bona*. He had left 1470

left *Monſieur de Vauclere*, a Gaſcon, Knight of the Garter, his Lieutenant in *Calleis*, a wary man, as for the moſt part are all thoſe of that Countrey. This man being advertiſed of the late proceedings, was not ſurpriſed, but had formerly bethought how to governe himſelfe in ſo dangerous a buſineſſe. The Duke of *Burgundy* had likewiſe been advertiſed by the King, who knew he hated *Warwicke* next after *Charles*: The Earle drawing neere *Calleis*, and expecting nothing leſſe than to be denied entry, was driven backe with ſhot of Cannon, and to ſhunne ſinking, was forc'd to lie aloofe off at Sea. At which inſtant the Dutcheſſe of *Clarence* his daughter, was brought to bed of a ſonne; who was the ſame Earle of *Warwicke* who was afterwards put to death in the Towre of *London* by *Henry* the VII. Great was the Earles confuſion, not knowing whither to betake himſelfe. His daughters malady afflicted him more than ought elſe. He with much adoe obtained that the child might be baptized within the Towne, and got from thence two flagons of Wine to comfort the mother. *Vauclere* ſent unto him, willing him to retire, elſe he ſhould be enforced to treat him rudely. But by what enſued, I believe *Philip Comines* report to be true, that by ſecret meſſage he had deſired him not to wonder at what had hapned; that all was done for his ſervice; that if hee ſhould have ſuffered him to come in, hee had been utterly loſt, ſince *England*, *Burgundy*, the Towne, and a great part of the garriſon were his enemies. That his beſt courſe was to retire into *France*, not taking any further thought concerning that Fort; aſſuring him that in due time he would give a good account thereof. But by naming *England* to be his enemy, hee onely meant *Edward*, not the generality; for never was any man better beloved by the people, than was he; which was the onely cauſe of *Edwards* averſion and feares; for the peoples love doth uſually raiſe jealouſies in the Prince. *Edward* ſeeing him gone thought himſelfe rid of a troubleſome burden, which turned little to his advantage, for the continuance of his jealouſies would have made him more cautelous than hee was. The reaſons why *Burgundy* hated him, were, becauſe *Warwicke* had ruined the houſe of *Lancaſter*, to which hee was moſt affectionate, his mothers mother being a branch thereof. That hee was a friend to the King of *France*, a Prince by him infinitely hated; and the oppoſing of his marriage, for no other end, but that he thought hee ſhould thereby become too powerfull for *France*. The inhabitants of *Calleis* oppoſed him, not for that they hated his perſon, but becauſe the warre would have broken their commerce with *London*; for the Company of Wollen-drapers kept a Store-houſe in *Calleis*, from whence the Low-countries, and all *Germany* were furniſhed, to the great benefit of particular men, and the King did thereby receive a yeerely toll of 50000 Crowns, *Comines* ſaith but 15000, and that it came all into the Earls coffers. As for the Garriſon, it cannot be denied, but that the greateſt part of them had dependence upon him: But *Monſieur de Durus*, a Gaſcon, and the Kings Marſhall being then there with a great

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many ſouldiers under his command, hee would have runne danger of being taken priſoner, if he ſhould have entered the Town. *Vauclere* by his diſſembling compaſſed his ends: for the newes of this his unexpected behaviour comming to the Court of *England*, the King tooke the command of that Towne from *Warwicke*, and beſtowed it on *Vauclere*. And the Duke of *Burgondy* to confirme him in this his charge, ſent thankes unto him by *Philip de Comines*, and gave him a penſion of 1000 Crownes a yeere. Notwithſtanding all this *Vauclere* ſerved and deceived them all, as the effects ſhewed. Hee demeaned himſelfe in this manner, not out of any loyalty to the King, or love hee bore unto the Earle, but that hee might have two ſtrings to his Bow, and doubly ſecure his owne intereſt. For had hee been loyall to the King, hee could not have given the Earle any hopes, nor have effected them, when hee might doe it without danger; and if hee had loved the Earle, hee would not have denied him entrance into the Towne, it being the onely place hee could receive ſuccour from. But hee not knowing which of them would prevaile, choſe not to endanger himſelfe, whilſt being in good condition, hee might betake himſelfe to that ſide which ſhould be moſt availeable for him. Mens ends are commonly their owne intereſts, for the which they thinke it lawfull to abandon vertue, which alwaies goes accompanied by ſome croſſe, which they abhorre. The Earle of *Warwicke* finding that now hee had no hopes in *Calleis*, but what were future, ſayled towards *Dieve*, as hee was adviſed by *Vauclere*, and according to his firſt intention. By the way hee tooke as many ſhips as hee met withall belonging to *Charles* his ſubjects, gaining thereby great riches, which did furniſh him at his preſent need, and forced *Charles* to ſend a great Fleet into thoſe Seas, to revenge himſelfe, either by taking him priſoner, or inhibiting his returne for *England*. Being come to *Diepe*, and by command from *Lewis*, received with all manner of reſpect, hee was by the ſaid *Lewis* met at *Amboiſe*, where cauſing him to be provided with all things neceſſary, hee promiſed him his beſt aſſiſtance, and cauſed a great many ſhips be rigg'd out for him, well provided with Souldiers and Mariners. And this hee did the ſooner for that *Charles* had threatned him if hee ſhould aſſiſt *Warwicke*. Queen *Margaret* came to meet him as ſoone as ſhe heard he was arrived, and with her the Earles of *Pembrooke* and of *Oxford*, the laſt of which had lately eſcaped out of priſon, and was fled from *England*. *Lewis*, to have the ſurer tie upon him, cauſed Prince *Edward*, the Queens ſonne, to marry with *Anne* the Earle of *Warwicks* ſecond daughter. *Warwicke* taking thereby to ſonne in law the ſonne of him whom he had formerly depoſed, that he might now depoſe him that he had placed in his place. As ſoone as the marriage was concluded, *Warwicke* and the Duke of *Clarence* tooke an oath never to put a period to the warre, till ſuch time as *Henry*, or in default of him his ſonne *Edward* ſhould recover the Kingdome. And Queen *Margaret* promiſed to make them two Gover-

nours of the Kingdome, till ſuch time as her ſonne ſhould be of yeeres. King *Edward* was daily advertiſed by Duke *Charles* what treaties were in hand to his prejudice, the Duke complaining that *Edward* ſhould more minde his pleaſures than his affaires. But it was in vaine to object the feare of danger to a courageous Prince, a lover of paſtimes; vaine it was to perſwade him to quit his ſports, and plunge himſelfe in troubles, ſince it was ſo unlikely that ſhould befall him which did. He adviſed him to oppoſe the Earle at Sea, for that if hee ſhould ſet foot on Land, and have his partakers joyne with him, the danger and difficulty would be the greater. Hee on the other ſide deſired hee might land, believing that at his pleaſure hee might take him priſoner, or kill him before hee could be ſuccoured. He made diligent inquiry after ſuch as hee might ſuſpect to be *Warwickes* friends; ſo as thoſe that were knowne to wiſh him well were in an ill condition. Many of them tooke Sanctuary. Marqueſſe *Montaigue* brother to *Warwicke*, obtained his pardon, and came over to the Kings ſide. But the wiſeſt reſolution hee could take was to ſend over a Gentlewoman into *France*, who under pretence of viſiting the Dutcheſſe of *Clarence*, might worke upon her husband. This woman being arrived at *Calleis*, made *Vauclere* believe that buſineſſes were likely to be accommodated, and that the King had ſent her over to this purpoſe. When ſhee was come to *Amboiſe*, ſhe ſo well performed the truſt impoſed in her, that having ſhewed the Duke what danger hee was in by taking part againſt his brother, ſhe made it appeare, that the houſe of *Lancaſter* could never raigne voyd of jealouſies whilſt any one of the houſe of *Yorke* were left alive; That by endeavouring to ruine his brother he wrought his owne overthrow, by quitting the right unto the Crown, to the which he was ſo nigh himſelfe. For *Edward*, though he were young, had yet no ſonne, and but one daughter, who might very well miſcarry, and ſuch were his diſorders as there was little likelihood he ſhould have any more. That being therefore to be preſumed heire, he much injured himſelfe, by giving the Crown away from himſelfe to his enemies, who could never thinke themſelves ſafe as long as he lived. Theſe reaſons and others which the diſcreet woman knew how to make uſe of prevailed ſo farre with *Clarence*, as that he gave her his word to joyne with his brother as ſoone as hee ſhould be come into *England*. Which ſheweth of what little efficacy oathes and alliance are, when a powerfull intereſt comes in place. *Clarence* for ſome ſleight domeſtique diſtaſts, failed his brother, even to the endangering the loſſe of his Kingdome: You ſhall ſee him faile his father in Law even to the making him loſe his life. Whence wee are taught, that in great affaires wee ought onely to truſt ſuch to whom profit and danger are univocall together with us.

Many of the King of *France* his ſhips were making ready in *Harfleur* for the Earle of *Warwickes* ſervice, and ſome of his owne likewiſe, where he received ſundry diſpatches from many Lords of

England,

England, They desired him not to delay his returne though hee were to come all alone; for being looked for by so many that were desirous to spend their lives in his service, hee needed no foraine forces, and that his delay might endanger his friends, and overthrow the enterprize. He acquainted the Queene and his companions herewithall, whose opinions were that hee should forthwith be gone with such ships as hee should finde in readineſſe; and that as soon as the Queenes ships should be in due equipage, (her father the King of *Sicily* had sent her as many as hee could to this effect) she and her sonne would imbarque themselves upon the first newes of any hopes of good successe in *England*; so as having taken leave of the King, and thanked him for so many and so great favours, hee went into the Fleet, whither by command from the King the Admirall of *France* and divers other ships were come, to guard him from *Charles* his Fleet, which lay expecting him in the mouth of the River *Seine*; and which was much greater than the Kings, *Warwicks*, and the Admirals, all joyned together. Doubtleſſe had not fortune plaied one of her wonted trickes, the *Engliſh* had not returned to *England*, for the *Burgonians* were many, strong, and resolute, to doe all that was possible to take the Earle. But the night before the Earles departure, the Dukes ships, were by a great tempest scattered, many of them were sunke, the rest driven into sundry places, not any two of them being found together. So as the Earle putting to Sea the next day with a faire wind (as if the tempest had risen, and were allayed, to doe him service,) came to Anchor in *Dartſmouth* haven in *Devonſhire*, the same place where six moneths before he tooke shipping for *Calleis*. *Edward* was at this time busied in sports and revellings, not thinking on foraine affaires, relying upon *Charles* his mighty Fleet, which lay in wait to fight with him, and hinder his passage into *England*. When he heard he was landed, he past from his first confidence to a second and worser: thinking hee had him now in a nooſe. Hee advertised *Charles*, and desired him to take order hee should not returne againe to *France*, and then hee needed trouble himselfe no further, for that he was sufficient of himselfe to hinder all his designes within his Kingdome, and to chastiſe him. But *Charls* who was a wiſe and vigilant Prince, was not of this opinion: he would have had him to have hindred his landing, without the adventuring of his Person and Kingdome upon the uncertainty of battell, and the inconstancy of his people and fortune. The first thing *Warwicke* did was to make Proclamations be made every where in *Henries* name, that all men from sixteene to threescore yeere old, upon grievous punishment should come and present themselves armed before him, to serve *Henry* the lawfull King, against *Edward* Duke of *Torke*, the unlawfull usurper of the Kingdome. He was forthwith obeyed, great numbers of people flockt unto him, even those who the yeere before were wholly devoted to *Edwards* service. A change, though strange, yet not to be wondred at. Old things cause satiety, new businesses provoke fresh

appetite. *Edward* being in this straight, resolved to doe the same which the Earle had done. Hee summoned all the Peeres of the Land, was obeyed but by a few, and by those more out of feare than out of any good will. Hee went to *Nottingham* accompanied by his brother the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Lord *Scales* the Queenes brother, and the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlaine, preſuming there to raiſe an Army anſwerable to his need. The Rebels this meane while increaſed, and the Miniſters in their Pulpits did approve of *Henries* right. The baſtard *Faulconbridge* and the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the one in the Weſt, the other in *Wales* did proclaime him King. That which moſt troubled *Edward* was, that Marqueſſe *Montague* having gathered together 6000. fighting men, and brought them almoſt unto *Nottingham*, hee returned backe, either for that he thought *Edwards* affaires were now deſperate, and that the ayre every where reſounding, Long live *Henry*, Long live *Warwicke*, he thought it fooliſhneſſe not to ſhare of his brothers good fortune; or elſe for that hee had now a juſt occaſion to revenge himſelfe of *Edwards* ingratitude (as hee tearmed it) who for his ſervice done unto him, and his blood ſhed for him in ſo many battels and dangers, had onely requited him with the bare Title of Marqueſſe. He declared himſelfe againſt him, and brought thoſe 6000 along with him, proclaiming *Henry* King, as the others had done. I know not whether he had reaſon to accuſe *Edward* of ingratitude or no. Voluptuous people who like him are given to their pleaſures, are naturally prodigall in their owne diſſoluteneſſe, and backward enough in paying what they owe. I am very certain his other brothers could not complaine thereof, though *Warwicke* injuriouſly did. The Archbiſhop of *Yorke* wore the ſecond Mitre of *England*; and the Earle of *Warwicke* (if wee may believe *Armines*) to boote with his owne Revenues, which were very great, had 80000 Crowns a yeer comming in, in Lordſhips, Confiſcations, and Places meerely conferred upon him by the Kings grace, which was much more in thoſe daies than 300000 would be now. But it is hatefull and dangerous to Princes when pretenſions grow to that height as there is no meanes of recompence, and that the onely pretence of the pretenders, ſeeming to upbraid, doth tacitely demand, and ſeeme to plead the participation of their Princes dignity and eſtate. *Edward* knew not what to ſay to theſe alterations which hourely increaſed, and finding no place ſafe for him ſince hee wanted forces, hee went not without great danger to *Linne*, where he found two *Holland* ſhips, and one Engliſh; hee imbarkt himſelfe, and was waited upon by the three ſaid ſhips, and ſeven hundred men, without any manner of baggage, or one penny of money. A great and unexpected misfortune, but that which immediately after preſented it ſelfe was farre worſe, had hee not luckily eſchewed it. For had hee been taken, hee had none to ranſome him, ſo would have loſt both liberty and Kingdome. Eight of the Eaſterlings ſhips (the Eaſterlings were then great enemies to the Engliſh,

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and did them all the mischiefe they could) discovering these three Ships, and believing them to be *English*, gave them chase, but could not come up unto them till they had cast Anchor before *Alchemar* in *Holland*, the ebbe being so low as they could not winne the Haven: The Easterlings cast Anchor likewise, but a good way from them, the burden of their Ships not permitting them to doe otherwise, so as they were inforced to expect the returne of the tide to board them. But *Monsieur de Greturez* Governour under the Duke of *Burgundy* in *Holland*, being luckily at that time in *Alchemar*, and understanding of *Edwards* being there, by some whom hee had sent of purpose unto him in flat bottom'd Boats, forbade the Easterlings to use any manner of hostility, and went himselfe to bring him and all his men into the City. *Edward* was at this time so bare of money, as not having wherewithall to pay for his waftage, hee gave the Captaine a rich vestment lined with Sables, promising not to forget the curtesy, and to satisfie him better afterwards. A strange change of Fortune happened in a few houres to such a Prince meerly out of negligence and carelesnesse. Hee lost a Kingdome without one blow striking, and was forced to have recourse unto a Prince, whose onely presence did upbraid unto him his carelesnesse, lust, and bad government. *Charles* hearing of this, was very much displeased, finding himselfe charged with so needfull a King, and so great a retinue, whom hee could not bee wanting unto in assistance, not out of any humanity, or alliance, but for that *Warwicke* enjoying the Kingdome, it behooved him to maintaine the contrary party, and drive him out, or else to suffer the incommodities of a long War. Queene *Elizabeth*, the originall of these alterations, seeing her selfe abandoned, without succour, and the enemy upon her back, tooke Sanctuary at Westminster, where with small attendance she was brought to bed of a Sonne, named *Edward*; hee, who for some few weekes after his Fathers death, was the V. King of that name; and who symbolized in birth, name and death with his cousin the Sonne of the Dutchesse of *Clarence* borne a Shipboard before Calleis. The pompe of Baptisme had nothing in it of royall save the Mothers teares, accompanyed by many mens commiseration, which is then greatest, when most concealed. Many of her best friends betooke themselves likewise to sundry other Sanctuaries, who proved afterwards serviceable to her, at *Edwards* returne. The *Kentish-men* prone to insurrections, seeing there was now no King; of two, the one being fled, the other a prisoner, came to *London*, and sack't the Suburbs, and it may be would have sack't the City it selfe, had not the Earle of *Warwicke* diverted them, whose comming thither was noysed, and who punished the Complices of the insurrection. This piece of Justice added to his reputation, and the peoples love. Upon the 6 of *October* he entered the Tower accompanied by many Lords: in particular his brother the Archbishop of *Yorke*, the Prior of St. *Johns*, the Duke of *Clarence* and the

Earle of *Shrewsbury*; some of them drawne by affection, some by feare: he set King *Henry* at liberty after nine yeares captivity: he brought him to the Bishop of *London's* house, where hee tarried till the thirteenth day, and then brought him in person and in royall attire to *Pauls*, carrying his traine himselfe, and the Earle of *Oxford* the sword, accompanied with the peoples acclamations, who cried out, *God save the King*, forgetting that a little before they had prayed for *Edward* against him. A Parliament was summoned, wherein *Edward* was declared a Taytour to his Country and an usurper of the Crown, his goods confiscate, all Statutes made in his name and by his authority annull'd, the Crownes of *England* and *France* confirmed upon *Henry*, and the heires male of his body, and for want of such upon the Duke of *Clarence* and his posterity, who hereafter was to be acknowledged the next heire to his Father *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*: and *Edward*, for his faults committed, deprived of his birth-right, and the prerogative thereof. The Earles of *Pembrooke* and *Oxford* were restored in bloud and to their dignities and goods: The Earle of *Warwick* and the Duke of *Clarence* declared Governours of the Kingdome; Marquesse *Mountague* was received into grace, and his fault pardoned, since revolting against *Edward* hee was the chiefe cause of his quitting the Kingdome: those who sided with him were deprived of their Honours, Titles, and Facu'ties; and such punished as in this quarrell had taken up Armes against *Henry*. Whereupon *John Tiptoft* Earle of *Worcester* Lord Deputy of *Ireland* for *Edward* was found in a hollow Tree, brought to *London* and beheaded in the Tower. The Parliament being ended, the Earle of *Pembrooke* went into *Wales*, to take Order for such Lands as hee posseest before his confiscation; and finding there *Henry* the Sonne of *Edmond* Earle of *Richmond*, with the Widow of *William* Earle of *Pembrooke* his brother that was beheaded at *Banbury*, (who though held as a prisoner by this Lady, was alwayes nobly entreated) hee tooke him from her when hee was not yet full ten yeares old and brought him to *London*, where hee presented him to King *Henry*: who after hee had ey'd him a while said to the standers by; that this child should succeed him, and put a period to all the quarrells: which afterwards happening, confirmed the opinion that was held of his sanctity, since by the spirit of prophecy, hee foresaw the succession of *Henry* the seventh. Queene *Margaret*, who was then in *France* being advertised by Letters from *Henry*, of the regainment of the Kingdome, did together with her Sonne forthwith put to Sea, but the windes being contrary drove her on Land, and kept her there a long time, and had they for ever kept her there they had beene the more favourable, for then shee had not met with the mischiefe shee did in the losse of her Sonne. When *Warwicks* returne to *England* and King *Henries* re-establishment was knowne at *Callis* every one tooke unto him the Earles Impresa: *Vauclere* was the first that did so: His Impresa was a ragged staffe made of Gold, Silver, Silk,

or

or Cloath according to his condition that wore it. As this unexpected inclination made the Duke of *Burgondy* more sollicitous, so did it inwardly displease the Duke of *Clarence*, who had already alter'd his opinion. Neither did nature and common sense faile to suggest unto him what injury hee was to suffer by the rule of the house of *Lancaster*, notwithstanding the seeming favourable proceedings of Parliament in his behalfe, hee cloaked therefore his sorrow and seemed to be glad at what did inwardly afflict him; hee endeavoured to fit himselfe to the present times till fortune might afford some other occasion.

When *Warwicke* had thus taken order for things at home, hee applied himselfe to foraine affaires: his first thoughts were to divert Duke *Charles* from assisting *Edward*, beleeving that whilest hee was busyed with the Armes of *France* in *Picardy* and those of *England* in the confines about *Callis*, danger would enforce him to mind his owne affaires and not trouble himselfe with what concerned other men; hee sent 400 men to *Callis*, to make inrodes into the parts about *Boloigne*, which were with all dutifull respect received by *Vauclere*: which freed him of all suspition of being any way inclined to the contrary party. Before *Edward* landed in *Holland*, *Charles* was informed that hee was dead, neither was hee troubled at the newes, moved by his antient inclination to the house of *Lancaster*; and though *Warwickes* power did much molest him (not hoping ever to gaine him) hee hoped notwithstanding strongly to oppose him by meanes of the two Dukes of *Sommerset*, and *Exceter*, who had beene by him maintained in their miseries: but when hee heard hee was arrived in *Holland*, he was altogether amazed, for should hee assist him, he should draw upon him *Henries* enmity; neither could hee deny him aide since his Wife was his Sister: *Charles* knew not that *Callis* was at *Warwickes* command; building much thereon hee sent *Comines* to see what hee could promise to himselfe therein; for *Vauclere* having denyed entrance to *Warwicke*, and accepted of a Pension from him, hee had reason to believe him to depend upon him, the Duke, and not to be reconcileable with *Warwicke*; but as soone as *Comines* was come to *Callis*, hee found hee had lost his labour; hee was not received as formerly; all hee met wore the Earles colours; the gate of the house wherein hee lay, and his owne Chamber doore were marked with the White-crosse; Songs were every where sung of the firme friendship and intelligence betweene *Lewis* and *Warwicke*. Being by *Vauclere* invited to Dinner, hee met there a great many Gentlemen, who talked neglectfully of *Edward*, and those most who had formerly seemed most to affect him; none but *Vauclere* himselfe spake modestly of him. *Comines*, faining the first report of *Edwards* death to be true said to them that 'twas now to no purpose to talke any more of him since hee was dead; and that if hee were yet alive the Duke of *Burgondy* had contracted no other friendship with him, then with whatsoever other King. That the Articles of

contract

contract mentioned onely *England*, and the King thereof: that the friendſhip between *England* and *Burgondy* ſhould ſtill continue the ſame, the names of *Edward* and *Henry* onely altered. *Charles* was not diſpleaſed with this agreement, though it was not as he could have deſired: for under-hand hee could do what he liſted whilſt hee was free from ſuſpition of being moleſted by *England*, which was that he moſt feared. The Wollen-Drapers of *London* wrought well for him in this buſineſſe; for *Warwicke* having taken 4000 men into pay to ſend againſt him, the Merchants for feare the War might overthrow their Trafficke, did ſo behave themſelves as they made him alter his reſolution: which had it not happen'd, much miſchiefe might have enſued to him; for this fell out juſt at the ſame time when *Lewis* had taken from him *Amiens*, and St. *Quintines*; ſo as his affaires were likely to have ſucceeded ill, he not being able to defend himſelfe in two ſeverall parts, againſt two ſo potent enemies. *Charles* had not yet ſeene *Edward*; their firſt encounter was in the Towne St. *Paul*, the perſwaſions the King uſed to him were; that he himſelfe ſhared with him in his loſſe, ſince that he had not now to do with *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, but with the Earle of *Warwicke*, whoſe Friendſhip was never to be hoped for as long as *Lewis* his amity did prevaile; that by aſſiſting him hee ſhould not onely aſſiſt a Brother in Law and one that would alwayes be his friend, but hee ſhould do a worke becomming a juſt and a great Prince, without expoſing himſelfe to a long and impoſſible buſineſſe; ſince hee had ſuch intelligence, ſuch friends, and ſervants within the Kingdome, as hee needed onely to ſhew himſelfe with ſome Convoy of Ships, armed with a few men, rather for reputation ſake then any neede. Theſe perſwaſions were but coldly entertained by *Charles*; for the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceter* ſhewed unto him what hee owed to his Birth, hee himſelfe comming of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and promiſed him what hee could deſire againſt *Warwicke*, to whom they were both irreconcileable enemies. *Edward* was not well pleaſed to be nouriſhed with hopes, whileſt *Charles* made him believe that his diſſembling was neceſſary for them both; for him, becauſe hee was not to fight with two Kingdomes at one and the ſame time: and for *Edward*, becauſe opportunity might render his ſuccour more uſefull. But *Edward* not ſatisfied with theſe put-offs, conſidering that his deſignes were the leſſe likely to ſucceede well, by how much the more firmely *Henry* grew ſettled in his Kingdome, hee cauſed foure Ships to be made ready for him at *Vere* in *Holland* (which being a free Haven not denyed to any one, the Ships might ſeeme to be ſet forth by *Edward* himſelfe) and hired 14 more for him of the *Eaſterlings*, bargaining that they ſhould paſſe him over into *England*, and ſerve him fifteene dayes after he ſhould be landed. Hee cauſed moreover 50000 *Florines* to be ſecretly delivered unto him, and that this aide might not ſeeme to be given by him he made it be proclaimed, that whoſoever ſhould aſſiſt *Edward* ſhould incurre great puniſhment: hereby hee freed himſelfe from

from giving ſuſpition to *England*, and come what might come, remain'd friends to both ſides.

Edward had 2000 men with him beſides Mariners, with which having landed at *Ravenſpur* in *Yorkeſhire*, he ſent forth ſome light horſe to diſcover how the Inhabitants were inclined: and finding them wholly turned over to *Henries* ſide, not ſo much as willing to heare him named, hee changed his reſolution: hee gave out that he did not pretend to the Kingdome, (Fearing leſt the troubles that might thereby ariſe, might alienate the peoples hearts) but to his patrimoniall eſtate of *Yorke* under the obedience of *Henry*. It cannot be imagined what good effect this his crafty wiſedome produced; for this his pretence being thought not onely moderate but juſt, no man oppoſed him therein. Equity, or any thing which reſembles it, is of ſo great efficacy amongſt men, as that hee, who, but a little before, was baniſhed, declared a Traitor, and had his Lands confiſcated, yet being ſo great a Prince by birth as hee was, and having beene King, it moved all men to compaſſionate him, and thinke him worthy of that favour which the rigour of Law had debarred him of; forgetting how much hee had made *Henry* ſuffer. With this pretence hee went to *Yorke*, proclaiming *Henry* to be King in all parts, and ſtiling himſelfe onely Duke of *York*. The Earle of *Warwicke* hearing of his arrivall, and of this his diſſimulation wrote to his brother the Marqueſſe *Montague* (who ſtay'd all that Winter with a great garriſon of Souldiers at *Pomfret*) to fight with him before hee ſhould gather new forces, or at leaſt that hee ſhould entertaine him till ſuch time as hee himſelfe ſhould come thither, and that by no meanes hee ſhould ſuffer him to come into *Yorke*; for by advancing his affaires there hee would endanger theirs. Hee, in conformity to this, commanded all the Cities and Townes in thoſe parts not to receive him, but to ſhut their gates upon him, and do him all the miſchiefe, which according to the Lawes of the Land ought to be done to a publike enemy. But whileſt the Earle was raiſing Souldiers and his Brother did not move, *Edward* put forward, and was met by two Aldermen neere to *Yorke*, who adviſed him to ſteere his courſe ſome other way, for that the City could not but oppoſe him, and do him all poſſible miſchiefe. Hee having courteouſly heard them, anſwered: that hee came not to fight againſt the King, nor any wayes to moleſt him, acknowledging him to be his Soveraigne Lord; but that hee might be permitted to enter into the Dutchy of *Yorke*, his ancient patrimony, hoping that as there was none that could juſtly oppoſe him therein, ſo they leaſt of any, being the naturall ſubjects of his houſe, from whence they had at all times received all manner of grace and favour. The Aldermen returning with this anſwer and hee after ſoftly following them, in an inſtant the Citizens minds were changed: thoſe who were gotten upon the Walles to defend them againſt him as againſt an enemy, came downe to be

his guides and to keepe him from being by any one injur'd; being come before the City, and met by many of the chiefeſt Citizens he made ſuch uſe of his affability, calling the Aldermen your worſhips, as by the faireneſſe of his language and his large promiſes he got them to yeild to what ever he would. 'Twas agreed that hee ſhould be received into the City, if hee would ſweare to two things; that hee would treat them according to his proffered conditions; and be obedient and faithfull to all *Henries* commands. Upon theſe tearmes all parties retired themſelves; the Citizens to *Yorke*, and *Edward* with his people to the fields; expecting the next day. Theſe good people thought hereby to do good ſervice to God, the King, and Kingdome: but the unwary do alwayes harme when they thinke to help. To receive baniſht men, to reſtore goods, and to diſpoſe of eſtates belongs not unto Subjects. The next day Maſſe was ſaid at the gate whereat hee was to enter. He ſwore to the two Articles with ſuch intention as the effects of his not obſerving them did afterwards declare. Wherein is to be obſerved Gods Long-ſuffering, and Juſtice: the one by his not immediately puniſhing him; the other extending it ſelfe not long after to his Family, which being deprived of the Kingdome, and that confer'd upon his enemy, was utterly deſtroyed, to manifeſt unto us that the delay of puniſhment is not the aboliſhment thereof. Theſe ſacred ceremonies being ended, with divine atteſtation, he entred the City, and as ſoone as he had from thence received monies (notwithſtanding all his Articles) he made himſelfe maſter of it, by placing therein a good garriſon, and they too late perceived his breach of Faith: but it behooved them patiently to endure the yoake, which with their own hands they had put about their necks. He ſtayd there but a while; for having taken certaine forces into pay, hee reſolved to go to *London*: A raſh reſolution; had hee had any thing to loſe: but being he poſſeſt nothing and was either to regaine his Kingdome, or loſe his life (which was not to be valued ſince hee had nothing to maintaine it with) 'twas a noble reſolution and altogether worthy of the greatneſſe of his ſpirit. His neereſt way lay by *Pomfret*, where Marqueſſe *Montague* lay: he ſhun'd him, keeping on the other hand foure miles above him; and the Marqueſſe came not forth, otherwiſe *Edward* and his few men had bin but in bad condition. He ſuffer'd him to paſſe as if he had had no knowledge thereof. This was his ſecond error, the firſt being, that he ſuffer'd him to get into *Yorke*. Some notwithſtanding were of opinion that he met him not, becauſe he did not much truſt his people, who hating *Henry* as the onely Picture of a King unfit for government, and the cauſe of ſo many ſcandalls, inclined to *Edward*, a King fit to defend himſelfe and them. Hee thought not to meet with ſo good fortune, but meeting with it and making uſe of it, he put himſelfe againe into the roade-way, and marcht on to *Nottingham*, where many Gentlemen with great troopes of men came to meet him: here he

was proclaimed King, contrary to the tenure of his first pretences and his Oath taken at *Yorke*. People flocked to him every houre: he feared not to passe on to *Leicester*, that hee might draw nigh to the enemy, who was then at *Warwicke* under the command of the Earle thereof accompanied by the Earle of *Oxford*, hee resolved either to give him battell, or else to finde out some meanes to joyne with his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*. *Warwicke* was not well satisfied with the Marquesse, who by not opposing him had advantaged the Enemy; he levyed Souldiers apace that he might come to the battell, and advertised the Duke of *Clarence* to the end that hee might hasten unto him; but growing fearfull of his temporizing he resolved to fight himselfe alone with those troops he had, and with this designe he went to *Coventry*: *Edward*, who soone after his departure from *Warwicke* was come thither, followed him the same way: the Earle was much perplexed; hee was certaine of nothing but battell, his safety depended upon the will of Fortune: His sonne in Law and his brother were corrupted: the first for certaine, the second not unlikely, but rather to be doubted then built upon. So as having intrencht himselfe he expected the Dukes comming, who he understood was not far off. *Edward* who was not farre off raysed his campe as if he meant to give his Brother *Clarence* battell apart, and presented himselfe in battell aray before him. But as soone as they were within sight one of the other, the Duke of *Gloucester* ran into *Clarence* his Camp, not demanding safe-conduct as upon like occasions is usuall; they seemed to treat of what they had long before concluded betweene themselves: peace was published, and *Edward* proclaimed King, and the two Brothers embraced each other, as if there never had beene any thing of difference betweene them. Never was man more directly murdered then was *Warwicke*. All mischiefe is expected from a declared Enemy: but such as proceed from a pretended Friend is as bitter as unexpected. 'Tis not to be denyed that enmity betweene Brethren is contrary to nature; but their reconcilement ought not to be made by the violation of Oathes, the ruine of a Friend, Confederate and Father in Law: we see the great enormities in their proceedings, but we shall see their punishments. The Duke of *Clarence* sent to excuse himselfe to the Earle of *Warwicke*, offering him any advantageous conditions with the King his Brother; but he having with much distemper heard the message accounting his offers Snares answered: that hee in all his actions had ever done like unto himselfe, not like him, a false and perjur'd Prince, and that hee would not quit the Warre till either dead or revenged: words which gave assurance of nothing but Armes. But *Edward* thinking the first thing hee had to do was to have *Henry* in his power turned towards *London*, of the which if hee could once make himselfe master hee needed no more, since the City was sufficient to furnish him with whatsoever hee needed. The Earle had notice hereof, and did

accordingly advertiſe the Duke of *Somerſet*, his Brother the Archbiſhop, and the Councell, intreating them to defend the City onely for three dayes, whithin which time hee would come and free them from all danger, but the Citizens (ſince their lives and goods were in queſtion, if they ſhould oppoſe themſelves and after be inforced to yeeld) conſented not thereunto: and though *Henries* goodneſſe did ſtirre them up to aſſiſt him, yet his weakeneſſe adviſed the contrary; for unfit for whatſoever action hee lived in the Biſhops houſe dumbe and ſtupid; not knowing how either to give or take counſell. *Comines* alledges three reaſons why *Edward* was preferr'd before him, which if not true may yet ſeeme true: firſt the many partakers he had in the Liberties of the City, and that his Queene was newly delivered of a Sonne: the ſecond, the great debt he ought there, which cauſed the Merchants to favour him, leſt they might loſe their principall: the third, the love of many of the chiefeſt and richeſt Citizens wives, who as having had familiarity with him drew their Husbands and Friends to favour him. Whether any of all theſe were true or no, or that *Henries* incapacity was the onely cauſe thereof, the reſolution taken was in *Edwards* behalfe; ſo as in ſtead of denying him entrance, they ran to meete him: whereupon the chiefe of the adverſe party haſted to ſave themſelves. Forſaken *Henry* was hee alone, who voyde of helpe, dexterity, or reſolution, knew not how to eſcape; ſo as *Edward* being entred, and received with popular applauſe, ſix Moneths after the loſſe of his Kingdome, hee put him againe into the ſame priſon from whence few Moneths before hee had beene taken out by the Earle of *Warwicke*, and wherein might hee have beene ſuffered to live hee would have beene more happy, according to his humour, then at liberty governing amongſt ſo many alterations which did tranſcend the faculty of his braine. *Edward* in a publike oration commended the people and thanked the Aldermen for having kept them loyall; on the contrary, he cauſed all ſuch Merchants as well Citizens as Foreiners as had aſſiſted *Henry* with monies to be brought before him, and did with ſuch bitter words and in ſo terrible a manner aggravate their fault as all men thought their turnes were ſerved: but he who had not his like in captivating mens minds, after having a long time held them in deadly ſuſpence, put life into them expreſſing his laſt words with as much clemency as hee had done his former with terrour. This his clemency not procured by the importunacy of Officers, or Supplications, but proceeding from his owne meere motion, did ſo win the hearts even of them that were not intereſſed therein, as they for the future did that out of meere love, which formerly they would not have done but for feare. *Warwick* this meane while made haſt towards *London*, knowing the City to be unfit for ſieges, and much leſſe for redoubled aſſaults: he thought notwithſtanding it would defend it ſelfe the time deſired, and that

finding the enemy buſied about winning the Towne hee might force him to fight upon diſadvantage. But when he heard that *Edward* was received in and *Henry* againe made priſoner, hee was ſorely afflicted, hee ſaw hee had caſt up his accounts wrong, and that fortune had brought him to a precipice which hee could not ſhunne: but there was no remedy, and had there beene any, hee would rather have dyed than have endevoured it. The Souldiers hee had were good, but few in compariſon of thoſe of an enemy ſmiled on by fortune, courageous in himſelfe, and obeyed by all men: Hee on the other ſide had none on whom to truſt, and if hee ſhould loſe the battell hee had no ſuccour, for doubtleſſe all the Kingdom would incline to the Conquerour, being they were already that waies given. That which troubled him moſt of all was, he knew not what to thinke of the Marqueſſe his brother, who had ſo often ſhewed himſelfe unwilling to meddle in this warre, and ſtill continued of the ſame minde: Hee thought to have diſmiſt him but it had been dangerous ſo to have done, for ſo he ſhould not onely have leſſen'd his Army, but perhaps have made him with his Troopes goe over to the enemy; he reſolved, by ſaying nothing, to oblige him to runne the ſame fortune as he ſhould runne, as he did. He ſtayd at *St. Albanes* a little, to refreſh his people, and went from thence to *Barnet*, where hee incamped himſelfe, confidently believing the enemy would come to finde him out: nor was he deceived; for *Edward*, not willing he ſhould come to *London*, (a City which hee had experienced to be ſubject to revolt upon ſuch like occaſions) left the Towne guarded by his confidents, and marched forth with the ſame Army, wherewith hee had entred the Towne; whereunto was added a Troope of choice young men armed at all pieces, ſo as though hee could not but hope for victory, yet was he ill adviſed, ſince he now put that to the hazzard of fortune, which by temporizing he might ſurely obtaine: for, all the Countrey being on his ſide, and hee the ſuperiour in forces, 'twas in his power to have ſtarved the enemy, and utterly undone him without the loſſe of one man. But theſe dull *Fabian* wars are ſeldome or never ſeen in *England*. *Edward* came to *Barnet* on Eaſter Eve, and incamped himſelfe ſo neere the enemy, as not onely the neighing of horſes, but mens voyces were heard from the one campe to the other, ſo as you will eaſily believe they ſlept not much that night. The unfortunate *Henry* was brought along, to the end that his captivity might aſtoniſh the enemy, and make him leſſe courageous; or elſe, that if *Edward* ſhould loſe the day hee might make the more advantageous conditions. As ſoone as day appeared (the day dedicated to our Saviours reſurrection) the Earle of *Warwicke* drew forth his Army into three Squadrons: He aſſigned the firſt to the Marqueſſe, and the Earle of *Oxford*, flanked by ſome Troopes of horſe; the ſecond he kept for himſelfe, accompanied by the Duke of *Exceter*; and gave the laſt to the Duke of *Somerſet*. *Edward* (obſerving the ſame

ſame order, gave his Van-guard to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, (a man of great courage and counſell) the Rere-ward to the Lord *Haſtings*, (a conſtant ſider with the white Roſe) and kept the maine battell for himſelfe, and the Duke of *Clarence*, keeping the priſoner *Henry* by him: hee framed a ſquadron of the ſurplus of his men to make uſe of upon all occaſions. Neither ſide wanted arguments to encourage their men: the one Rebellion, the other Tyranny. The Archers began the battell, and the Arrowes being ſpent they came to handy-blowes: *Edwards* party prevailed in number, but not in order, vigilancy, nor valour. The battell was fought from Sunne riſing till almoſt mid-day, freſh men ſupplying the places of ſuch as were wounded or wearied. The Earles ſquadron having the worſt, hee reinforc'd it with a Troope drawne out of the Rere-ward, with the which he made the enemy loſe ſo much ground, as many of them flying away brought falſe newes to *London*, that *Edward* was put to rout: who having ſtayed his owne men, fighting himſelfe a vye with whatſoever Souldier, made the reſerved Squadron come in on the flanke, which gave ſo impetuouſly on thoſe wearied men, as that though the Earle did what poſſibly hee could to reinforce them, yet wanting freſh men, his voyce nor example ſtood him in no ſtead, his men, for lacke of breath falling under the enemies Sword. The Earle giving in where the enemy was thickeſt, either to open them, or not to outlive the loſſe, was miſerably ſlaine. His brother (who by unwillingly undertaking this warre, had been the firſt cauſe of this their laſt miſ-fortune) ſeeing him drive in amongſt the enemy (all other paſſions giving place to brotherly love) followed after him, to make him way to returne, but hee ſhut it up to himſelfe by loſſe of his life. This was one of the fierceſt battels ever fought by enraged men. The Kingdome and life was in queſtion on the one ſide, life and the Kingdome on the other. *Henry* governed in name, in effect the Earle; but that which moſt provoked him, was the preſervation of his ancient renowne, and his deſire of revenge upon the two brethren: *Edward* was by him accounted ungratefull, and perjured; *Clarence* ungratefull, perjured, and treacherous. The odde Band was his undoing. Some impute his loſſe to a miſtake in his Van, for a miſt ariſing which ſuffered them not well to diſcerne paſſages, they tooke the Starre rounded with raves, which was the Earle of *Oxfords* cognizance, and which was tacked upon each of his Souldiers ſleeves, to be the Sunne, which was *Edwards* cognizance: whereupon ſetting on *Oxfords* men, as on enemies, they forced them to runne away; nor could the Earle of *Oxford*, who fought with incredible valour, detaine them. However it was, *Edward* wonne the day, with the death of 10000. of his adverſaries, and 1500. of his owne; amongſt which, none of note ſave Sir *Humphrey Bourchier*, ſonne to the Lord *Barnes*. The cauſe of this ſo great ſlaughter was attributed hereto, that whereas *Edward*, in his other battels was wont to bid kill the Lords and

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Captaines, but ſpare the reſt, he did not ſo in this, being offended that they more eſteemed *Warwicke* than him. The Duke of *Somerſet* and Earle of *Oxford* fled together towards *Scotland*; but fearing they might runne danger by the length of the way, they went to *Wales* to finde out *Jaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*. The Duke of *Exceter*, who was left alive among the dead bodies, got up with much adoe, and came to *Weſtminſter*, where hee tooke Sanctuary. This was the end of *Warwickes* worldly glory, whoſe title was to make and unmake Kings. His ruine tooke its riſe from his father; who being couſin-german to *Henry* the fifth, (they being brothers and ſiſters children) forſooke his reſpect of conſanguinity, for that of affinity; (*Richard* Duke of *Yorke* having married his ſiſter *Cecily* mother to *Edward*) and ſo loſt his life: his ſonne treading in his fathers ſteps, and deſirous to revenge his fathers death, depoſed *Henry* to ſet up *Edward*; by whom being neglected, hee revolted from him, forced him to fly his Countrey, ſet *Henry* at liberty, and put the Crowne againe upon his head: but *Edward* being returned, and having changed his Lyons skinne to a Foxes, hee fell, betrayed by his ſonne in law, abandoned by his brother, and at his greateſt need forgotten by the common people, who had never more ſuperſtitiouſly worſhipped any one, nor in their ſongs celebrated. Whereby the ambitious may learne not to raiſe tumults, truſting upon the people, which like the Sea, are moved by all winds. I muſt crave leave to anſwer one particular, falſely alleaged by *Comines*. He ſaies the Earle had alwaies wont to fight on horſe-backe, that if fortune ſhould frowne hee might the better eſcape: that his brother the Marqueſſe, who was a gallant man, forced him at this time to fight on foot, and made his horſes be led away. But who ſhall conſider the Earles actions, and his battels, this laſt unexcepted, will believe him to be calumniated; for, ſay he ſhould endeavour to ſave himſelfe, did they not all doe ſo? In this battell, *Somerſet* and *Oxford* ſaved themſelves by flight, where there was no ſpeech of priſoners, nor ranſome, but to die by the heads-man, if not in the field. The Marqueſſe had leſſe reaſon to feare, as one not hated by *Edward*, but rather by him ſuborned, as knowing his appearing againſt him made for him; for had hee fought with him, either at *Yorke*, or elſe at *Pomfret*, hee never had regained his Kingdome. Had feare wrought any thing upon the Earle, hee would not have refuſed his ſonne in lawes offers; hee would not have reſolved (the ſmalneſſe of his numbers not conſidered) to have fought at *Barnet*; and knowing that Queen *Margaret* was hourely expected to land in *England*, hee would have ſtayed for her. That he ſhould feare her (as the ſaid *Comines* and *Cheſnes* doe both aver) becauſe the Duke of *Somerſet* was with her, is falſe; for this Duke, who is by them pretended to be abſent, was preſent at this battell, as hath been ſaid: and the Queene could not but be his friend, for the ſervices hee had done her, and her future hopes in him; ſo as if he did not wait her comming, 'twas

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not for any of theſe reaſons, but of his too much confiding in himſelfe; which was his undoing. After this victory *Edward* returned in triumph to *London*, hee gave God thankes in *Pauls* Church, he there hung up the Colours taken from the enemy; and for three daies together expoſed the dead bodies of the two brothers to the ſight of all men, to the end that being ſeen dead, no man might further trouble him, with taking upon them the perſon and name of *Warwicke*, whoſe death was the eſtabliſhment of his Kingdome: So that, as hee could not ſufficiently expreſſe his joy thereof, ſo could hee not enough lament the Marqueſſes death, whom hee loved, and who ſo loved him: as for *Henry*, the type of all misfortune, he was againe put into the *Tower*.

All this while Queen *Margaret* met not with a good wind for her paſſage, which was her misfortune; for tis to be believed, had ſhe been come before the battell, matters would not have gone ſoill on her ſide as they did: at laſt ſhe landed in *Dorſetſhire*, where hearing of *Warwickes* diſcomfiture and death, and *Henries* re-impriſonment, her wonted courage failing her ſhe ſwounded, having now no further hope of comfort; the ſafeſt courſe ſhe could take was to take ſanctuary, ſhe and her ſonne in a Monaſtery at *Beawlieu* in *Hampſhire*, whither all the chiefeſt of her faction came to finde her out; namely, the Duke of *Somerſet*, his brother *John* Earle of *Devonſhire*, (who having been one of *Edwards* chiefe attendants, had, to his misfortune, I know not out of what capriccio, forſaken him) *Jaſper* Earle of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Wenlocke*, (who likewiſe had formerly been on *Edwards* ſide) and the Prior of *St. Johns* one of the Knights of *Rhodes*. They had much adoe to infuſe new hopes into her: ſhee was now no more troubled at her husbands impriſonment, nor at the loſſe of his Kingdome; (misfortunes by her eſteemed irrevocable) her ſonnes ſafety, as her onely comfort, and the laſt of all her miſeries, was that which onely troubled her. Her opinion was not to tempt fortune any more, for feare of endangering him: but *Somerſet* perſwaded her that if ſhe would undertake the leading of her people (as formerly ſhe had done) ſhe ſhould finde ſo many partakers, amongſt which an infinite number whom feare had made conceale themſelves) that *Edward* would not be able to defend himſelfe againſt them: that King *Henries* goodneſſe, and the expectation of his ſonne, were deepely engraven in the hearts of all the Kingdome. This being by the reſt confirmed, ſhe ſuffered her ſelfe to be perſwaded; ſhe deſired to provide for her ſonnes ſafety by ſending him into *France*, but could not effect it, for *Somerſet* alleaged his preſence was requiſite; whereupon ſhe condeſcended. This being reſolved upon, every one went to make their neceſſary proviſions; and the Queen with the *French* that were come along with her went to the *Bath*, whither they came afterwards all unto her. *Edward* had hardly had time to breath after his victory at *Barnet* when he heard Queen *Margaret* was landed, and what concourſe of people flocked unto her

her out of *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwall*, and other Southerne parts; hee knew not what to doe, as not knowing in what part ſhee would ſet upon him: hee ſent forth ſome light-horſe to make diſcovery, and hearing where ſhee was, hee commanded that the Trained-bands ſhould come to *Abbington*, whither hee himſelfe came with thoſe of *London*, and thereabouts. As ſoone as they were come thither hee marched to hinder the enemy from joyning with the Earle of *Pembrooke*, and the other forces, thinking that hee might facilitate his victory by fighting with them in their preſent condition. The Queene underſtanding his deſigne went to *Briſtoll*, ſo to goe to *Wales*; but the difficulty of paſſing over *Severne*, and the Duke of *Somerſets* obſtinacy cauſed her laſt ruine: her right way lay by *Glouceſter*, but the City being under the government of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Kings brother, ſhe was not ſuffered to paſſe by there; neither could ſhe force her way having *Edward* at her heeles: ſhe went to *Tewkesbury*, with intent to paſſe as ſpeedily as ſhe might into *Wales*, but the Duke of *Somerſet* not enduring this flight tooke a fancy to make an hault and fight preſently, and not waite for the comming of the Earle of *Pembrooke*, who could not be farre off: his reaſon was the danger of being defeated in this their retreat; the Captaines approved his motion of making a ſtand, but not of fighting: their opinion was, that they ſhould intrench themſelves, ſo as they might not be forced without apparent danger to the enemy. The Duke ſeemed not to be diſpleaſed at this; for which purpoſe he choſe the Parke neere to the City, where he ſo well fortified himſelfe, as that he would have made it good, had not his impatient raſhneſſe undone him: for believing he could never quit his Trenches without battell, he thought better to give it then to receive it; with this fatall capriccio he marſhalled his men. He and his brother *John* tooke the Van-guard; he gave the Reare-ward to the Earle of *Devonſhire*, and the maine battell to Prince *Edward* under the directions of the Lord *Saint Johns*, and Lord *Venlocke*; the laſt being promoted to that honour by King *Edward*, and therefore noted of treachery. The Duke of *Glouceſter* who had the charge of his brothers Van making uſe both of craft and courage ſet upon the trenches, and finding them not to be forced, retreated; whereupon enſued the very thing hee imagined; to wit, that *Somerſet* growing hereupon bold, would purſue him out of his trenches; the which hee did, believing to be ſeconded by the Lord *Venlocke* with Prince *Edwards* Squadron; but hee not moving, the Duke, after a long conflict was defeated and driven backe into his trenches, purſued even into them by *Glouceſter*; where finding *Venlocke* yet not moved, hee called him traytor, and with his Sword clove his head in two. The King this meane while having followed *Glouceſter* into the trenches, cut the reſt in pieces, ſome few eſcaping

ping into the thickets of the Parke, into Monaſteries, and whether elſe they could flie. The Queene was found in a Chariot halfe dead with ſorrow and taken priſoner. *Speed* ſaies ſhee fled to a Covent of Nuns, that ſhee was taken thence by force, and brought to the King at *Worceſter*. The Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Prior of *Saint Johns* valiantly fighting, were taken alive: *John* the Dukes brother, the Earle of *Devonſhire*, with ſome Knights, and 3000 more were ſlaine. Prince *Edward* fell into the hands of Sir *Richard Croſts*, who intended to have concealed him, but the King having promiſed a penſion during life of an hundred pounds a yeere to whoſoever ſhould bring him to him alive or dead, and life to the young Prince, if hee were yet alive; *Croſts* not believing he would falſifie his faith, preſented him unto him. *Edward* looked upon him, and admiring the ſweetneſſe of his youth, and diſpoſition, asked him, how he durſt come with flying Colours into his Kingdome, and raiſe his people againſt him? to the which he couragiouſly anſwered, that he came to recover his fathers Kingdome, his proper and naturall inheritance, which could not be denied ſince it fell unto him by legitimate deſcent from Father, Grand-father, and Great-grand-father. The King offended at theſe words, ſtrucke him in the face with a Switch which he had in his hand, whilſt *Clarence*, *Glouceſter*, the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, and Lord *Haſtings* ſuddenly ſlew him with their Daggers, who were all repaid in due time with equall cruelty. The Duke of *Somerſet*, the Prior of *Saint Johns*, and fourteene others, were beheaded on a munday. This battell was the laſt of the Civill warres during *Edwards* time. The Queene was brought to *London*, and ſome yeeres after ranſomed (as ſome ſay) by her father *Renatus* King of *Sicilie* for fifty thouſand Crownes, which were lent him by *Lewis* the eleventh, and not having wherewithall to re-pay them, hee ſold unto him his pretence unto the Kingdome of *Naples*, by which title *Charles* afterwards went and laid claime to it. *Tillet* is alledged for one of thoſe who writ this: I confeſſe I never found any ſuch thing in his Collection; I remember I have therein read, that *Charles* the Count of *Provence* (who tooke upon him the Title of King of *Sicily* after *Renatus* his death) made *Lewis* the eleventh his heire, by vertue whereof *Charles* the eighth pretended to that Kingdome. The two brothers of *Sancta Martha* in their Genealogicall Hiſtory of the houſe of *France*, affirme the ſame: and ſpeaking of this Queene, they ſay, ſhe was ſet at liberty in the yeere 1475. having renounced all ſhe could lay clame unto in *England* by the way of Joynture: they mention the opinion of the fifty thouſand Crownes, but they believe it not to be true. However it was, ſhe was ſent backe to *France*, to ſpend the reſt of her life in perpetuall ſorrow, not for the loſſe of her husband, or Kingdome, but

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of her ſonne; whoſe ſad memory accompanied her to her grave. After this *Edward* viſited the neighbouring Countries, chaſtiſing in ſundry manners ſuch as had appeared againſt him, from thence he went to *London*, to remedy an inconvenience, which if it had hapned at the Queenes arrivall, his affaires had not ſucceeded ſo proſperouſly. Authors obſerve him to have good fortune in ſuch accidents as might have hurt him, ſince they hapned at ſuch times as they could not doe ſo. Had the Queene come before *Warwickes* defeat, he might peradventure have been enforced to a ſecond forſaking of *England*: if the Duke of *Somerſet* had ſtayed for the Earle of *Pembrooke* at *Tewkesbury*, or that the like accident we are to ſpeake of had then hapned, he had met with much of danger and difficulty. The Earle of *Warwicke* after *Edwards* flight into *Flaunders* had given the charge of the Narrow-ſeas betweene *England* and *France* to *Thomas Nevill* a baſe borne ſonne to the Lord *Faulconbridge* Earle of *Kent*, a man well knowne for the greatneſſe of his courage and Spirit. The Earle of *Warwicke* being dead, and he having loſt the profits of his place (which was Vice-admirall) being declared an enemy to the King, and conſequently an exile void of meanes, he betooke himſelfe to live by piracy, robbing all ſhips that paſt by, whether friends or foes. But thinking that by doing little harme he could doe himſelfe but little good, he bethought himſelfe that *Edward* being now with his forces in the Weſterne parts of the Kingdome a faire occaſion was offered of handſomely handling his affaires. With this deſigne he landed in *Kent*; he had many ſhips full fraught with deſperate people; and ſuch as abhorred poverty and parcimony, not knowing how to live, but by rapine and wickedneſſe, flocked unto him: to theſe were joyned ſeventeene thouſand men more, if not better, yet upon better pretences: They gave out that they would ſet *Henry* at liberty, re-inveſt him in his eſtate, and drive out the uſurper: the pretence bare with it a ſpecious ſhew, but their ends were to ſacke *London*; they aſſaulted it on three parts, upon the *Bridge*, upon *Algate*, and upon *Biſhopſgate*: but not able to force the City, they were by the inhabitants thereof beaten backe, and many of them ſlaine. *Thomas Nevill* their chiefe Commander hearing that *Edward* haſted towards him, retired with his firſt followers to *Sandwich*, leaving the reſt to returne upon their perill to their owne homes, but not long after having miſ-governed himſelfe in his charge, or given ſome ſignes of infidelity, or were it that the King thought it not ſafe to truſt his Fleet with one of the *Lancaſtrian* faction, eſpecially in a time when the Earle of *Richmond* was in *Brittany*, he was arreſted in the Haven of *Southampton* and executed, paying for his former defaults, which to the hurt of all men hee had committed by

Sea and Land. The Earle of *Pembrooke* was yet in *Wales* after all the reſt of his faction were either ſlaine or fled; which much troubled *Edward*: he commanded *Roger Vaughan* (a man much followed in that Countrey) to kill him, in any whatſoever manner; but the Earle, being informed thereof, prevented him, uſing *Vaughan* as *Vaughan* would have uſed him: he then retired himſelfe to *Pembrooke*, a ſtrong place, where hee thought himſelfe ſafe: but he was there beſieged by *Morgan ap Thomas*, who ſo blocked up the Caſtle with ditches and trenches, that it was impoſſible for him to get out, had it not been by the meanes of *David ap Thomas* brother to *Morgan*. This man brought him forth, and embarked him and his nephew *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, who were both by fortune driven into a Haven in *Brittany*: his intention was to have landed in *Normandy*, and to have put himſelfe into the protection of King *Lewis*, who was likely to runne advantage thereby, for after the warre made under the title of the Common good; *Lewis* was very jealous of his brother, and of the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Brittany*, and feared that *England* now free from home diſſentions might aſſiſt them. He apprehended nothing more, then that the Engliſh ſhould once more ſet footing in *Normandy*: ſo as the Earle of *Richmond*, next heire to the Crowne after *Henry* and his ſonne, was likely to ſerve him as a powerfull meanes to keepe *Edward* ſo buſied at home by ſuch as ſided with the houſe of *Lancaſter*, as that hee ſhould not dreame of forraine enterprizes; but being falne upon *Brittany*, the Duke thereof, which was *Francis* the ſecond, knew very well how to make uſe of this accident to his advantage: for hee was now ſure he had a pledge, which would upon all occaſions enforce *Edward* to comply with his deſires. Hee graciouſly received them, and promiſed them all ſecurity; hee ſent them to *Vannes* in appearance free and at liberty, but in effect hee ſet a good guard upon them. This Princes eſcape was the deadly blow to the houſe of *Yorke*; for though *Edward* left no meane unaſſayed to have him in his hands, hee could never get him. When *Edward* had ſetled the buſineſſe in *Kent* (he himſelfe being gone thither to puniſh the faulty) hee thought not himſelfe ſufficiently eſtabliſhed as long as *Henry* lived, and till hee had extirpated the roote from whence did budde forth all the rebellions. Some have thought that *Glouceſter* put this into his head. That even from that time hee began to have thoughts of the Kingdome, and that to have hereby one leſſe oppoſition thereunto he adviſed his brother to it; the which I believe, but not upon that deſigne; there was ſmall appearance of it, hee having another brother alive, though hee himſelfe was

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ſo wholly compoſed of wickedneſſe as I ſhall joyne with him that ſhall thinke worſt of him. Howſoever it was, he went to the Tower, was Counſellour, Judge, and Hangman, and with one ſtroke of a Dagger ſlew the unfortunate *Henry*. It doth not notwithſtanding clearely appeare that hee ſlew him with his owne hands, but tis certaine this ſo cruell and unjuſt a deede was done whilſt Hee was preſent. This was the end of this good King; thus ended He his troubles and began his reſt, Divine grace having chalked out the way unto Him by indowing Him with ſuch conditions and peculiar vertues as are requiſite to the finding out of that permanent abode, which wee all ſeeke after. Hee was beloved, but 'twas but a nominall love cauſed by His Religious vertues naturally vennerable; but wanting wiſdome and valour, Hee was in effect neither loved nor feared by any. Hee was a King from his Cradle, and to boote with his patrimoniall Kingdome was crowned King of *France* in *Paris*; an honour ſhared in by none before nor after: and though Hee appeared not in Battells Armed and Souldier like as did his Father, yet did not the progreſſe of Victories for many yeares ceaſe in that Kingdome under his Name, till ſuch time as (nature manifeſting her ſelfe in him) civill Warres aroſe, by which Hee loſt *France*, *England*, and Himſelfe. Amongſt his Chriſtianlike vertues, three are remarked of exemplary edification; the one of Chaſtity, the other two of Patience. Certaine Ladies (before Hee was married) daunced a maske before Him, who having their Boſomes bare, and their Heads fantaſtically attired, they no ſooner appear'd before Him but he retired into his Chamber, ſaying; He wondered they did not bluſh ſo much to ſhame themſelves. From this and the like caſes (hee not having in all the time of his youth nor at any time after, given any the leaſt ſigne of inconſtancy) ſome of his detractours would argue that hee was impotent, and that Prince *Edward* was not his Sonne: as if God could not be the Author of continency without the meanes of frigidity and naturall deficience. When hee was a priſoner hee was with a Sword wounded in the ſide by owne who was come thither to kill him, and who did not redouble his truſt, being belike ſtrucke with horrour in the very act of cruelty: who this man was, or how, or by whom ſent is not mentioned by Authours; when *Henry* was reſtored to his Kingdome, hee who had wounded him was taken and brought before him to bee puniſhed, but hee cauſed him to be untied and pardoned him the ſo doing, for that it was done to one whoſe ſinnes deſerved greater puniſhment. To another who in the ſame Priſon gave him a cuffe on the Eare, hee onely replyed hee was too blame for having ſtruck an anointed

anointed King. *Henry* the Seventh had once a thought to have him Canonized upon the relation of his miracles, but he forbare the prosecution of it; some think, because he thought much of the accustomed expences in such solemnities, which being done for a King, and by a King would in all reason have beene expected magnificent, which was contrary to his frugality. Others, (as I have beene told) would have it that being informed that distinction was made in *Rome*, between such as were blamelesly innocent, and such as were Saints, he gave over the pursuit of it. *Henry* was a lover of learning, and of the learned; he founded *Eaton-Colledge*, and endowed it with great Revenewes, and provision for Tutors to teach Children their first rudiments. Hee founded Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, whither the Schollers of *Eaton* are transplanted, there to perfect their Studies in Sciences and Languages: His intention was to make it perfectly magnificent, but his misfortunes did not permit him to finish it: the vastnesse of the Chappell (a marke of his intention and zeale) witnesseth this unto us: Hee indowed it with a revenew of 3400 pound sterling yearely, which since that time is increased. He raigned 38 yeares and some few dayes, before Hee was deposed; and but bare six moneths after Hee was restored. He had no issue but *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, slaine as hath beene said. Hee lived fifty two Yeares. His body was carried from the Tower to *Pauls* Church invironed with a great many Armed men, where one whole day hee was exposed to the view of all men with his face bare, to the end the people might bee assured of his Death; and there did issue forth great quantity of Blood from out his wound a sight which moved compassion in those that looked on: being taken from thence and carried to *Black-Friers* Church, his Body bled againe: at last Hee was put into a Coffin, carried to *Chersey*, and there privately buried without any manner of pompe or Christian-like solemnity. *Henry* the Seventh made his body afterwards be brought from thence and buryed in Westminster, where Hee caused a Princely Monument to be built for him. But in these times tis said not to be there, nor that it is known where it is.

1472. *Edward* thus freed of his chiefest troubles, was not notwithstanding in quiet; for many more arose which, though lesse, ceased not to trouble him: amongst which some strange events which I forbeare to name, which, though naturall, were by some superstitiously minded, thought to be prodigies of future mischiefe. The Earle of *Oxford*, who after the battell at *Barnet* had got into *Wales*, and from thence to *France*, having put to Sea with seventy five men passed into *Cornewall*, where Hee made himselfe master of Saint *Michaels* mount, and did there

there fortify himſelfe with meat and ammunition : but living there, like a baniſht man, full of feares, He capitulated to ſurrender it, His life ſaved ; the which though it were made good unto him, yet was in ſuch a manner as He had beene better have fled againe, then in hope of life and lively-hood live miſerably impriſoned : for Hee was ſent to *Hammes* where He was kept twelue yeares, till the laſt of *Richard* the Third, all ſuccour denyed Him, even the company of His Wife, both of them being equally hated by the King : the Earle ; for that Hee, his Father, and Brother, had mightily favoured the houſe of *Lancaſter* : and his Wife ; as ſiſter to the Earle of *Warwicke*, the firſt diſturber of his quiet : ſo as having taken from her all ſhee had, ſhee lived upon the charity of other people, and by what ſhee daily wonne by her needle. The King forgot not the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, though a Clergy man ; and though when he was his priſoner hee entreated him with all humanity and reſpect ; and by affording him the liberty of hunting afforded him the like to eſcape : he ſent him to the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, cauſing him there to be ſtrictly looked unto : and though ſome while after at the requeſt of his friends, hee gave him his liberty, 'twas too late for him ; for overdone with griefe and melancholly, he but for a ſmall while injoyed his begg'd freedome : The death of his two Brothers, the extirpation of his Family, and the Kingdomes being in the hands of an enemy Prince cauſed his death. *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exceter* (he who *Philip Comines* affirmes hee hath ſeene begging bare Foote and bare Legg'd, from doore to doore in the Court of *Charles* Duke of *Burgondy*, and whoſe Grandmother was ſiſter to *Henry* the Fourth, being repoſſeſt of his goods when *Henry* the ſixt was re-poſſeſt of his Kingdome, injoyed that happineſſe but a ſmall time, for at *Edwards* returne hee was left amongſt the dead at the battell of *Barnet*, but comming to himſelfe againe, hee tooke Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, where hoping to obtaine pardon by the interceſſion of his Wife *Anne* Siſter to the King, ſhee was ſo farre from intreating for him as that ſhee deſired to be devorced ; which ſhee obtained : whereupon forſaking the Sanctuary out of diſperation, 'tis not knowne what hee did with himſelfe ; his Body was found upon the ſhore of *Kent*, no Ship-wrack being diſcerned. The inhumanity of this *Anne*, and the fraud of her Siſter *Margaret* of *Burgondy* (as will be ſeene in the Reigne of *Henry* the Seventh) afford mee an obſervation, which, but upon ſuch an occaſion, I ſhould not have lighted upon. It cannot be ſaid but that the pretence unto the Kingdome was a principall cauſe of the enmity betweene the houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke* ; to thinke otherwiſe were to erre againſt common ſence, but

I believe that without such respect they had beene incapable of hearty friendship, by reason of the difference of their natures, derived from their fore-fathers. For, as all that was good in the House of *Yorke* was wound up in *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke* the first Father thereof; so all the bad of the House of *Lancaster*, rested in the person of *John* Duke of *Lancaster* the first Father thereof; with this difference notwithstanding; that whereas the good was intense and constant in *Edmund*, the bad was remisse and inconstant in *John*: the former never did any harme, for being naturally inclined to do good it would have troubled him to have done evill to any one; the other having ability to do evill, and having done evill, by a vertuous resolution forbeare to do so; but this goodnesse ceased with *Edmund*, those who descended from him being stained with fraud and malice: and evill (such as it was) ceased likewise with *Iohn*, all who descended from him proving vertuous; but as *Henry* the Fourth, his onely Sonne, may seeme not to merit the name of good having usurped the Kingdome, and to secure himselfe therein committed so many excesses; so *Edward* the eldest Sonne of *Yorke* may seeme not to deserve the name of bad, haveing in vertue out done his Father dying gloriously in the battell of *Agencourt*: but for all this the observation is not erroneous; for if *Henry* did usurpe the Kingdome, 'twas not by consultation, or any fancy of his owne, for hee had never dreampt thereof had not the people called him thereunto, and *Richards* ill government enforc't him. On the contrary *Edward* Duke of *Yorke* lost all claime to goodnesse, by conspiring against the said *Henry* to bereave him both of Life and Kingdome, not having beene any wayes injur'd by him; for all the rest they admit not of exception: all the *Lancastrians* were good; those of *Yorke*, bad: *Edward* the Fourth did almost alwayes falsify his Faith, the Duke of *Clarence*; first was traytour to his Brother then to his Father in Law, *Richard* the Third a monster in perfidiousnesse and cruelty, all of both houses were notwithstanding equally valiant, *Henry* the sixth excepted, whose intentivenesse to Divine things, tooke from him the thought of humane affaires; whereupon as the house of *Lancaster* lost the Kingdome in him, through His too much goodnesse, so the house of *Yorke* lost it in *Richard* the Third through his height of wickednesse: so as it is not to bee wondered at if *Henry* the Eighth, proceeding afterwards from these two Races, did in his first yeare proceed so well being begotten by a *Lancastrian* father, and afterwards so ill, his mother being of the house of *York*; not that she was bad, but by the influence of her bloud.

Edwards

Edwards revenge was not bounded with the puniſhment of the great ones; for, making enquiry after ſuch as had born Arms againſt him, he cauſed many of the meaner ſort to be executed; and, not able to inflict the like puniſhment on them all, without the mark of cruelty, he taxed them all in ſums of Money, ſome more, ſome leſſe, according to their poſſeſſions. But the Earl of *Pembrooks* and the Earl of *Richmonds* eſcape did much trouble him, as that which did moſt import him, ſince they were forthcoming and out of his reach. He ſent over into *Britanny*, and ſpared neither for promiſes, nor ready moneys to obtain them. But the Duke unwilling to violate the laws of hoſpitality and his plighted faith, denied to deliver them; upon promiſe notwithſtanding to have ſuch a care of them, as that they ſhould not moleſt him. He ſtood in need of the friendſhip of *England*, for that *Lewis* kept him perpetually buſied, ſo as it made much for him to have thoſe two Earles in his cuſtodie, that he might ſo hold *Edward* in hand and in hope, and make him depend upon his will and pleaſure with firm reſolution notwithſtanding, in commiſeration of their misfortunes, never to yeeld them up: he notwithſtanding parted them one from another, and took from them ſuch *Engliſh* as waited upon them, placing his own ſervants about them, to the end that, making them ſafe, *Edward* might be the more ſecure, by his keeping promiſe with him, and faith with them. But *Edward* not herewithal ſatisfied (foreſeeing, as it may be thought) the evil that was to enſue thereby, though not in his life-time) ſent unto him again, under pretence of thanking him, but, in effect, to tie him with a chain of Gold to look well to them: he obliged himſelf to pay unto him a yeerly Penſion, hoping that the gate being once open to the receiving of Moneys, he might eaſily obtain them by ſome great ſum, when his honeſty and faith waxen old might be wrought upon by the batteries of Bribery. But if he were deceived in the one, he was not ſo in the other; for the Penſion made him the more diligent in their Cuſtody.

Charles Duke of *Burgondy* ſent Ambaſſadours over into *England*, to move *Edward* to croſſe the Seas and make Wars with *France*, that ſo he might recover thoſe Provinces which, not many yeers before, were loſt by the *Engliſh*, promiſing him to aſſiſt him in the recovery thereof. *Edward* was herewithal much pleaſed; he called a Parliament, and eaſily obtained Moneys, wherewith he made requiſite proviſions for a buſineſſe of ſo great importance. But before we proceed any further herein, 'tis requiſite we take a ſhort view of ſome few yeers paſt, that we may finde the Riſe of this Commotion, and ſo the better underſtand the cauſe and ground-work thereof. 1473.

There was ſo great an Antipathy between the King of *France* and Duke of *Burgondy*, as it made them differ in all their actions: their enmity grew ever ſince the King, being *Dolphine*, and fled from his father, did retire himſelf into *Flanders*, where he tarried

many yeers, defray'd, and nobly entertain'd by *Philip* father to *Charles*; ſo as that which in others would have ſerved as the ſeed of friendſhip and good will, ſerved them all their life-time as the cauſe of hatred.

The King was endued with many excellent conditions: for wiſdom he was not inferiour to any of the then-Princes in Chriſtendom; though that wiſedom (according to thoſe who with more ſuperſtitious accurateneſſe define it) did rather deſerve the name of Craft; the object thereof being for the moſt part deceit. He conceived that, having himſelf been turbulent and refractory to his father, his brother *Charles*, the Princes of the blood, and other great ones might with more reaſon be like to him: That there were but two remedies for it: To keep them under, by not committing any charge unto their truſt; and To diſunite them, by ſowing diſcord amongſt them. Thoſe whom he moſt feared, and conſequently moſt hated, were the Dukes of *Burgondy* and of *Britanny*, great and puiſſant Princes; and much the more, for that they had obliged themſelves by plighted faith to run one and the ſame Fortune. He much feared his Brother, not that he had any brains (for being very ſimple, there was ſmall cauſe of fear in him) but that, ſeduced by other mens warineſſe, he might ſerve for a pretence to their ambitions; he therefore fed him ſtill with hopes, but kept him in perpetual poverty, to bereave him of all means whereby to make him conſiderable; he never made good that which he promiſed him; and though he afterwards gave him the Dutchy of *Berry*, 'twas in ſo dry a faſhion, as having diſtaſted him, he fled into *Britanny*, whence aroſe the War of the *Common Good*, in which they all joyned againſt him. *Philip* the father of *Charles*, who was then alive, did not confederate with them, but being diſtaſted that the King would have redeemed all ſuch Cities as he held upon the *Soame* (which could not be denied him, according to the Treaty at *Arras*) he ſuffered his ſon to go over to them, who made a concluſion thereof with a Peace, not to the Common good, but to the good of particulars: for *Lewis*, to free himſelf of them, freely promiſed all they could demand, intending not to perform any thing ſave what he could not chuſe; and waiting for an occaſion to ruine them one by one, when they ſhould be disjoyned, he reſtored to *Burgondy* the forenamed Cities, he having paid nine moneths before Four hundred thouſand Crowns for them; he quitted them now for nothing, and not to be redeemed under Two hundred thouſand, and that not till after the death of *Charles*. He created Count *St. Paul* Conſtable of *France*; he yeelded up to the Duke of *Britanny* certain Towns in *Normandy*, which he had taken; and to his brother, inſtead of the Dukedom of *Berry*, he gave the Dukedom of *Normandy*, which he ſoon after took from him, changing it for the Dukedom of *Guienne*, to the end that being far from the help of *England* and *Burgondy*, he might take it from him as he had done the former, and as he already began to do, had he not by poiſon

died

died. *Lewis* his Deſigne, after his brothers death, was to ruine the other two that yet remained, uſing all poſſible means to ſeparate them one from the other, as he had ſeparated his brother from them both. Duke *Philip* being this mean while dead, and he having made new agreements with Duke *Charles*, his ſon, he kept not any one of them; but ſeeing him intangled in the *German* Wars, he ſet the Emperour, the Dukes of *Lorrein* and of *Auſtria*, and the *Switzers* upon his back; which was the cauſe why *Charles*, not able to oppoſe two mighty enemies at the ſame time, incited *Edward* againſt him, in like manner as his father *Philip* had incited *Henry* the fifth againſt *Charles* the ſeventh, father to this *Lewis*. But the Duke had undertaken to juſtle with a wit ſuperiour to his: *Lewis* was a diſſembler, patient, cautelous, accuſtomed to war no leſſe with Buſineſſe then with Arms, and more by Moneys then by expoſing himſelf to hazard; a Captain who knew how to watch his opportunity, to meet occaſion, to feed even the moſt incredulous with hopes; in his Fights, fear did not render him ſtupid, nor good ſucceſſe, proud; he was endued with a judgement void of harmfull opinions; in chuſing out times for the execution of his deſignes, he came not ſhort of whatever provident and compleat General. None of which, ſet Valour aſide, was found in *Charles*, the vaſtneſſe of whoſe imaginations gave not way to any conſideration. He conceived he might at the ſame time keep *Lewis* lowe, reaſſume his ancient Title of King in *Burgondy*, extend his Dominions as far as runs the River *Rhine*, having in his imagination devoured *Alſatia*, the *Switzers* and *Lorrein*; ſo as he may be compared to thoſe who, graſping at all, have made nothing ſure but a miſerable end unto themſelves. Had he not dreamt of all the reſt, but onely applied himſelf to *Lewis*, his cunning would not have been able to have ſaved him.

Edward ſpent much time in putting himſelf in order for this Voyage, having ſpent the Money given unto him for the War, upon his own occaſions; ſo as not knowing any more expedient means, he cauſed a Liſt to be made of all the richeſt and ableſt men in *London*, of what condition ſoever; and calling them before him, he by his perſwaſions wrought ſo well upon them, ſhewing them the neceſſity of his Undertaking, the honour of the Kingdom, the profit that would redound, and the extraordinary charge required thereunto, as they all willingly ſuffered themſelves to be aſſeſſed, ſome to gratifie him, ſome for example, ſome for fear; ſo as he got more Money then he needed for that purpoſe. A reverend old rich widow being by the King demanded what ſhe would contribute upon ſo urgent an occaſion, anſwered; *Your Majeſties Royal and amiable preſence exacts from me twenty pounds ſterling*. The King was pleaſed with the anſwer and with the gift, which he witneſſed by kiſſing her; wherewithal the old woman was ſo well pleaſed, as ſhe gave him Twenty pounds more. When he was come to *Dover*, he there found fifty Ships ſent by the Duke of *Burgondy* from *Holland* and *Zeland* 1474.

for tranſportation of Horſe, which was the diligence he uſed in this Enterpriſe: but ſuch was the abundance of all things there, as they could not be paſt over to *Calais* in leſſe then Three weeks; ſo as if the King of *France* had had any Ships, as he had not, he had eaſily hindred them, or elſe have forced *Edward* to a double charge in ſecuring their paſſage by a Fleet at Sea. The Army conſiſted of One thouſand five hundred Horſemen, moſt of the Horſes barded with Trappings, and each Horſeman had ſundry led Horſes: great ſtore of Foot, but Authors do not name the number; Fifteen thouſand Bowmen, all on Horſeback; infinite was the number of men employed about the Artillery and Tents; and amongſt all this number, there was not one unuſeful perſon.

Commines ſays, Never did King of *England* paſſe the Seas with a more powerful Army, nor with better men, nor more richly armed. To boot with theſe, Three thouſand men were ſet apart to go for *Britanny*. *Edward*, before he went from *Dover*, ſent *Gartier* a Herauld, and a *Norman* by Nation, with Letters to *Lewis*, wherein he demanded the Kingdom of *France* as properly belonging to him; which if he ſhould deny, he denounced fire and ſword againſt him, as againſt one who uſurped what belonged to another. *Lewis* would read the Letter aſide, to avoid the occaſion of whiſpers which thereby might be given. When he had read it, he ſaid unto the Herauld, He knew his Maſter the King of *England* came not into *France* out of any motion of his own, but egged thereunto by the Duke of *Burgondy* (who, having ruinated himſelf, thought by his means to raiſe himſelf up again) and the Conſtable, who, as Uncle to his wife, had found more credit with him then he deſerved; but let him be aſſured they would not make good any thing they had promiſed him; the Duke by reaſon of his impotency, and the Conſtable by his diſloyalty, being born to deceive all men, and to ſowe diſtruſt where he hoped for advantage: that he had made him Conſtable, to boot with other favours and Acts of Grace, with which ſince he could not oblige him, *Edward* was not likely to do it; for that it was impoſſible for him to tread in any path but that of Fraud and Treachery: That *Edward* having to do with ſuch people in a ſeaſon ſo neer Winter, he might do better to agree with him, then to hazard his Perſon, Reputation, and People (truſting on two whereof the one was unable, the other unfaithful) and run hazard of too late Repentance. This being ſaid, he with his own hands gave unto the Herauld Three hundred Crowns, and promiſed him a thouſand more, if the King his Maſter and he ſhould gree, whereby he obliged him to do him the beſt ſervice he could. *Gartier*, allured by his liberality, promiſed to do what he was able; but that the buſineſſe was not to be moved till the King his Maſter had paſt the Seas; that then he would adviſe him to ſend a Herauld to demand ſafe-Conduct for Ambaſſadours, who might addreſſe himſelf to the Lord *Howard* or the Lord *Stanley*, to whom he would bring him in. With this he took his leave, and

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was by *Lewis* in publike (beſides what he had given him in private) preſented with Thirty Ells of Crimſon-Velvet. When *Edward* was come to *Calais*, he was troubled not to finde *Charles* there, who according to appointment was to have waited for him in that place; but he was more offended, that whereas the War ſhould have been begun three Moneths before his arrival, he had not yet begun it, nor was he like to begin it, being buſied in the Siege of *Nuz*: He ſent forthwith to him, to know what he meant to do. *Charles* after the getting of *Guelders* and the County of *Zutphen*, was carried away with new conceits: he was made Heir to thoſe Countreys by *Arnaldus* the laſt Duke, who had diſinherited his ſon *Adolphus*, who had behaved himſelf ungratefully and cruelly towards him; ſo as being poſſeſſed thereof, he thirſted after the neighbouring Countreys, and neglected the War of *France*, which moſt imported him: but being confirmed in this humour by the ſlowe proceedings of *Germany*, by the avarice and wretchleſneſſe of the Emperour *Frederick* the Third, who was not able to oppoſe him without the power of the whole Empire, he bent himſelf thereunto: to this purpoſe he procured a Truce with *Lewis* for ſome moneths. *Lewis* his Counſellors were averſe to the granting of this Truce, but himſelf was of a contrary opinion; foreſeeing, that if *Charles* were once entangled in theſe affairs, he would never rid his hands of them; for by having the Emperour, the Empire and the Princes thereof his enemies, he could not have leaſure to employ himſelf elſewhere. *Charles* his deſigne was to get the dominion of *Rhine* as far as *Baſil*, which he thought he might do; for he already poſſeſſed all the Lands between *Holland* and *Collen*; and between *Collen* and *Baſil* he enjoyed the County of *Farrata*, which was pawn'd to him by *Sigiſmund* Duke of *Auſtria*, the which he intended never to reſtore; and this his deſigne was occaſioned by his having taken into his protection *Robert* of *Bavaria* Archbiſhop of *Collen* Brother to *Lodowick* Prince Elector, who with a joynt conſent was by the Clergie and Commonalty driven out, and they placed *Nortmannus* Brother to *Lodowick Barbarus* Landgrave of *Heſſen* in his place: But becauſe *Nuz* a Fort of great conſequence Three miles diſtant from *Collen* held with the City, he beſieged it (it being defended by *Henry* Brother to *Nortmannus*) believing that when he ſhould have taken this place, *Collen* would not long hold out. *Lewis*, ſeeing him thus madly minded, it redounding to his advantage that he ſhould more and more be engaged therein, prolonged the Truce, and took from him all manner of ſcruple of breaking it. *Charles* laid Siege to *Nuz* at the ſame time that he had perſwaded *Edward* to war with *France*, and was a whole yeer before it, when he thought ſuddenly to have taken it, and to have been time enough to have met *Edward* with his Fleet, which was as fair a one as any Prince could have. The Emperour and all the Germane Princes came to the ſuccour of this Town, hoping to meet 20000 fighting men

men there which *Lewis* had promiſed to ſend, but they came not, he having need of them himſelf to oppoſe the Engliſh, who were hourly expected in *France*. *Lewis* rather endeavoured to have peace with *Charles*, or to prolong the Truce, the which he did not obtain; for *Charles* preſumed he could at the ſame time take *Nuz*, drive the Emperour away, and ruine *Lewis*, being ſet upon by three enemies; himſelf, *England*, and *Britanny*. *Lewis*, on the other ſide, favoured by the length of the Siege, and the ſlackneſſe of the Engliſh, aſſoon as the Truce was expired, took many Cities of his, burnt all his Countrey between *Abbeville* and *Arras*, and took *James* of S. *Paul*, Brother to the Conſtable, priſoner: He made the Dukes of *Lorrain* and of *Calabria* his enemies, who entred *Luxenburg*; and likewiſe the Duke of *Auſtria* and the Switzers, who took from him the County of *Farrata*. He notwithſtanding all this, was obſtinate in continuing the Siege, nor did he riſe from before the Town till forced by neceſſity, and divers incommodities; the which had he endured but Ten days longer (as he might very well have done) the Fort had been yeelded up unto him; for people died there of hunger: but he raiſed the Siege, not knowing their neceſſity; and would have raiſed it before, all hopes of gaining it being loſt, had it not been that out of oſtentation he might ſay, that the Emperour accompanied by all the Princes of the Empire, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular, could not make him raiſe his Siege, though the Emperours Army was four times as great as his: but ſeeing his Army conſumed through long ſufferings, the death of 4000 of the beſt Souldiers he had, the loſſe of *Farrata*, the Dutchy of *Luxenburg* pillaged, the Counties of *Poictiers* and *Picardy* burnt, the King of *England* ſo much deſired by him, and ſo hardly wrought thereunto, at *Calais*, expecting him, and threatning to return; he was content to raiſe it, remitting *Nuz* to the Popes Legat, to diſpoſe thereof as the Apoſtolike Sea ſhould think good. Thus having ſent the remainder of his people into *Lorrein* and *Bar*, that by ſacking them they might refreſh themſelves, he himſelf, with a very ſmall attendance, went to *Calais*, where he was but coldly welcomed, as one who was expected in a Warlike, not in a Complemental poſture.

They did notwithſtanding follow him, and were by him led by the way of *Bullen* to *Peron*, whereinto he ſuffered but few of them to enter, being jealous of the place as if they had been his enemies. The Conſtable had ſundry times promiſed *Charles* to give up unto him Saint *Quintines*; but not having done it, and meaning nothing leſſe, he now ſent to him *Lewis Creville* with his excuſe, ſaying, that if he ſhould have delivered it up to him, he ſhould have done him a diſſervice, by bereaving him of all belief of his ſervice in *France*: but that now ſeeing he was joyned with the King of *England*, he durſt do it. He ſent him likewiſe a Letter of Credit wherewithal to ſerve himſelf with the King, and to aſſure him of his beſt aſſiſtance in his behalf;

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this was accompanied with a Writing ſealed up, wherein he promiſed to aſſiſt and ſerve all the Confederates of *Burgundy*, namely the King of *England*, againſt any whoſoever, none excepted. The Conſtable was by nature perfidious and full of falſhood, but no ways wiſe; ſo as it is no wonder if notwithſtanding all his cunning he was ruined: for evil doings ſeldom end well, eſpecially when craft and treachery are uſed towards one more crafty and more powerful. The Fox loſeth all his wiles, when in the Lions paws. The Conſtable, while he was but Count *S. Paul*, had ſerved *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, and gained the good will of his ſon *Charles*, whom he governed in all his ways; the which *Lewis* obſerving, he thought to win him over to his ſide, by making him his Conſtable, believing by this new obligation to corrupt his former ancient friendſhip; whilſt *Charles* was confident the Count would never abandon his Cauſe: and both of them were deceived: For, though he might at the ſame time have kept his old Maſter, pay'd all Duties to his new one, and inhanſed his deſerts with the one and with the other; yet would not his bad inclinations ſuffer him ſo to do: for inſtead of being a means of peace and friendſhip between them, he ſtirred them both up to war and hatred. Sincerity and Candor were not merchandiſe for his Ware-houſe; nor could he have made uſe of them, had he been willing, whileſt he believed his preſent greatneſſe could not be augmented, nor yet preſerved, but by his nouriſhing Diſcord between theſe two Princes, and cauſing all their actions to have a dependency on him, by making himſelf the Needle of the Dyal, which ſometimes points to this, ſometimes to that ſide. He was to blame to juſtle with two, the one of which was not inferiour to him in craft, to wit, *Charles*; the other ſurpaſſing him therein, which was *Lewis*: the former was indued wth little wiſedom, as was he; the other, with ſo much, as he might have been therein maſter to them both. 'Twould be too tedious to number up his diſloyalties: it may ſuffice to ſay, that he fomented the War between them, that he might neceſſitate *Charles* to marry his daughter to the Duke of *Guienne*: If he did it not, he threatned him with ruine, ſhewing unto him *Lewis* his Forces; and if he did it, he promiſed him *S. Quintines*, and to procure the Duke of *Britanny* and his ſon-in-law to declare themſelves againſt *Lewis*: whilſt *Lewis* waging War with *Charles*, and being by him egged on, not knowing what he did, made War againſt himſelf, by enforcing him to implore their aid againſt him, by a Marriage equally deteſted by them both. The Duke of *Guienne* dying, he continued their Diſcord, leſt, if they ſhould agree, they might diſcover his evil Offices the one unto the other, whereby that might befal him, which indeed did: and believing that in caſe of danger his refuge might be with leſſe hazard to *Charles* then to *Lewis*, the former not being ſo wary as the other, he allured him by the promiſe of *S. Quintines*, the which in time of peace, and by the inſtigation of the ſaid Conſtable, was by

Lewis

Lewis taken from him, together with the Town of *Amiens*. He propoſed ſurpriſal for the way of delivering it up, promiſing he would ſuffer it to be taken; the which *Charles* having divers times offered at, was continually mockt and deluded, and thoſe who went againſt it, were treated ill; whereat though *Charles* was ſcandalized, yet was he forced to admit his excuſes: he made him believe he had ſent to ſurpriſe it at an unfitting time; that if he had ſuffered it then to be taken, he ſhould have loſt all his credit with the King and with *France*, to the loſſe and prejudice of the Duke of *Burgundy*. *Lewis* knew part of this diſſembling, and ſaw even into his boſom; but he knew not how to punish him, unleſſe he ſhould make an agreement with *Charles*: for the Conſtable being poſſeſt of *S. Quintines*, and having much of his own Patrimonial Lands lying round about it, being very well followed, well ally'd, and of great Revenue, he feared he might loſe the Fort if he ſhould diſcover himſelf to be his enemy. But the King of *England*'s coming was his bane: *Edward* believed that *S. Quintines* & the other adjacent places might ſerve him for places of Garioſn the next Winter; the Conſtables laſt promiſe, the Writing which was ſent, and the credit given him by *Charles*, would not ſuffer him to think otherwiſe. Whereupon he marched towards it, and *Charles* led on the way; but when they were neer the place, and ſome of *Edwards* Troops advanced themſelves, believing they ſhould have been received in aſſoon as they were within ſight of the Walls, the Canon plaid upon them, and they might ſee themſelves charged by ſundry Troops of Horſe and Foot, which ſlew two or three of them. This made the King believe he was (as indeed he was) baſely betrayed.

The Duke not knowing what to ſay to it, went his way the next day for meer ſhame, and left theſe new people, unacquainted with the Countrey, abandoned to Fortune, in danger of not being able either to ſerve him or themſelves: and *Edward* ſeeing he was uſed but as an inſtrument to work the deſignes of others, began better to bethink himſelf. His men had taken a ſervant of *James de Gratſi*, a Gentleman who then ſerved the King, priſoner: *Edward* would have him ſet at liberty without ranſome: and the Lord *Howard* and Lord *Stanley* having furniſhed him with Moneys for his expences, loaded him with the preſentment of their ſervices to the King, in caſe he ſhould come to ſpeak with him, which at his firſt coming he did. This News ſeeming ſtrange to *Lewis*, who did not reflect upon the names of thoſe that ſent him, his naturall jealouſie wrought ſo far upon him, as that he made Irons to be clapt upon him, taking him to be but a Spie: the which he the rather did, for that his Maſters brother was in great favour with the Duke of *Bretagne*: But after he had made him be privately examined by ſome, and had ſpoke with him himſelf, he remembred the Engliſh Heraulds words; *That if he did reſolve to treat with* Edward, *he ſhould ſend a Herauld to demand ſafe-Conduct*

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for his Ambaſſadours; preſcribing unto him, that he ſhould make his addreſſe to the Lord *Howard* and Lord *Stanley*. Having well bethought himſelf herein, ſome time paſt before he could reſolve whether to do it or no: At laſt, he reſolved and pitcht upon a perſon to ſend, wherein his choice ſeemed very ſtrange. Monſieur *de Hales* had a ſervant with whom *Lewis* had never ſpoken but once; he thought this man fit for the employment: he was a man poor in aſpect, but rich in underſtanding; who could at the ſame time expreſſe himſelf boldly enough, and yet with modeſtie; whereupon it may be ſaid that in this his choice he ſhewed his wiſedom: He cauſed a Heraulds Coat be made for him, whereof there was none at that time in the Camp; for *Lewis* was an enemy to Apparences, no great friend to Decency, and no ways curious in the accuſtomed Formalities of Princes. This man received his Inſtructions, and preſented himſelf before the Engliſh Camp. He made known to the Lords *Howard* and *Stanley* that he deſired to ſpeak with the King; and chancing to come when the King was at Dinner; he was led into a Tent to dine. When he was brought unto the King, he told him in *Lewis* his name, He was come from the King of *France*, his Maſter, who was deſirous of Peace with his Majeſtie and his Kingdom, as that which was to be ſought for by both of them, by reaſon of the commodity of Commerce, and which was neceſſary for the Subjects both of the one and the other: That the King his Maſter wondred to ſee him come into *France*, ſince he had never given him occaſion to wage War: That if he had favoured *Warwick*, it was not out of any ill will to him or his Houſe, but in reſpect of the Duke of *Burgundy* his inexorable enemy, who had made his Majeſtie of *England* take Arms againſt him, not for that he intended any advantage or honour to him thereby, but that the Forces of *England* might better his own condition and that of his Colleagues: That the Dukes affairs needed Accommodation, not War; the which might be witneſſed by the ſtate his Maſter found him in, ſince, being undone by a long and unfortunate Siege, he was reduced to ſuch a paſſe, as that he could not ſuſtain himſelf but at the charge of others. He wiſhed *Edward* to conſider that he had Winter at his back; That he was in the Field, and unprovided of Towns, not being come out of his own election, but called in to pleaſe his Subjects; who if they deſired War with *France*, 'twas out of paſſion; ſince reaſon ſhewed them there was no appearance of their reaping any profit thereby, but rather the contrary; for building upon the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Conſtable, they were certainly to be deceived, their Coyn being of a falſe alloy: That he knew the King of *England* had been at great expence to come into *France*; but that if he would give way unto a Treaty, his Maſter would give him ſuch ſatisfaction, as that he, his Nobility, and Countrey ſhould have reaſon to reſt ſatisfied: That if it would pleaſe him to ſend *Lewis* a ſafe-Conduct for a hundred Horſe, he would ſend Ambaſſa-

dours to wait upon him where he pleaſed, either in any Village, or between the two Camps; and that *Lewis* would not fail to ſend the like to wait upon his Ambaſſadours. *Edward* and the major part of his Counſel were well pleaſed with this Propoſition. The Herauld was ſuddenly diſpatched away, being preſented with a hundred Angels in a gilt-Cup, and had along with him the Safe-Conduct he deſired, and was accompanied by an Engliſh Herauld who might bring back the like; with the which aſſoon as he returned the Ambaſſadours met in a Village neer *Amiens*; the two Armies being four Leagues diſtant from thence. And though the Demands of the Engliſh were exorbitant, ſtanding ſtill upon their old Pretences of demanding the Crown, and in the ſecond place the Dutchies of *Normandy* and *Guienne*; yet the one being deſirous to return home, the others to ſend them away aſſoon as poſſibly they could, this Treaty ended upon two chief Conditions, beſides ſuch as concerned Commerce: The one, That *Lewis* ſhould pay to *Edward* Seventy five thouſand Crowns (Seventy two thouſand ſays *Commines*) before he went from *France*: the other, That the Dolphin (who was afterwards *Charles* the Eighth) ſhould marry ELIZABETH, eldeſt Daughter to *Edward* (who was afterwards Wife to *Henry* the Seventh) allowing her for her Maintenance Fifty thouſand Crowns a yeer; which were for Nine ſucceeding yeers to be paid her in the City of LONDON; at the end whereof the Marriage being to be conſummated, the married Couple were joyntly to enjoy all the Revenue of the Dutchy of *Guienne*, the annual payment of the aboveſaid Fifty thouſand Crowns ceaſing: And that the Peace between the two Kingdoms ſhould be underſtood to continue during theſe Nine yeers, their friends therein comprehended, namely, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britanny*.

Many blamed *Lewis* for theſe Agreements; and not looking into the reaſons thereof, imputed puſillanimity and cowardiſe unto him; but they did not well underſtand the buſineſſe. *Commines* ſays, that beſides his declared enemies, who were the Dukes of *Britanny* and *Burgundy*, and the Conſtable, he had ſo many private concealed ones in the body of his Kingdom, as without this Agreement he might have ſuffered loſſe. He meaneth (as I believe) ſuch Princes and Lords who not approving of the Perſon of the King, would have cauſed the good of *France* which *Charles* ſaid once he wiſht her, to wit, That inſtead of One King ſhe might have Six. But ſuppoſe there were no ſuch dangers; there yet remains one reaſon not ſpoken of by him, which of it ſelf ought to have perſwaded him to do what he did. The end of War is Victory; but all Victories are not equally profitable: there is difference between overcoming to preſerve our own, and overcoming to

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get what is anothers. The Victories of *Charles* the Seventh againſt *Henry* the Sixth, were of the later ſort; for he preſerved his Crown, and won what *Henry* poſſeſt in *France*; but *Lewis*, who in his overcoming could not pretend to other advantage then the driving out an enemy who hazarded nothing, while he hazarded all, was not to put himſelf upon Fortune without a proportionable recompence to his expence and loſſe: ſo as if he bought Peace, 'twas in reſpect of his danger, at ſo cheap a rate, as the Seventy five thouſand Crowns he paid down ready money, and the Fifty thouſand for Nine yeers, would not have ſerved him for One bare yeers expence to boot with a Thouſand dangers and damages; ſo as he did what wiſedom bad him do, not attending the opinion of others who did not arrive at this Phyſical knowledge, That real Victory is properly his who giving way to dangers that he may withſtand them, doth without danger obtain his end, as he did: all this notwithſtanding, I ſhould not praiſe him, had he no other enemies beſide *Edward*; for 'twere to propoſe to Princes a Maxime of Cowardize. His men believed that *Edward* ſeemed to make an agreement, that he might the better deceive him; but he thought not ſo; for *Edwards* occaſions did not ſquare with ſuch diſſimulation: He had the Winter at hand, wanted Towns, was diſtaſted by *Charles*, deceived by the Conſtable, was naturally a lover of his Paſtimes: ſo as *Lewis* his chiefeſt care was how to be rid of him, not valuing Moneys, or what others thought of him; and that he might the ſooner be gone, he borrowed of every one; he would willingly have paid more, but would not part with any Towns or Provinces; he would rather have hazarded all. *Edward* gave him to underſtand he would by writing give him notice of ſome that betrayed him. I know not whether the Conſtable knew thus much or no, but he had many reaſons to doubt it; and remembring that at a Diet held the yeer before at *Bovines*, *Lewis* and *Charles* had ſecretly proſcribed him, to the end that he might pay for his ſo many Treacheries (though, by ſomes means he uſed, *Lewis* afterward hindred the execution thereof) he doubted the like in this Agreement: his conſcience accuſed him of his paſt frauds uſed with the other two, and now with *Edward*; ſo as he feared leſt their agreement might be his ruine: this cauſed him day by day to ſend new Meſſengers to *Lewis* with advertiſements and counſels drawn from the Forge of his unfortunate Inventions; making himſelf ſo much the more ſuſpected, by how much the affected oſtentation of his fidelity bereft him of belief. He thought that ſince *Lewis* hated no Prince alive more then *Charles*, to hold him in hand with hateful Reports was the means to continue him ſtill his enemy; and that the War continuing, the thred that was woven for his deſtruction, might either be loſt, or elſe grow knotty. He ſent unto him his Secretary, and together with him a Gentleman called *Lewis Greville*, who being firſt referred to Monſieur *de Bouchage*, and to *Commines*, *Lewis* (being informed of

the buſineſſe) ſent for Monſieur *de Contai*, one of *Charles* his ſervants, who, though he were his priſoner, did notwithſtanding paſſe with Meſſages between them: he placed this man in a Cupboard which was in his Chamber, to the end that, hearing what he was to ſay to theſe men, he might report the ſame to *Charles*; and placing himſelf neer to the Cupboard, he ſent for them in. Their Meſſage was, That they were ſent from *Charles* to the Conſtable, to alienate him from friendſhip with *England*, and that finding him diſtaſted by the King of *England*, they had wel-nigh perſwaded him not onely to abandon his friendſhip, but to lend his helping hand to rifle him in his return. This was ſpoken by *Creville*, who believing to be better credited by humouring him, imitated *Charles* his action, ſtamping with his foot, ſwearing, and giving *Edward* injurious terms. *Lewis* feigning as if he had been deaf, made him ſay the ſame thing over again, to the end that *Contai* might the better hear him; who mad to hear his Prince thus abuſed, longed to acquaint him with it. This mock-mask ended with an advice of the Conſtables (who knew not that the Agreement was fully made with *Edward*) that *Lewis*, to ſhun the danger which hung over him, ſhould make a Truce with *Charles*, (whereunto he obliged himſelf to make *Charles* ſtand) and that he ſhould give unto the Engliſh a Town or two, to hold them in hopes this Winter, who could not be ſo wicked as not to be content therewith. The deſignes of theſe his Counſels were, that the Engliſh by this means tarrying in *France*, and the Truce with *Charles* being to expire the next Spring, *Lewis* might be ſubject to the fear of War, and he might gain time by theſe two Towns to pacifie *Edward* for his abuſe at *S. Quintines*, and to ſowe Diſſention between the other two; ſo as all three having need of him, he might, by diverſly deceiving them, ſave himſelf; and ſeem to oblige them, whileſt he did betray them.

Aſſoon as *Creville* was gone, *Contai* came forth from the Cupboard, as much incenſed as *Lewis* was gladded that *Charles* ſhould know what ſport the Conſtable made with him.

I have this particular from *Commines*, as all the reſt concerning the buſineſſe now treated on: which though it be not ſimply requiſite to our Story, yet it is moſt neceſſary for knitting up the buſineſſe, and to make known the natures of the above-named, together with the true cauſes which did fore-ripen the Conſtables death.

A Parley and Interview was this mean while agreed upon between the two Kings, with agreement that *Edward* ſhould return for *England* aſſoon as he ſhould have received his Seventy five thouſand Crowns, and that in pledge of his return he ſhould leave as Hoſtages the Lord *Howard* and Sir *John Cheynes* Maſter of his Horſe, who were to be ſet at liberty upon the certain News of his arrival in *England*. *Lewis* aſſigned Sixteen thouſand Crowns annual Penſion to be given to ſome of the chief Engliſh

Lords.

Lords, and was very bountiful in his gifts to *Edwards* ſervants. When *Charles* heard of this Accord, he haſted to finde out *Edward*, from whom underſtanding what had been done, and how that he had comprehended him in the Truce, he anſwered, That he had not brought him out of *England* for any thing that concerned himſelf, but for *Edwards* own affairs, to the end that he might have occaſion to imitate the glorious actions of his Predeceſſors in *France*, by recovering what of right belonged unto him; That ſince he was agreed not to do it, he was no ways concerned therein: and as touching the Truce, to the end he might ſee how little he eſteemed it, he would not accept thereof, till Three Moneths after he ſhould be landed in *England*. The King would have convinced him with reaſon, ſhewing him that all the inconvenience had riſen from him: but he not liſtening thereunto, departed ſo much diſtaſted, as there never was after this any good Intelligence between them. If *Charles* were angry at this Truce, it amazed the Conſtable much more, before he knew the certain concluſion thereof; and when he knew it, he ſent his Confeſſor to *Edward*, to intreat him not to give belief to *Lewis* his words or promiſes; That he would be pleaſed to accept of the two Towns of *Eu* and *S. Valleri*, which ſhould be delivered up unto him; That he might lodge there the beginning of the Winter, promiſing him better Towns within two moneths ſpace; but he named them not: He offered likewiſe to lend him Fifty thouſand Crowns, to the end that he might not be neceſſitated to make the Agreement. But *Edward* anſwered, The Truce was concluded, and was to be obſerved; if he were diſpleaſed thereat, he might thank himſelf; for if he had kept his promiſe to him, he had not done it.

The place of Parley between the two Kings, was *Pichines*, a Town belonging to the Vidame of *Amiens*, three Leagues diſtant from the Citie, where whilſt a wooden Bridge was caſt over the River of *Some*, and parties from either ſide were ſent to view it, *Edward* came within half a League of *Amiens*, and was by *Lewis* preſented with Three hundred Cartload of the beſt Wines that could be found, and his people had in the City free egreſſe and regreſſe. *Lewis* had cauſed many Tables laden with all ſorts of ſalt-Meats which might provoke to drink, to be ſet at the entring in of the Gate; they were guarded by the beſt drinkers of *France*. Beſides all this, he gave Commiſſion to all the Innes and Taverns that they ſhould feaſt the Engliſh, and not ſuffer them to pay a peny: Upon which occaſion, Nine thouſand Engliſh came into the Town. Some of the more cautelous French ſeeing this, were not void of ſuſpition, inſomuch as they did advertiſe *Lewis* thereof: who having ſet people to obſerve their behaviours: Finding them all ſinging and making merry, and the moſt part of them drunk, he found no cauſe of fear. 'Twas a wonder that in three days, all which time this open Court was kept, there hapned not any falling out or quarrel amongſt ſo

many

many drunkards. Aſſoon as the Bridge was fully finiſhed, *Edward* marched towards it with his Army in a glorious manner; *Lewis* his Army being nothing in compariſon to his. *Lewis* was come thither before *Edward*. Amongſt the Orders of the Parley, one was, That each of them ſhoule ſend Four of their men into the company of the others, to have an eye upon what ſhould be done, to the end that if they ſhould finde any cauſe of ſuſpition, they might advertiſe their Maſters. But this was needleſſe. The two Kings were to be attended upon the Bridge by Twelve men onely, of which thoſe that are named, were, *John* Duke of *Burbon*, the Cardinal of *Burbon* his Brother, and *Commines* Lord of *Argenton*, who had a Suit upon him like to that which King *Lewis* wore; for it was his cuſtom oftentimes to have ſome-body neer him clad in like manner as he himſelf was.

Commines writes that when *Edward* appeared, his very preſence ſpoke him a King; and that though he begun to grow ſomewhat fat, he was notwithſtanding very handſom, though not altogether ſo comely as when *Warwick* made him flee to *Flanders*, at which time he was the handſomeſt and moſt comely man that ever he ſaw. There were with him his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlain, the Biſhop of *Ely* his Chancellor, and others to the number of Twelve. The Duke of *Glouceſter* came not thither, for that having not given his conſent to the Truce, he would not be preſent when it was to be ſworn unto. When *Edward* was come within Five ſpaces of the Grate, he took off his Cap, which was of black Velvet, whereon was a rich Jewel of Diamonds: they made lowe Reverences each to other, and embraced each other thorow the partitions of the Grate. *Lewis* was the firſt that ſpoke: he ſaid, He never coveted any ſight ſo much as this, and that he bleſſed God that had brought them together to ſo good an End. *Edward* having courteouſly replied in French, the Chancellor of *England* read the Treaty, asking *Lewis* whether it were the ſame that he had ſent, and if he were therewithal content: he anſwered, Yes, as likewiſe with that which was ſent him from the King of *England*. Hereupon the Maſſe-book and the Croſſe being brought, they laid their hands thereon, and ſwore to obſerve the Truce of Nine yeers, comprehending therein thoſe that were within named, and the Marriage between their children. This being done, *Lewis* ſaid merrily to *Edward*, He might do well to come to *Paris*, to ſee the fair Ladies there, and take his paſtime; and that if he ſhould chance to commit ſome trivial trangreſſions, he would aſſigne the Cardinal of *Burbon* to him for his Confeſſor. This Cardinal was a young Prince, no enemy to good-fellowſhip: So as *Edward* being well pleaſed with the complemental Invitation, *Lewis* for a good while play'd upon them both. *Lewis* after this commanded his men to retire; and *Edwards* men forthwith withdrew uncommanded. They diſcourſed a pretty while together, it not being

being well known whereon, but, as it is believed, to the prejudice of the Conſtable. *Lewis* asked him what he would adviſe him to do if the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould not accept of the Truce (as it was likely he would not, in regard of the proud terms he had uſed to him.) Offer it him the ſecond time, replied *Edward*, and if he ſhall not then accept of it, do what you think beſt. *Lewis* made this enquiry concerning *Burgundy*, onely that he might enquire of *Edward* (as he did) and diſcover what his opinion was of the Duke of *Bretaigne*. *Edward* ſaid, The Duke of *Bretaigne* was his friend, and ſuch a one as he had not found the like in his need: that therefore he deſired *Lewis* not to moleſt him, but ſuffer him to live in quiet. *Lewis* was not well pleaſed with this anſwer; for his intentions were not good towards that Prince; and he was the worſe pleaſed, for that he knew not the reaſon of it, which was his detaining of the Earl of *Richmond*; for it was in *Bretaigne*'s power to trouble *Edward* if he liſted: for though he ſhould neither have aſſiſted *Richmond* with Men nor Money, yet the permitting him to return to *England*, would be ſufficient to ſhake all the foundation of that Kingdom. *Lancaſters* faction was ready to riſe, hearing of his name, and to trouble the poſſeſſion of the Crown; the which he having peaceably enjoy'd ſince *Henry*'s death, he was not likely to do ſo, long, ſo oppoſed. *Lewis* was ignorant of theſe intereſts; but cloking his diſlike, they took leave each of other, having embraced ſuch Lords and Princes as were there. *Edward* returned to his Camp, and *Lewis* to *Amiens*, from whence he ſent to *Edward* whatever he thought behoveful for him, even to Torches and Candles. The Duke of *Gloucester*, that he might pay the dues of Civility, went to viſit him, and returned preſented with ſilver Plate, and horſes moſt richly capariſon'd.

This King ſpared nothing where he might win thoſe that might either be ſerviceable to him or harmful. He met with two things at this Interview which diſpleaſed him: the one, *Edwards* inclination to come to *Paris*; for being a Prince amorouſly given, he might by falling in love with ſome Lady, fall likewiſe in love with the Countrey, and ſo perchance take an humour to tread in the footſteps of his Predeceſſor: the other, his having declared himſelf ſo paſſionate in the Duke of *Britanny*'s intereſt: He endeavoured to withdraw him from the later of theſe two; he cauſed him to be ſifted by two ſeveral perſons, as if they had caſually faln upon this diſcourſe; but he perceiving their drift, ſaid the onely cauſe to make him paſſe the Seas again would be the moleſtation of the Duke of *Bretaigne*, and therefore wiſhed them to talk no more thereof. Some of thoſe that had to do in the Treaty of the Truce, went to ſup with *Lewis* at *Amiens*, amongſt which the Lord *Howard* was one; who told him in his ear that if he pleaſed, he would uſe ſome means to make *Edward* come and recreate himſelf with him at *Amiens*, and perchance at *Paris*. This diſcourſe wounded *Lewis* his ears; but ſmiling, and put-

putting a good face upon it, without further anſwer he fell to waſh his hands. The Lord *Howard* did not notwithſtanding forbear to talk of this with ſome others, who formerly aware thereof, anſwered, 'Twas impoſſible for the King to make any ſtay in any one place; for ſuch were *Charles* his inſolencies, as did enforce him to wage War. But *Howard* conceiving them aright, forbare the further purſuit.

Many of *Edwards* ſervants were diſpleaſed with this Agreement, believing he had not conſidered his Honour therein: One of them, named *Lewis de Bretailles* a *Guaſcoigner*, being with *Commines*, and demanded in how many Battels *Edward* had been preſent, replied, In eight or nine, and that he was victorious in them all, except in this which you have made him loſe: for to return to *England* without fighting or loſſe, will redound more to his diſhonour then all his former won Battels will do to his honour. *Lewis* being told of this anſwer, ſwore, according to his cuſtom, that this mans mouth muſt be ſtopped: he cauſed him to be ſent for to Dinner to him; he made him many offers to draw him to his ſervice; but he not accepting of any, he gave him a thouſand Crowns: he promiſed him to prefer his Brethren who were in *France*; and he made *Commines* tell him in private, that if he would endeavour the continuance of the good intelligence and friendſhip between the two Crowns, to boot with the doing an office worthy of a man of Honour, he ſhould oblige the King of *France* to reward him. Theſe Artifices did *Lewis* uſe. One day after Dinner being come into his chamber, and laughing at *Edward* for having ſuffered himſelf to be caught with preſents, he turned himſelf round, and ſaw at his back a *Guaſcoigne*-Merchant who lived in *England*, and was come to beg leave for the tranſportation of certain *Gaſcoigne*-Wines without the paying of a certain Impoſt; he was ſomewhat out of countenance, perceiving he had heard all he had ſaid: he therefore granted his requeſt, and cauſed him to be brought to *Bourdeaux*, where he gave him a good Office in that City, to the end that he might not return for *England*; and to that Office added a thouſand Franks, by means whereof he might ſend for his wife and children, and would not ſuffer him to go himſelf for them, but made him ſend his brother. His having been too careleſſe of his ſpeech, and his fear leſt the Merchant ſhould tell what he had heard, forced this liberality and favour from him againſt his will. One named *Rapines*, a ſervant of the Conſtables, was come to *Amiens* before *Edward* departed thence, with Letters of Credence, at the ſame time when Monſieur *de Contay* was likewiſe returned from *Charles*. His buſineſſe was to complain of his Maſters misfortune, who was ſubject to the miſreports of wicked men, whilſt the King had no one ſervant more faithful, nor more affectionate to his ſervice then was he. He made the ſame offer as formerly had been made in the Conſtables name, To make the *Engliſh* in their return be ſet upon by *Charles*: But being told this was not to be done, ſince the

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agreement was concluded, *Lewis* gave him a Letter written with his own hand to deliver to the Conſtable, and made him read it before it was ſealed up: ſo as *Rapines* thought his diſpatch was very gracious. He, in this Letter by way of truſt, made him a relation of what had paſt, and added That he was ſo over-burdened with the preſent affairs, as he ſtood in need of having by him ſuch a head as was his. A conceit which *Rapines* did not truely underſtand: but *Lewis* explaining himſelf to ſome of his familiar friends that were about him, ſaid, He ſtood in need of ſuch a head, but without the body; to the end it might no more deceive him. Aſſoon as *Edward* had received the Moneys agreed upon, he went his way, leaving with *Lewis* the forenamed Hoſtages: and although in ſome of his paſſage he was waylaid by *Charles* his people, yet he arrived ſafely at *Calais*. It ſeemed ſtrange to many, that he having paſt the Seas, with the faireſt and moſt powerful Army that ever King of *England* did, ſo ſmall a ſum of Money ſhould make him return. *Commines* believes that his avarice to pocket up the Moneys he had received from his people for this Enterpriſe, was the cauſe thereof: but he is deceived; he had almoſt ſpent it all; nor had he as yet (though afterwards he did) given occaſion to be noted of this vice. The true cauſe was the failing of the foundation of the Enterpriſe, by the default and negligence of *Charles*, and the Conſtable his cozenages. *Charles* believed that when *Edward* was once in *France*, he ſhould be enforced to fight whether he would or no: and that he would entertain *Lewis* whilſt he might do his affairs elſewhere; juſt as his father *Philip* did with the Duke of *Bedford* under *Henry* the ſixth; but the condition of affairs was altered. *Edward* could not make War alone, as did *Bedford*. The Engliſh did then poſſeſſe in *France* all that lay between the River *Loire* and the Sea, and a great part of *Guienne*; now ſcarcely *Calais*: *Henry* the ſixth was born King, and a King by Succeſſion, having then no Competitours; *Edward* a new King, a ſtranger to the Crown, perturbed with jealouſies of the contrary Faction, chiefly of the Earl of *Richmond* the head thereof; who though at his requeſt he were detained in *Bretaigne*, yet did he not live free from fear of him. The expences of thoſe times (beſides that *France* did contribute thereunto it ſelf) what was by way of aid given by *England*, did not much burden the Countrey, which did abound in men and all things elſe; the now-expences were to be drawn from *England* onely, which being exhauſted by Civil Wars, could not well furniſh things needful to ſo important an Expedition; ſo as it was great wiſedom in *Edward*, if failed by the Duke, cheated by the Conſtable, and allured by *Lewis* with Moneys, Penſions, and chiefly with the promiſe of ſo honourable and advantageous a Match, he did withdraw himſelf, ſhunning thereby ſuch ſnares as the contingencies of War might make him fall into, as well at home as abroad.

Edward was not well landed when *Lewis* began to rid his hand of what other buſineſſe he had to do; which was the Truce with *Charles*, and the Conſtables ruine. The later was now no longer to be evaded: his wife *Mary* of *Savoy*, ſiſter to the Queen of *France*, ſhe who always made up the breaches between her husband and brother-in-law, was dead: and his friends of all ſides forſook him, amongſt which the Count *Dammartin*, and *Meſſieurs de Tremville*, and *Lude*, who were very powerful at Court; ſo as imagining the King would come to S. *Quintines*, as he did, he withdrew himſelf from thence, and abandoned that place, not affying in the Gariſon, which immediately yeelded up the Town. Paſſing from hence to *Varuins*, he there received *Charles* his Ambaſſadours, who were come to treat of the Truce, and were waited upon by handſom and well-armed Troops. There were in the Kings train, beſides the Engliſh Hoſtages, many Gentlemen of the ſame Nation who bare them company; and who wondering to ſee the Ambaſſadours ſo well attended, one of them ſaid to Monſieur *de Commines*, that if the Duke of *Burgundy* had been accompanied with ſuch men when he came to *Calais*, *Edward* would not ſo eaſily have made an Agreement. Monſieur *de Narbone* who was then preſent, in a jeſting manner replied, They were too ſimple to believe that the Duke of *Burgundy* wanted ſuch men as thoſe, but that their deſire to return into *England* Six hundred Tun of Wine, and a Penſion, had made them believe any thing. This ſort of jeſting pleaſed not the Engliſh Gentleman, who anſwered, that it was true that he had heard that the French gybed at the Engliſh; but they might gybe ſo long, that their being gone might not hinder them from returning back again: and although Monſieur *de Commines* would have ſmoothed over the buſineſſe, the Engliſh-man did notwithſtanding complain thereof unto the King, who being of a contrary humour to *Narbone*, chid him, as deteſting his ill-adviſed indiſcretion.

After much Diſpute, the Truce was at laſt concluded for nine yeers; and all who had forfeited their eſtates by following the contrary party, were ſuffered to return and take poſſeſſion of them, except Meſſieurs *de Commines*, *de Renti*, *de Chaſſe*, and *de Baldwin* a Baſtard of *Burgundy*: the Duke, who was inexorable in the behalf of ſuch as had once quitted him, would not be perſwaded to ſuffer them enjoy any ſuch priviledges as others did. The chiefeſt Articles of the Truce were, That the King ſhould renounce his League with the Emperour and City of *Collen*, ſhould ſlight ſome forts, that he ſhould proceed againſt the Conſtable by way of juſtice according to the Treaty of *Bovines*; that he ſhould reſtore S. *Quintines* to the Duke, and that he ſhould not aſſiſt the Duke of *Lorrain*. When *Edw.* underſtood that *Charls* would not accept of the Truce made by him, he ſent Sir *Tho. Montgomery* to intreat *Lewis* not to make any league with him ſave what was anſwerable to that which was made between them two; and that he ſhould not reſtore unto him S. *Quintines*; and that if he were to make War againſt him,

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he would croſſe the Seas again to fight on *Lewis* his behalf on two Conditions: the one, That he ſhould ſatisfie him for the loſſe he ſhould have in his Cuſtoms of Wools at *Calis*, which being taken from the Commerce of Dutch-men, who were *Charles* his Subjects, were worth unto him Fifty thouſand Crowns a yeer; the other, that he ſhould pay half the men which *Edward* ſhould bring over. But *Lewis*, thanking him for his offer, ſaid he had already made the ſame Truce for nine yeers with him, without any difference ſave the giving of Letters apart. With this anſwer did *Montgomery* return, and together with him the Hoſtages. But *Lewis* would never have accepted of this offer, though he had ſtood in need of it; he thought it ominous to have the Engliſh in *France*; beſides, the Commerce with *Flanders*, and the ancient pretence to *France*, might haply without much difficulty make *Edward* joyn again with *Charles* againſt them.

The Conſtable this mean while, finding himſelf abandoned by them who foreſeeing his ruine abſented themſelves, he knew not what to reſolve upon, nor whither to retire himſelf: he durſt not truſt himſelf in *Han*, though it were a very ſtrong Fort, and for the like occaſions ſo fortified by him, as it was thought almoſt impregnable, becauſe the Gariſon thereof were all *Burgonians* and *French*: to flee into *Germany* with Moneys and Jewels would be dangerous: at laſt, after many conſultations privately with himſelf, he reſolved to have recourſe to *Charles*, to demand ſafe-Conduct, and under colour of important affairs to get acceſſe to him, and win his ear. Having got it, he went to *Mons* with not above Fifteen or Twenty Horſe, where, contrary to all faith, he was at *Lewis* his requeſt detained and ſent to *Peron*. The Duke according to the tie of his Articles was either to deliver him up unto the King within eight days after he ſhould be his priſoner, or elſe to ſee juſtice done upon him himſelf: but he detained him longer, cavilling from one day to another for above the ſpace of a moneth; not, out of Charity, but for fear leſt when the King ſhould have him, he might break his word with him, and hinder him in the taking of *Nanci*, which he then beſieged; but making his account to take it on ſuch a day, he gave order that on the ſame day he ſhould be delivered to the Kings Officers, as he was. Perceiving afterwards that he had caſt up his accounts amiſſe, *Nanci* holding ſtill out, he revoked his direction the very ſame day by an expreſſe Poſt, who, though he made all poſſible haſte, came three hours after the Conſtable was delivered up; who being brought to *Paris*, examined, and out of his own Letters to the King of *England* and Duke of *Burgundy* convinced of high Treaſon, he was beheaded in the *Greve*, a place where malefactors are put to death, paying ſo at once ſufficiently what he ought ſundry times to have done for his ſo many deceits. He was deſcended from the moſt illuſtrious Families of Chriſtendom, the Families of Emperours and Kings;

allied to the chiefeſt Princes; ſon-in-law to the Duke of *Savoy*; brother-in-law to the King of *France* and Duke of *Millan*; Uncle to the Queen of *England*: rich in Fee-farms, Copie-holds, Rents, and Moneys; but ſo full of tricks, ambition, perfidiouſneſſe, and deceit, as nothing but ruine could betide him: whereas, had he ſerved *Burgundy* and *France* with ſuch loyalty as he ought to have done, amongſt Princes he would have been thought worthy of the title of a Prince, and amongſt Captains, been eſteemed one of the chiefeſt of his time. His father had ſerved *England*, and ſo had he; but leaving her in the receſſe of her Fortune, he became one of *Charles* his favourites, (then Count *Caroloïs*) and was not likely to have fallen from thence; but an ambition having brought him to the eminent place of Conſtable, the next man to the King in *France*, Generaliſſimo of his Forces, and at whoſe command even Princes did obey; enriched, beſides his Office, with Penſions and Commands; there remained nothing more for him to covet, had he not (like ſick men) by longing after what was hurtful for him (contaminating his faith and honour) put a period to his life and honour. In this many erre: encreaſe of honour or riches, cauſes ſtill a thirſting after more: ſuch examples have been before and ſince the Conſtable, and ſhall be as long as the world endures: for the avarice and ambition of ſuch as come to what they formerly were not, makes them ſee amiſſe; and whilſt they think to go beyond the period of their Fortunes, thinking to tranſport it from its natural circle to an imaginary one, (as he who ſhould think to paſſe from the Sphere of the Moon to that of the Sun; for that, as it is of a larger circumference, ſo is it of a more elevated and laſting efficacie) they in their paſſage tumble down headlong, and break their necks. Happie is he who poſſeſſing the favour of his Prince with temperance, enjoys an alway-permanent Fortune, grounded upon the juſtice and integrity of his own actions; and if he prove not as rich as *Craeſus*, yet need he not to be aſhamed of his riches; which if they be but ſmall, the greater ſigne 'tis of their being well come-by: whileſt the Princes favour, the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and the being able to do good to others, are the moſt glorious and moſt advantagious riches the world affords. In ſuch extraordinary Fortunes, 'tis better to ſympathize with *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas* then with *Sejanus*.

1475. *Edwards* Ship had caſt Anchor in a place ſecure from all winds ſave ſuch as blew from *Bretaigne*, which were thoſe alone that were able to ſplit or overwhelm her. He enjoy'd his eſtate without the diſturbance of forreign enemies by means of the new Treaty with *France*: *Burgundy*'s enmity did no ways trouble him; for though the deſire of ſubduing *Lorrein*, and the humour of provoking the *Switzers* (which coſt him his life) had not been predominant in *Charles*; yet the intereſt of *Flanders* (to which Commerce with *England* was neceſſary) did ſecure him. *Scotland* was in a condition not to be doubted, by reaſon of the Truce

which

which yet endured, of the quality of her present Government, and her not being stirred up by *France*, for the most part the first causer of her movings. At home he found himself freed of all such as might have harmed him, who were come to their ends either by the Civil Sword, or by the Hang-man; wherein he was not sparing. Clemency and faith are banished when Kingdoms are in question: and Kingdoms in contention shut the doors upon all vertues as may cause alteration or suspect. The life of young *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* was that alone which did molest him: he could not possibly live content, and attend such pleasures as he was naturally given unto, so long as this worm did gnaw upon his heart: he was the onely remaining relike of the House of *Lancaster*, likely enough to deprive him of his quiet and Kingdom, should he not be taken from the world, whereby himself, his house and children might live secure. He esteemed the good offices he had done the Duke of *Bretaigne* with the King of *France*, sufficient to deserve such a favour: he sent unto him three Ambassadours, the chief whereof was Doctor *Stillington*. They desired the person of the Earl of *Richmond* in way of honesty and affection, concealing their cruelty and evil intentions: neither could they proceed otherwise with *Francis* the second Duke of *Bretaigne*, one of the best Princes that Fame celebrated in those times. These made him believe that the King desirous to abolish the enmity of the two Factions, and quiet such spirits as were affectionate to the House of *Lancaster*, there was no more fitting means to effect this, then by marrying the Kings eldest daughter to the forenamed Earl, who was Heir to that House. They desired him to lend his helping hand to so good a work, assuring him that as *Bretaigne* in former times had found no more advantageous nor more faithful friendship then with *England*, so should she finde it every day more and more, by this obligation of delivering up the person of this Prince. The Marriage did not at the first appear unto the Duke to be the cause of this their so fervent desire; it did not correspond with sense; 'twas a favour not to be expected from an enemy; especially since the Earl himself had never been treated withal therein, nor had heard any news thereof before: but they reiterating their desires, and adding to their efficacie by a great sum of Gold which they presented him withal, he was perswaded to let him go. But they were not well gone for *S. Malo* where they intended to take Shipping, when the Duke, looking narrowlier into the businesse, repented the surrender of him. *Polydore* saith that *John Chenlettes*, a very upright Gentleman, and therefore beloved of the Duke, was the cause of this: *Argentres* says the same; but he says he findes it not in the Chronicles of *Bretaigne*, nor knows he from whence *Polydore Virgil* hath it. *Chenlettes* was in the Countrey when he understood of the Ambassadours coming, and the delivery of the Prince; so as zealous for his Masters honour, he hasted to him to lay before him the blame he was likely

to

to incur by having delivered up the Earl of *Richmond* (after having received him into his protection) to his chiefeſt and moſt cruel enemy: how that the obligations of aſſiſting and giving entertainment one to another was reciprocal amongſt Princes; that many of his Predeceſſors had in the like caſe been received in *England* and *Flanders*, and had taſted the loyalty and nobleneſſe of others in like manner as *Richmond* ought to taſte his; the which if he ſhould not do, his reputation would thereby receive ſo much the deeper ſtain, by how much his paſt-goodneſſe and greatneſſe had been to all men known. The taking his Remonſtrance in good part, anſwered, that this his reſolution could not redound to his blame, ſince the Earl was to be the Kings ſon-in-law, and to be readmitted into all his poſſeſſions. *Chenlet* replied, He was deceived; for that the Ambaſſadours being ſure he never would have delivered him but upon fair terms, had made this pretence leſt they might have been gainſay'd: he told him he had given up the Lamb unto the Wolf, and that he might be ſure aſſoon as he was out of *Bretaigne* he ſhould be miſerably put to death; ſince the King of *England* could not bear him any ſuch affection contrary to his own pretended end: That the King was not ſo ſimple as to marry his daughter to an enemy who laid claim unto the Kingdom; nor was it likely he could believe that Affinity would root out Jealouſies, but rather encreaſe, ſo as it would not make for him to nurſe up this Adder in his boſom. The Duke liſtned to theſe reaſons, and finding them to be true, commanded *Peter Landois* his Treaſurer, who by chance was then preſent, to poſt after the Ambaſſadours, and (come what come will) to bring back the Earl. He found them ready to imbark themſelves at *S. Malo*, and the Earl ſick of a violent Feaver occaſioned by the apprehenſion of his approaching death: He told them the Duke was ſurpriſed by their requeſt; that every honeſt man would blame him for it; that he could not deliver unto them this Gentleman without a great ſtain to his reputation; that therefore the Duke deſired them they would be pleaſed he might put ſuch Guards upon him (the which he promiſed to do) as that he might not go out of that Sanctuary whither by reaſon of their unadviſedneſſe he had had recourſe (the Earl had taken this Sanctuary by the ſecret means of *Peters* ſervants) or that if he did, he would put him in ſo ſafe a place as *Edward* ſhould have no occaſion to fear him. The Ambaſſadours were not well pleaſed, after having found him out, and paid for it, to loſe both coſt and labour. But they durſt not complain thereof; the Earls promiſed impriſonment being of more worth then their charges. And though the King was thereat diſpleaſed, yet the belief he gave to the Kings promiſe freed him of that ſuſpition, which likewiſe freed him of all other trouble; ſo as according to his humour he gave himſelf up to all familiarity; yea, ſometimes with ſuch as were far unfitting company for him. He invited the Maior and Aldermen of *London* a hunting; he ate and drank

drank with them, and at the ſame time preſented their Wives with Veniſon and Wine, to the end that they might likewiſe recreate themſelves: the which though it reliſht too much of familiarity, yet was it not prejudicial, ſince uſed to ſuch as might be ſerviceable to him. As there is no better means to win upon mens affections then affability; ſo when it falls into exceſſe, it cauſeth ſuch a loathing as quantity of meat cauſeth to weak-ſtomacked people. He was not ſparing of himſelf to any whatſoever woman, he had three Concubines beſides ſuch by whom he had had children: 'twas uſually ſaid when men would be bold with him, that, the one of them was delightful, the other wilde or phantaſtical; the third, holy; who was ſo termed, becauſe ſhe could not be drawn from forth the Church, but when ſent for by him. But natures too much given to the pleaſures of Senſe, are, if they be offended, bitter in reſentment: For example; as he was hunting in *Warwick* ſhire in the Park of one *Thomas Burdet* who was ſervant to his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, amongſt many other Deer, he ſlew a white Buck which *Burdet* made much account of, inſomuch as (not knowing how otherwiſe to be revenged) he wiſht the horns in the Kings belly. This wiſh was adjudged Treaſon; and he, together with his white Buck, loſt his head and all that he had.

I muſt ſpend the yeer 1476 in the misfortunes of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, ſince *England* was then unemployed, and his affairs altered the face of buſineſſe amongſt Princes. *Charles* anſwerable to the Agreement made with King *Lewis*, had received S. *Quintines*, *Han*, *Bohaine*, and all the Conſtables moveable goods, together with the ſhame of having under truſt betrayed him: his brain full of vaſt deſignes, bore him to difficult undertakings, which chewed by imaginary confidence, cauſed in him ſuch evil digeſtion as we ſhall ſee. His firſt wrath and the firſt expreſſions thereof were againſt *Renatus* Duke of *Lorrein*; wherein ſucceeding luckily, as in the taking of *Nanci* and the reſt of that Dutchy, he was blown up to freſh undertakings. Becauſe the *Switzers* had aſſaulted *Burgundy*, and had taken many places under *James* Count *de Romont* Brother to the Duke of *Savoy*, whilſt he was at the ſiege of *Nuz*, he reſolved at one and the ſame time to revenge his own and the others injuries: nor could they pacifie him, though they offered to renounce all other Confederacies; namely, that of *France*; for the heavens having ordained him to ruine, did obdurate him in the wilfulneſſe of his obſtinate humours; making him deaf to all honourable and advantageous offers. He entred their Countrey with Five thouſand fighting men; he took *Iverdon*; beſieged *Granſon*, where Four hundred *Switzers* of the Canton of *Berne* not able to defend it, retired themſelves into the Caſtle; they yeelded it up, their lives ſaved; but not obſerving the Agreement, Eighty of them were hanged, Two hundred drowned, and the reſt put to ranſom, whilſt Eighteen thouſand of the ſame Nation were come in unto their ſuccour. The Duke 1476

taking

taking it in disdain that they durst raise their Colours against him set upon them forthwith; he lost the Battel, his Artillery and Baggage, the particulars whereof were by him esteemed at three Millions of Gold, in Tapistry, Silver vessels, and Jewels, which for ostentation and pomps sake he had taken along with him. This was the first of his three mortal misfortunate blowes which (not being accustomed thereto) made him fall sick: this sickness changed his constitution and nature; in'omuch as where before he drank nothing but water boyled, and used Conserve of Rose to qualifie his natural heat, his melancholy had now so much cooled him, that his Physitians made him drink lusty Wines without water, and applied Cupping-glasses to his heart to heat him and excite blood; but, what is most remarkable, his Senses were hereat so weakned, as that his Judgement was disquieted; so as the blowe which would have infused understanding into any one not totally void thereof, did not so to him who was become incapable of it. Gathering therefore greater Forces, he went with Eighty thousand fighting men to besiege *Morat* a Town not very great, some two leagues distant from *Berne*, belonging to Count *Romont*, but usurped by the *Switzers*. The *Switzers* came to the succour thereof with Thirty thousand Foot, and Four thousand Horse, accompanied by the Duke of *Lorrein*; they gave Battel: and though the Dukes Artillery made very great breaches upon their Battalions, yet did they not break not stop thereupon; but making good the empty places, they passed on, cutting in piece very many of his men, and making the rest either run away or drown themselves in the Lake; the Duke with much ado saving himself. In my Travels thorow those Countreys, I have seen the relicks of that Victory. If my memory deceive me not, there is upon the brink of the Lake a Chappel, neer unto which lies a great heap of dead mens bones; but there having perished in the Battel Eighteen thousand, and as some will have it Two and twenty thousand, methought those bones, though very many, were not answerable to so great a number. Here I was likewise told, and the place was shewed me where *Charles* on horseback swam over the Lake, and where one of his Footmen fastning himself to his Masters horses tail, assoon as he came on shore was by *Charles* slain for having endangered his drowning, since 'twas sufficient for a horse to swim so far with an armed man upon his back, without the dragging another at his tail. But I meet not with this relation in any History. He retired himself to *Rivers* upon the confines of *Burgundy*, where he lived secretly six weeks; in which time the Duke of *Lorrein* being come to the Siege of *Nanci*, the Town was surrendered to him two days before *Charles* came thither, from whom they had demanded succour, and expected his coming till the last minute. The Duke of *Lorrein*, who found himself weak, would not contest with him; but leaving him to besiege the Town again, retired himself for aid to the *Switzers*, from whom he had forthwith what he desired:

for

for King *Lewis* paid to him Fourty thouſand Franks for this end, and many French came Voluntiers to him : with this Army he came to *S. Nicholas* Two Leagues diſtant from *Nanci*, in the coldeſt Winter-ſeaſon that had been known many yeers before. *Charles* his Army was in a very bad condition, and became yet worſe when the Count *de Campo Baſſo*, a Neopolitan, and of the *Anievin*-Faction, and therefore baniſhed that Kingdom, had relinquiſhed him, having had intelligence long before with the Duke of *Lorrein* ; but when he would with his men have come over, the *Switzers* abhorring the aſſotiation of a Traytor, would not admit of him. *Charles* ſeeing his affairs brought to ſo bad an exigent, (contrary to his cuſtom) liſtned after the opinion of others : he was adviſed not to fight, ſince his men were few and no ways valiant, he not having, upon a true Muſter, Twelve hundred good men : they adviſed him to retire to *Pont-Mouſſon* ; ſince the Duke of *Lorrein* being onely able to victual the Town for a ſmall time, and the *Switzers* being likely to depart for want of pay, he might with a better choice of men return thither the next Spring. A moſt excellent counſel, had he embraced it ; but he would fight. The Conflict was ſhort ; a handful of men wearied with a Siege, diſheartned by former Defeats, and by the preſent unadviſedneſſe the readier now again to be defeated ; many of them were cut in pieces, many fled away, and but few of them were ſaved : the Duke endeavoured to ſave himſelf, but was ſlain in his flight, wounded twice by the Pike and once by the Halberd ; he was rifled and left naked, not known by any one ſave ſome-while after by a Page of his by certain private marks ; for it was impoſſible to know him by his face. The circumſtances of this Defeat are at large ſet down by *Commines* and the French Writers, to whom I refer my ſelf. I may perchance touch upon ſomething again in its proper place, whilſt returning for the preſent to our Story, we ſhall meet with a Tragicall adventure, no leſſe ſtrange nor compaſſionate then what we have but now heard.

The Duke of *Clarence*, ſecond brother to King *Edward*, a Prince of greater ſpirit then did become a brother and a ſubject, ended his days in the Tower, leaving it to diſpute whether his death were occaſioned through his own default, or through the Malice of his enemies : for though he were condemned by ordinary courſe of Juſtice, yet was there not any one full fault found in him ; ſo as it was thought there was nothing of Juſtice in it more then the name ; and that Malice was indeed that which took away his life. Three things were of moſt conſideration in this affair : The Kings Suſpition, The Queens Hatred and Suſpition, and His own Fault, which was not ſufficient to have condemned him, had it not been for the former Two. His having rebelled, made Confederacie with the Earl of *Warwick*, 1477

and contracted Alliance with him, to bereave his brother of the Kingdom, were faults which though they were old, and freely forgotten, 'twas feared that his old inclinations, laid aside more in respect of his own concernment then out of reason or love to his brother, might be reassumed by him, and he thereunto provoked by pretence of the Agreement made at *Paris*, that he should succeed unto the Crown, if *Henry* the sixth his Heirs should fail, as already they had done. This consideration wounded the Queen to the very soul; she thought that if her husband should die before her, her children should not succeed to their father: she was confirmed in this opinion by a Prophecie I know not how divulged, That *G* should be the first letter of his name that should succeed *Edward*; and the Duke of *Clarence* his name being *George*, 'twas thought he should be the Butcherer of *Edwards* sons, which *Gloucester* afterwards proved to be. With such like equivocations doth the devil delude our simplicity, if it be granted that he knows any thing of what is to come. To these were other reasons added which made the former the more suspected: his having pretended to marry *Mary* the onely daughter to the late Duke of *Burgundy*; and indeed he had written to that effect to the Dowager Dutchesse who was mother-in-law to the said *Mary*: but the Queen crossed him therein, and did what in her lay to have her married to her brother the Earl *Rivers*: so as their distastes and the Kings jealousies were augmented: But the imputations which gave some colour to the justification of this his death, were, That he caused a rumour to be raised among the people that *Thomas Burdet* was unjustly put to death; That the King used Necromancy and Poyson, to bring such as he hated to their ends; That *Edward* was a Bastard, and not begotten by the Duke of *York*; That he had procured many to swear obedience to him and his Heirs, not reserving the due obedience he ought unto his Brother; and That he had pretended to the Crown by vertue of the Contract made with *Henry* the sixth.

1478 These Accusations being brought into the Parliament, and by the Parliament judged guilty thereof, he was condemned to die; and chose, as the easiest death, to be drowned in a Butt of Malmsey. But howsoever, 'twas generally thought that the malice of his enemies, the Queens and her kinreds fears, and the Kings jealousie, were the causes of his so miserable end: of the which *Edward* did afterwards repent, insomuch as when he pardoned the life of any at the importunacie of some one or other, he was wont to say, *O my unfortunate brother, that had not any to intercede for him!* He left behinde him two children born unto him by the Earl of *Warwick* daughter; *Edward* Earl of *Warwicks*, and *Margaret* Countesse of *Salisbury*; both of them born under the like unfortunate Constellation; for He lost his head in *Henry* the sevenths time, She hers, in *Henry* the eighths.

King *Lewis*, when *Charles* was dead, thought to make himself master of those States; believing he could not meet with any obstacle,

since

ſince all the men of War were almoſt ſlain in the three Battels of *Granſon*, *Morat*, and *Nanci*: neither had he been deceived, if he had perſiſted in his reſolution of marrying that Princeſſe to the Dolphine his ſon; of working upon her Counſellors by gifts, promiſes, and additions of Honours; and of winning the peoples good-will by feeding them with hopes of being well treated: but his thirſting after this Conqueſt (which to him appeared eaſie) diverted him from the means of coming by it lawfully, and was the ruine if not of all, yet of his moſt principal deſignes. *Abbeville* was the firſt City which fell into his hands, but as of right belonging unto him, being one of thoſe which were to be ſurrendered to him after *Charles* his death. *Han*, *Bohin*, *S. Quintines*, and *Peron*, out of the ſame reaſon, did the like. *Arras* was by agreement delivered up unto him. *Hedine*, *Bullein* and *Doway* yeelded themſelves. All this progreſſe of affairs appertained to *Picardy*. In *Burgundy* he employed the Prince of *Orange* (a man of great power in thoſe parts) and Monſieur *de Cran* with a diſtinct Army, who in a few days brought the County and Dutchy to his obedience: Neither did he pretend uſurpation in this; the Dutchy was the Patrimony of the Crown; given in Fee-farm to *Philip* the bold, by his father *John* the ſecond, King of *France*, upon condition it ſhould revert again unto the Crown in default of Iſſue male: ſuch Grants not falling (according to the French phraſe) unto the Diſtaff. And he had ſome pretences to the County, though not from the Crown. The Infant Princeſſe ſeeing her ſelf thus hardly dealt withal, all her Embaſſies, Supplications and Submiſſions nothing availing her, ſhe ſent a Diſpatch into *England* to ſhew to *Edward* what prejudice he ſuffered by having the King of *France* ſo neer him, poſſeſt of *Abbeville*, *Bullein*, *Hedine*, *Arras*, and other places upon the Sea neer *Callice*, and in the face of *England*. But though in all reaſon he ought to have aſſiſted her, his private intereſt made him notwithſtanding be a Spectator of all thoſe ruines without budging: his Counſellors being almoſt all of them Penſioners to *Lewis*, preferred private intereſt before all reaſon of State. *Edward* (though) ſent Ambaſſadours to mediate that no more harm might be done; a very good means certainly, before a Prince hath put on a reſolution of War; but as ridiculous as unprofitable without a mans ſword in his hand. The hopes of marrying his daughter, the Fifty thouſand Crowns which were ready to be paid, and his chief men being won by Penſions, were the obſtacles which withſtood all good Reſolves. *Lewis* received the Ambaſſadours courteouſly, and was bountiful to them at their going away; ſo ſent them away without any anſwer, the which, he ſaid, he would ſend by Ambaſſadours of his own, who a good while after were ſent with directions to ſpin out the buſineſſe, upon pretences of having no Inſtructions; working by this means his own deſired ends, and hindering *Edward* from doing (had he been ſo diſpoſed) what he ought to have done: and

though many free from corruption adviſed him to the contrary, ſhewing the damage he thereby received without any hopes of advantage; (for if *Lewis* had any minde to make the Marriage, he would have ſent for the Princeſſe away, after the firſt yeer, according to the Treaty ſworn at *Picquigny*, divers yeers being now paſt, and ſhe not ſent for) yet were they not liſtned unto. Any the leaſt obſtacle (to boot with the defence made by the Infant Princeſſe) would have been ſufficient to have made *Lewis* keep within his own Precincts; and if nothing elſe, his unwillingneſſe to ſee the Engliſh in *France*, would have ſlackned his proceedings; and though he invited *Edward* to paſſe over into *Flanders*, whilſt he buſied himſelf elſewhere, and ſeemed to be content that the Engliſh might win *Flanders* and *Brabant* for themſelves; he did it for that he was ſure, by reaſon of the many ſtrong places that were there, they would make but a ſlowe and coſtly progreſſe: and when *Edward* ſeemed to accept of this invitation, if in ſtead of ſuch places as he ſhould win in *Flanders* *Lewis* would deliver unto him thoſe he had won in *Picardy* (namely *Bullein*) no more was heard of the buſineſſe. *Edward* would willingly have aſſiſted the Princeſſe if ſhe would have married the Earl *Rivers* brother to his wife; and ſhe needing aſſiſtance, would have married him; but the diſparity of their conditions would not permit her Counſellors to ſuffer her ſo to do: ſo as *Lewis* found none that croſt his Fortunes, nor ſhe any that would aſſiſt her in her miſery, which made her conclude the Match with the Archduke *Maximilian* ſon to the Emperour *Frederick* the third, not liſtning to any other that was propounded to her: not to that of the Dolphine, for that he was but nine yeers old, and ſhe twenty or one and twenty; and for that ſhe hated his father: not to that of *Charles* Count *d'Angouleſme* (who was afterward father to *Francis* the firſt) becauſe *Lewis* would not conſent thereunto, being jealous of the Princes of the bloods power: not to that of the Prince of *Cleve*, becauſe ſhe liked him not.

1479 *Edward* had this mean while prodigiouſly alter'd his nature: from being affable and liberal, he became auſtere and avaritious, to the great wonder and worſe ſatisfaction of his people. The Laws of *England* grant many things in favour of their Kings (as their penal Laws) which the Kings themſelves make no uſe of, as being too full of rigour. He by vertue of thoſe Laws took ſuch penalties as thoſe that were rich fell into by their not punctual obſervance of them: and making no difference neither in reſpect of Blood, Quality, or Title, he put the Kingdom into a great fright, making them believe he would become formidable: for having abated the courage of other men by his Brothers death, there was not any one that durſt contradict him. But the greedy heaping up of Money, which he uſed was ſo much the more monſtrous in him, by how much it was contrary to the conſtitution of his nature: ſo as ſuch a change ſhewed his death to be at hand.

Ambaſ-

Ambaſſadours were frequently ſent from *England* to *France*, and from *France* to *England*: the former, that according to their Obligation, the French might ſend for the betrothed Princeſſe; the others, to excuſe their delay, laying it upon the Wars of *Burgundy* and the Low-Countreys, in the which all the principal men of the Kingdom being employed, ſhe could not be ſent for in manner becoming the dignity and greatneſſe of both the Crowns: ſo as he who earneſtly deſires a thing, is by nothing more eaſily deceived then by the confirmation of new promiſes; *Edward* did eaſily believe, and *Lewis* made advantage of his falſhood, and brought about his ends without contradiction: which had he carried the buſineſſe otherwiſe, he could not have done. But he who ſays the Engliſh have won more honour by Fighting then by their Treaties, ſays not amiſſe; for they are more aptly diſpoſed to the former. 1480

At this time did *James* the third reign in *Scotland*; who coming to the Crown at ſeven yeers of age, met with lewd edueation and moſt villanous corrupters; ſo as not being wicked of himſelf, but made ſo by them, as he grew in yeers, he encreaſed in his luſts, cruelties and rapine, and rewarding the authors of his Diſorders by the ſale of Goods belonging to the Church, he purchaſed the hatred of his Nobility, and of his whole Kingdom. From theſe his exceſſes he did not exempt his own Family: he dealt badly with his brother, and inceſtuouſly violated his youngeſt ſiſter: he let ſlip the opportunity he had to trouble *England*, it being divided within it ſelf, and was himſelf vexed by his ſubjects; the worm of conſcience not working upon him in the ceſſation of his Rebellions, not yet the fear of ſuch pains as Heaven inflicts for puniſhment upon incorrigible ſinners. T theſe things for what concern'd him: And for what concerned *Edward*, his jealouſies of the *Lancaſtrian* Faction, cauſed their peaceful living together, even from the very beginning of their Reigns, thorow a Truce of Fifteen yeers: but the Truce being now well-nigh expired, and *James* having put one of his brothers to death, and impriſoned the other, which was the Duke of *Auben*y; thinking he could not defend himſelf againſt his domeſtick enemies without faſtning himſelf to ſtrangers, he was deſirous to intereſt *Edward* in the conſervation of his Dignity and Perſon. To this purpoſe he demanded *Cicely Edwards* ſecond daughter for wife to his ſon *James* Prince of *Scotland*; and he obtained it with this Condition, That though the Marriage could not yet be conſummated (both of them being children) *Edward* ſhould pay down part of the portion; for the repayment of which, in caſe the Marriage ſhould not go on, he had the chiefeſt Merchants of *Edenborough* bound. The King of *Scotland* thought himſelf now to be ſafe by this ſhadowie Alliance; but the Duke of *Auben*y having eſcaped out of priſon by means of a Cord made of linen, and made his Addreſſes to *Lewis*; who would not receive him (for he held ſome ſecret Intelligence with *James* againſt *Edward*) 1481

Edward) he passed over into *England*; where having represented the King his brothers general injustice, to make him appear wicked, and his particular injustice to his brothers, to make his wickednesse appear unnatural and cruel: he prayed aid of *Edward*; and his intreaties were made the more efficacious, being accompanied by those of *James Douglas* (who was likewise a banisht man) which moved the King to wage War with him; whereunto he could not have been perswaded, had not King *James* himself given him the occasion.

Lewis, who, having covenanted another Match for the Dolphin, thought *Edward* could not chuse but be revenged; endeavoured to divert him, by making the King of *Scotland* engage him in a War; and the King of *Scotland* perswaded thereunto either by hopes, or Moneys, or both, violated his late-made Affinity and Peace, not regarding the injustice and dishonour of the action, nor yet the danger he put himself into, he being so detested both by God and man, and not able to raise Forces without the assistance of his Countrey; yet affying more in *France* then he had reason to do, he did what of himself he was able, to please *Lewis*. He sent some Troops to make Inrodes upon the Confines of *England*, which did rather provoke then harm the enemy: so as *Edward* finding himself enforced and offended on the one side, and humbly intreated on the other side, he raised a powerful Army, and sent it into *Scotland* under the command of his brother the Duke of *Gloucester*. King *James* had not the like ability to resist as he had to irritate; for being abused by the flatteries of three wicked personages who had drawn upon him the general hatred of all men, he durst not gather the whole Nobility into a Body, lest being united they might take some strange resolution against him. Necessity, notwithstanding, constrained him to summon them and raise an Army, not altering though the form of his Government; for mistrusting all the rest, he made use onely of the Counsels of his forenamed flatterers, not calling his Nobility to any Counsel or Deliberation: an indignity which they not able to endure, they met together a little after midnight in a Church, where, being perswaded by *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, they would have the first War made against these men, as those that were their Countreys most dangerous enemies: and had not the wiser sort moderated the more hastie, the King might have run hazard in his own person. The chiefest of them went towards the Court not making any noise, followed onely by as many as might serve to do the businesse. The King was advertised of this Meeting at the same time 'twas made; so as rising up hastily to see what was to be done, he sent *Robert Cockeran* one of the *Triumviri*, to make discovery; but being met by them, they detained him, set a Guard upon him, and passed on to the Court, and to the Kings Chamber, seizing without any manner of resistance upon all such as were about the King, except *John Ramsey* for whom the King interceded, and who

who being very young, was not polluted with their enormities: The reſt were led into the Camp, where (the Army crying out that they might be put to death) they were all hanged without any legal proceeding; and not having any Ropes in readineſſe for ſo ſudden an execution, each man ſtrove to make offer of his horſes halter or reins; and thoſe whoſe offers were entertained, thought themſelves much honoured thereby. This buſineſſe bred ſuch a difference between the King and his ſubjects, as each of them retired themſelves to their own homes, not thinking any longer to defend the Kingdom: and the King, with ſome few others, did to little purpoſe ſhut themſelves up in the Caſtle of *Edenborough*: for had they been evilly minded towards him, they would have taken him in the *Lander*, the place where this buſineſſe happened.

The Summer was well advanced before the Duke of *Glouceſter* entred *Scotland*; he laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Berwick* defended by the Earl *Bodwel*, the Town having yeelded to him without reſiſtance: he would not loſe the ſeaſon by ſtaying there himſelf, but environing it with Four thouſand fighting men, he paſſed forwards to *Edenborough*, not permitting (through the Duke of *Aubeney*'s deſires) any harm to be done there; a contrary courſe to what had been formerly taken: and becauſe it was impoſſible to treat with King *James*, who did not ſuffer any one to come into the Caſtle, he made a publike Proclamation to be made in the chief Market place by *Garter* King at Arms, that if he would not make good to *Edward* what under his hand he was by agreement obliged unto; if he did not before *September* next make ſatisfaction for the damages and injuries done to *England*; and did not put the Duke of *Aubeny* in his former condition without the diminiſhing of his Poſſeſſions, Authority, or Offices, he would put his whole Kingdom to fire and ſword. But the King returning no Anſwer, neither by meſſage nor writing, being equally unfit either to give ſatisfaction or make reſiſtance; the Nobles (who had encamped themſelves at *Haddington* with a great number of men) being abandoned by the King, and not willing to abandon themſelves and Countrey, ſent Ambaſſadours to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, offering, for what belonged to them, to effect the Marriage, and requiring the like of him: promiſing that it ſhould not fail on their ſides, if all the Articles agreed upon were not put in execution, and an inviolable Peace for the time to come were not made between the two Kingdoms. To the which *Glouceſter* anſwered, that the Match was broken by means contrary to the end for which it was made: That he did not know the King his brothers intentions, and whether he was not reſolved (as he had good cauſe) not to think any more of it: That his Inſtructions were, To demand reſtitution of the Moneys, the which he did, requiring ſpeedy payment: for what concerned the Peace, That it was not to be had, unleſſe they would promiſe to deliver up unto him the Caſtle of *Berwick*, or unleſſe 1482

unleſſe in caſe they could not do it, they would oblige themſelves not to aſſiſt the beſieged, nor moleſt the beſiegers, till ſuch time as it were either taken or ſurrendred. Theſe Demands ſeemed very hard to the Scots. They anſwered; The cauſe why the Marriage was not effected, was by reaſon of the young couples yeers, not through any default of theirs: That the Moneys could not juſtly be demanded, the time of repayment being not yet come: That if the ſecurity given in for the repayment of them did not ſuffice, they would give in other: That *Berwick* was ſituated upon the very Bound of *Scotland*, built by the Scots, and by juſt Title always poſſeſſed by them; nor was their claim thereunto the weaker becauſe the Engliſh had made themſelves Maſters of it, ſince violence doth not prejudice the right of a juſt ancient, natural and primary poſſeſſion. But the Duke of *Auberny* put an end to all theſe differences; for *Glouceſter* permitting him to go into the Scotiſh Camp, and the Lords there promiſing him that if he would ſubmit himſelf to the King, they would procure his pardon, and the reſtitution of all his goods; he was declared, under the King, Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom; and it was reſolved (though not without much oppoſition) that the Caſtle of *Berwick* ſhould be ſurrendred; and a Truce for certain moneths was agreed upon, to the end that the Peace might be treated on without diſturbance or hoſtility; ſo as the Duke of *Glouceſter* having recovered *Berwick* One and twenty yeers after *Henry* the ſixth had given it to the Scots, he retired himſelf to *Newcaſtle*, where he expected directions from his brother: who having weighed the concernment of this Match, the Kings decaying condition, the danger he was in of being depoſed (he being hated, and the Duke of *Auberny* beloved) he demanded his Moneys, which were forthwith payed him, leaving *Scotland* to its turmoils, the which though the Duke of *Auberny* did ſincerely endeavour to quiet, by remitting the King his brother to the plenary poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, yet could he not reconcile the King unto him. For if the remembrance of injuries be never to be forgotten by men of perverſe natures, good turns are the more eaſily forgotten: ingratitude being an enemy to all Chriſtian and Moral vertues. King *James* his minde was ſo contaminated and depraved, as it would not ſuffer him to think well of his brother, though the effects demonſtrated the contrary; nay, he was likely to have made him follow his other brother, had he not by his friends been advertiſed thereof, which made him flee into *England*; from whence (having delivered up to *Edward* the Caſtle of *Dunbarre*) he went to *France*, where running at Tilt with the Duke of *Orleans* (who was afterwards *Lewis* the twelfth) he was unfortunately ſlain by the ſplinter of a Lance which wounded him thorow the ſight-hole of his Helmet.

1483 *Edward* had long ſuffered *Lewis* to take his advantage not onely in ſuch parts of the Heir of *Burgundy*'s Countrey as were far diſtant

diſtant from him, but even in thoſe which were neare to *Calice*; permitting him, contrary to all reaſon of State, to make himſelf maſter of *Bullein*, and other Forts upon the Sea, onely out of the hopes of his Daughters marriage: but growing too late ſuſpicious of it, he ſent the Lord *Howard* to *France* to ſift out the truth: who though he ſaw the ſolemne receiving of *Margaret*, Daughter to the late heire of *Burgondy*, and *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*; and ſaw her married to the Dolphin in *Amboyſe*, yet when he tooke his leave, *Lewis* according to his wonted diſſimulation, confirmed unto him his former promiſes, as if a new match contracted with all the Church-Ceremonies and the Bride in the houſe did not prejudice the former, ſo as being returned to *England* hee truly related the difference of what his Eyes ſaw and *Lewis* told him. *Lewis* had handled this match according to his wonted craft not ſeeming to be therein obliged to thoſe of *Gaunt*, who had concluded it maugre their Prince, the Brides Father, and they did it willingly; for taking from him the Counties of *Artois*, *Burgondy*, and *Carolois*, the Counties of *Macon*, and *Auxorres*, which they gave in portion to the Dolphin, they made him the leſſe able to offend them; they would likewiſe, if they could, have given him *Hainault* and *Namours*, not conſidering that theſe Provinces in the hands of ſo great a King were like to forme the chaine of their ſervitude. But Fortune favoured them beyond all expectation; for this marriage ſo advantageous for that Kingdome was together with the Bride, yet a Virgin, not many Yeares after, renounced by *Charles* the eight, that he might take to Wife *Anne* the Daughter and Heire of *Francis* Duke of *Britaigne*, and thereby to poſſeſſe himſelfe of that Dukedome: and the aforenamed *Margaret*, borne under an unhappy conſtellation for matter of Husbands, was in a very ſhort time Widow to three; To *Charles* who did yet live, and to two others who died; *Iohn* Prince of *Aragon*, who lived not many moneths; and *Philibert* the 8th Duke of *Savoy* who within a few Yeares dyed; ſo as ſhe had no iſſue by any of them.

Edward was ſo ſenſible of this his great abuſe as that he reſolved on revenge: every one with cheerfulneſſe provided for War; the Clergy ſupply'd in monies what they could not do in perſon: but whilſt hee was taking order for ſo important an expedition, he fell ſick being ſodainely ſtruck with a great melancholy (others ſay of a Surfeit) and knowing he could not live he cauſed all the Lords to be ſent for to him, who by reaſon of the intended War, were then in great number at Court. He recommended to them the young Princes his Sonnes and together with them Peace; ſhewing them that being young they would neede good Counſellors, which in the diſtraction of private contentions would hardly be found; that they having all a relation unto him, ſome by blood, ſome by affinity, all by good will and duty, they were to joyne in a reciprocall love one towards another, to the end that the conformity of their mindes might beget the like in their actions, and

in their ends, neceſſarily conducing to the ſervice of an infant King, to the good of the Kingdome, and to the peace and quietneſſe which he did chiefly deſire amongſt them; hee put them in minde of the evills cauſed through civill diſſenſions; he deſired God of his goodneſſe that no ſuch might be hereafter, but that this favour was not to be hoped for without the forgiving of paſt injuries which made him in the name of the ſame God, and as the laſt comfort he ſhould receive, deſire of them all forgiveneſſe of any injuries done by him. All that were preſent wept; and thoſe who bare more rancour one to an other then did the reſt, ſhooke hands in token of their laſt obedience due unto him even to the laſt minute of his Life: ſo as ſatisfyed with this their outward expreſſion (their inward minds unknowne) he died the ninth of *April* 1483, in the 41 Yeare of his Life, having Reigned 22 Yeares one month and five dayes: and was buried in a Chappell, built by him at *Windſor*.

He was a Prince who could not have had his like had he not been vitiated with the contagion of civill factions; the gifts of minde and nature ſtrove for priority in him: He was of all men the handſomeſt, and of all fortunate men the moſt valiant: having in as many Battells as he fought alwayes had the Victory. He had by his Wife three Sonnes and eight Daughters: his third Son dyed an Infant; we ſhall ſhortly heare of the compaſſionable end of the other two. Of his Daughters; *Elizabeth* was married to *Henry* the Seventh Cecily to Viſcount *Wells* and after to another, but had iſſue by neither: *Anne*, to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*, whoſe children dyed all young. *Bridget* was a Nun in *Dartford*; *Mary* promiſed to the King of *Denmarke*, dyed before the Marriage; *Margaret* dyed young. *Catharine* was married to *William Courtney* Earle of *Devonſhire*, to whom ſhe bare *Henry* Marqueſſe of *Exeter*, and he had *Edward* E. of *Devonſhire*, who died without iſſue in *Padua* the Yeare 1556; and *Elizabeth* dyed young. Beſides theſe his legitimate children, he left behind, two Baſtards, *Arthur Plantagenet*, Viſcount *Liſle*, and *Elizabeth*; *Arthur* had three Daughters: and of *Elizabeth* is come the L. *Lomley*.

The end of Edward the Fourths Life.

THE

THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE CIVILL WARRES OF ENGLAND

In the Life of Edward the Fift.

I Now ſhould write the Life of *Edward* the Fift, Son to the laſt deceaſed King, as I have done the Lives of the reſt; but he being taken from this World in leſſe then three Moneths, by ſuch cruelty, as greater hath not been heard off, I have not whereout to frame a Hiſtory: in lieu thereof, I will write the Duke of *Gloucester* his wickedneſſes, which are ſuch as may raiſe a doubt, whether cruelty be an habit of Nature in man, or rather a raging fury: ſince Nature in her operations doth nothing in vaine; and ſuch Beaſts as live not by Rapine, kill not other beaſts for Preyes ſake, as hee to devoure the Kingdome ſlew his Nephewes. But conſidering that there is not any Creature which is not in ſome ſort addicted to this vice, I believe it proceeds from two cauſes, the one uſefull and

neceſſary which is Selfe-defence, and wherein habit conſiſts; the other vaine and harmefull, which is the coveting of ſuperiority (a paſſion more prevalent in men then in other creatures) and this is fury; whence if the World were void of ambition, or other differing qualities, it is not thereout to be averred that the ſtrongeſt would not inſult upon the weaker, as alwayes they have done: the which being manifeſt, bruit beaſts declaring it by their examples, it is much more proved ſo to be when we take into conſideration the inæquality of Fortune and Honour.

Many were the cauſes of the cruelty whereof we are to treate, ſince practiſed in ſundry manners; (War not caſt into the account) To kill Beaſts, to puniſh Malefactors, are permitted and commanded by the rules of Government; but what ariſeth from private hatred, is by the Lawes condemned, though through the corruption of affection, or frailty of humour, executed by men. Butchers and Hunters kill cattell, and wild beaſts; which ſhould they not do, the beaſts would devoure us; and through the great increaſe of beaſts, and their deſtroying of the ground, wee might be famiſhed: did not the Executioner put a period to the lives of ſuch as are condemn'd, our lives and livelyhoods would lie at the mercy of evill livers. But the enemy which kills his enemy, though, in it ſelfe conſidered, the fact be inexcuſable, reſts yet excuſed. Sodaine chances, puntillioes of honour, and injuries for which ſatisfaction is not to be given, do ſo far incenſe men, as humane nature may ſeeme ſomewhat to Analogize with cruelty; ſince though it be abſolutely to be abhor'd, it is not abſolutely condemned. Now that *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter* a Prince by birth, an unkle by nature, and by the Lawes a protectour, ſhould become the Butcher, the hangman, the enemy of *Edward* the Fifth, and of his Brother, being his Nephewes, is yet ſomewhat more; which not falling under the capacity of humane fury befell him having diſrobed himſelfe of humanity aud nature. Of all execrable examples he is the onely one without parallel. All cruelties menti-on'd of the Antients are, in compariſon of his, meere inventions, not true events. Nature in the framing of ſuch ſubjects doth uſually tranſgreſſe her ordinary rules; to put a difference betweene them and others; to the end that having ſet a marke upon them, wee may the better know how to be aware of them; ſhee allots them aukward and diſproportioned ſhapes, thereby intimating unto us that being crooked and falſely ſhaped, their workes are falſe, and their inclinations crooked. This *Richard* came into the World with his feet forward, his Mother was cut up, yet out-lived him: ſhee brought him forth deformed; inſomuch as, his brethren being the handſomeſt and moſt comely men of that age, he was the moſt mis-ſhapen that thoſe times produced. Hee had a cloudy and a deſpitfull countenance; he was of a low Stature, one of his ſhoulders was greater then the other; he was malitious, envious, injurious, neither had hee any juſt proportion, ſave what was from his Extrinſecall to his Internall, ſo as if a man would

have

have judged of him by the rules of phyſiognomy, he could not judge amiſſe if he judged bad enough. For what remaines, hee was valiant, adviſed, bold, couragious; praiſe-worthy qualities, but not in him: ſince he made no uſe of them to good ends, but to make his wickedneſſe the greater and more efficacious. It is not, as I believe, to be denied that all bad actions ſpring from two wicked Mothers, Malice, and Ignorance: wicked actions from malice; from ignorance, ſuch as are common to the ſimpler ſort of people: a difference ſo much the more to be bemoaned, as that malice increaſing by yeares, and ignorance decreaſing, the evill which is cauſed by the increaſe of the One, is more deteſtable, then is the good advantageous which we receive by the decreaſe of the other: the evill extending it ſelfe to objects which are infinite, the good confining it ſelfe to the agent which is an individuall. Had *Richards* actions taken their ſource from both theſe, ſo as a mixt compoſition might have beene made of them, they might in ſome ſort have beene tolerable; but being occaſioned meerly through malice, they were ſo abominable, as being augmented not only by proceſſe of time, but by his thirſt after Government they arrived at ſuch a height of wickedneſſe as was not to be out-done. When his brother died, hee was in the Northerne parts of the Kingdome: it is not knowne whether his deſire of uſurping the Kingdome ſprung up then in him, or whether he was poſſeſt with it before. Thoſe who believe him to have beene formerly poſſeſt therewith, alledge for their opinion the death of *Henry* the ſixt, and of the Duke of *Clarence*; accuſing him to be both the Promoter and Executioner of the former, ſince King *Edward* was never minded to put him to death, which had he been, he might have found other inſtruments enough, without making uſe of his brother. They verify this for that hee boaſted by meanes of this parricide he had ſettled the Crowne upon the houſe of *Yorke*; for he imagin'd there was no more left of the houſe of *Lancaſter*; either for that the Earle of *Richmond* was onely of that houſe by the mothers ſide, or elſe that being out of the Kingdome, and in cuſtody, no account was to be made of him. It is certaine had he not formerly had this deſigne, he would not have beene the butcher of a King, to ſettle the ſucceſſion onely upon *Edwards* Sonnes; ſince *Edward* himſelfe dreamed not of it, who was ſufficiently ſecure of *Henry* by his impriſonment, and his having no iſſue: his feares roſe not from him, but from the Earle of *Richmond*. *Richard*, on the other ſide feared not the abſent Earle, but *Henry* who was preſent and had beene King. Should he have kept him alive, to have kill'd him at the ſame time hee kill'd his Nephews, his ſcandall would have been the greater: and ſhould hee not have kil'd him, hee might haye beene re-eſtabliſhed. Things which all of them might ſucceed, his brothers diſorders foretokening his death to be at hand. 'Tis related, that *Edward* being dead by night, a certaine man ran preſently to a friend of his, who was a ſervant of *Richards*, to give him notice of it: who anſwer'd

ſwer'd ; if *Edward* was dead, his maſter *Richard* would be King: which tis not likely hee would have ſaid, had he not had ſome inkeling of the deſigne. In *Clarence* his Death tis thought that whilſt hee ſeemed to favour him, he wrought all he could under hand that he might die. 'Tis cleare, that when he was condemned he ſhould have procur'd his Pardon, and did not : which cauſed *Edward* in vaine afterwards to complaine, that others had ſuch as would intercede for their Lives, but His poore Brother could finde none to mediate for his : ſo as to meete with the truth, I thinke tis beſt to judge the worſt. The cunning of all other Architects, who might perhaps have omitted ſome One thing which hee did not, would not, have ſufficed to have perfected ſo difficult a building ; rather hee being ſo excellent in doing evill, it had beene a wonder if hee had not done it.

For his Ambition being thereby to be ſatisfyed as well as his Cruelty (the ſprings from whence did flow his other vices) ſhould he have refuſed it, men might have thought the ſoule of *Socrates* had beene tranſmigrated into his body ; ſince that *Socrates* being naturally given to all vices, abſtained from thence meerly out of the Love of vertue ; which was not reaſon ſufficient to make Him to abſtaine from vice, though, being borne a Chriſtian, he might better do it then *Socrates* : for Evangelicall vertues, as they are more excellent, ſo do they more incite to well-doing then Morall; but theſe tranſmigrations being but fables, and he, if not altogether abandoned by his good *Genius*, at leaſt not ſufficiently admoniſhed thereby, as was *Socrates*, it is no wonder if he dyed the ſame that he was borne ; who never tooke delight in any thing but in the plotting of miſchiefe: nay it had been leſſe trouble to Him to have fought againſt whatſoever well armed enemy, then to have withſtood the weakeſt of his lewd inclinations.

Many were the difficulties which in this buſineſſe were to be overcome ; the meanes two : Cruelty, and Infamy. Through Cruelty hee was to put his Nephewes to Death, neither was that All : their Siſters were yet to ſucceede before him ; and two others ; the Sonne and daughter of the Duke of *Clarence* ; which forced him upon Infamy. To attaine to the uppermoſt Roonge of the Ladder of Government, he muſt at one leap get thither from the Nethermoſt : he being the loweſt Roonge, and Eight at the leaſt being before him, beſides *Bridget* the Nun at *Dartford*. But in wickedneſſe there is no difficulty which may not be overcome by Him, who having Power and Malice, hath not Honour nor Conſcience to reſtraine him. Hee at firſt reſolved to governe himſelfe according to the Fable : the Wolfe could not hope to get the flock into his power, did he nor firſt poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Dogges which were its defence. The King before his Death had ſent Prince *Edward* into *Wales*, to the end that his preſence might reduce that people to their duties, which though they were not Rebells,

were

were yet growne to ſuch diſobedience as that their Governours and Magiſtrates were not able to ſuppreſſe the great diſſenſions and Robberies there committed : the diſorders of the late Warre had put them ſo farre out of Tune ; that by how much they were farther from the King , they were the like,from Remedy. The Sunne beates not with like force upon the Poles, as it doth upon the Zones which Neighbour upon his beames. A wiſe foreſight. For *Wales* being very affectionate to the title of their Principality (a memory of their ancient Liberty and Dominion) ſhewed ſuch obedience at the comming of their Prince , though but a Child, as they had not formerly done to their ancient Magiſtrates. The King had appointed to him for his Governour , his Uncle , the Earle *Rivers*, Brother to the Queene, a wiſe and valiant man ; he had likewiſe given him for his attendants almoſt none ſave ſuch as were of Her kindred ; to the end that when he ſhould die , ſhee, by their aſſiſtance, might the better preſerve her ſelfe againſt the Dukes authority and force. A wiſe foreſight too ; but which ſucceeded ill : for this extraordinary preferment , as it made them be hated and envy'd, ſo was it the cauſe of their Ruine. The Queene and her Brother *Rivers* had declared themſelves enemies to the Lord Chamberlaine *Haſtings* : the Queene reputing him to be an inſtrument of her Husbands diſorders ; and *Rivers*, for that the King having promiſed unto him the Governours place of *Callice*, had recalled his word , to beſtow it upon *Haſtings :* ſo as *Edward* doubting leaſt theſe diſtaſtes might breed an ill effect in his Sonnes ſervice (though not the very bad one which it did produce) did on his Death-bed make that exhortation to Peace which hath beene ſayd ; at the which (*Rivers*, who was gone with the Prince into *Wales* , not being preſent) the Marqueſſe, *Dorſet* Son to the Queene by the firſt Husband, did in his Unkles behalfe ſhake hands with *Haſtings* : both parties having the ſame end in this Act , which was to ſatisfy the King, but not to make a reall friendſhip : for Hatred had taken formerly ſo great a rooting , as there was no place left for true Friendſhippe.

All theſe things made for *Gloceſters* deſignes ; wherein not likely to proſper but by their ruine (ſince in proceſſe of time 'twas likely they would be equally His enemies) he thought that by ſeting them together by the eares they would undoe one another, and that the one of them being borne downe would make way to the others overthrow. But the ſequell ſhewed ; that ſuch fabricks of Government as are grounded on machinations , are for the moſt part ruinous. And if there were no other proofe of this : to live free from ſuſpition and to ſecure ones ſelfe from ſucceſſive contentions , within the Haven of a quiet life , ought to weigh againſt whatſoever Ambition or Avarice can produce : ſince They afford us nothing but injuſtice , and the more they be practiſed , the farther are they from God and Nature, whoſe chiefeſt Law is the Peoples Safety : and if humane mutability in-

inamour'd on phantaſticall opinions hath cauſed an eare to be lent to ſuch as maliciouſly and ignorantly have taught the contrary, conſider that the *Idea* propounded by theſe Doctours is of ſuch Princes as have come to ill ends, not any one of them, by their rules, having had good ſucceſſe. I know that this my opinion will not be imbraced by Many ; it will ſuffice mee if by a Few, ſo they be Good : and if any man doe believe the World is not to be governed by Philoſophy ; let him obſerve that Uſurpation and Tyranny are the Foldes or Plyes of a more intricate philoſophy : and as the Firſt, ariſing from God and Nature, doth by the meanes of Juſtice and other vertues leade us to live happily ; ſo the Second procreated by Force and Pride, promiſe nothing to us but perturbations ; Injuſtice and her attendants producing onely ſuch effects as are conformable to themſelves.

The Duke might eaſily contrive his deſigne conſidering the hatred the chiefeſt Lords bare to the Queenes kindred, ſo as treating thereof with thoſe that were preſent, and communicating his minde by writing to thoſe that were abſent, hee ſhewed them, How that the dangers were remedileſſe if the Kings tender yeares were to be governed by thoſe people : that all Honours and places of Account would be conferred on them : that Their authority would ecclipſe the authority of all other men ; eſpecially if the Sonne, reſembling his Father, (as by ſome ſignes already in him might be imagined he would) ſhould ſuffer himſelfe to be governed by Them ; ſo as in ſtead of One King they ſhould have many : that old injuries are not apt to be forgotten : that by the increaſe of authority remembrance thereof would be increaſed ; and that they would pretend offence if they were not more obſerved then formerly : that the conſideration of the Queenes no ſo great blood (being onely made worthy of that degree, becauſe the King would have it ſo) had not made them any whit the leſſe proud : the rather being come to the height of their preſumptions, (while the King ſhould be at their diſpoſall) they would become inſufferable : they would cloake their covetouſneſſe with the Royall Robe ; and the Crowne, which the King wore onely for ſhow, ſerved really to honour Them to the ſhame of Nobility, and Scorne of the Blood-Royall ; and though their Birth and the Lawes did leſſe priviledge Them then Others, (there being ſo many Lords both by Deſcent and Deſert worthyer then They) yet their unlawfull Authority was likely to cauſe ſuch miſchiefe, as the deepeſt wiſdome would not be able to Prevent it, if they were ſuffered to continue in the ſame poſture they now were in with the King. Whether theſe perſwaſions tooke effect as being apparantly uſefull, or for that Envy was the cauſe thereof I know not : The firſt that were hereunto perſwaded, was the Duke of *Buckingham* and *Haſtings* the Lord Chamberlaine; who, though they were not very great Friends, the likelier were they to joyn in Enmity againſt the Others.

They

They reſolved to remove them from about the King; if they could finde no other pretence (as none other they had) to declare: that being their enemies they could not ſuffer them to be about His Majeſty without apparant danger to their Owne perſons. They, this meane while ignorant of their Practiſes put themſelves in order to bring the King up to *London*: and, to the end that his traine might be anſwerable to his Regall dignity, they got togither a great many men. Whereat the Duke of *Gloucester* doubting, that if hee ſhould come ſo attended on, hee ſhould not without noyſe be able to effect his wickedneſſe; hee found meanes whereby to repreſent unto the Queene, That ſo great an Aſſembly of men would be dangerous: For the King not needing them, it would ſtirre up jealouſy in ſuch, who formerly having had ſome difference with thoſe of Her bloud might believe it to be done againſt Them: ſince the King, by reaſon of his tender Yeares not being likely to be the Authour of it, it would be attributed to thoſe that were about him; and it would be believed that they did yet retaine the hatred pretended to be waſht away at his Fathers death: that her ſonne was to meet with no oppoſitions; for all the Lords ſtrove who ſhould ſhew him moſt affection and obedience: ſo as to appeare armed and in an awfull manner, would, together with the memory of ancient fewdes, raiſe ſo great jealouſies, as thoſe who could not thinke themſelves ſafe, would take up Armes, and diſturbe the Peace: the which if at all times it be to be deſired, certainly it is chiefely to be coveted in the ſucceſſion of an Infant King. Theſe reaſons ſeemed good unto the Queene who diſcovered not the venome thereof. Whereupon ſhee wrote to her Brother, exhorting him to caſhire all the armed extraordinary attendants, and that he ſhould come along onely with her ſonnes Houſhold ſervants, thereby to ſhunne the raiſing of ſuſpition in ſuch, who having had reaſon formerly to hate him, would now have cauſe to accuſe him, as one Seditious and of ſmall Truſt. Theſe admonitions wrought the effect which *Gloceſter* deſired: and ſo much the rather, for that hee having written with all manner of Submiſſion to the King, and in moſt affectionate termes of Friendſhip to *Rivers*, it wrought ſo as they tooke their journey without Armes or extraordinary Retinew, directing their courſe towards *Northampton*; where they were met by Himſelfe, *Buckingham*, and a great many Lords; and pretending they ſhould be incommodated for ſcarcity of Lodgings if they ſhould keepe all together there; they made the King go twelve miles farther towards *London*, to *Stony-Stratford*; but the two Dukes ſtay'd behinde; and under pretence of Honour kept with them Earle *Rivers*, and Feaſted him with ſuch demonſtrations of Joy, as, not being uſuall, hee might eaſily have diſcovered the deceipt, had hee not beene betrayed by the blind folded good opinion hee had of Himſelfe. When he was gone to his Lodging to reſt all night,

the two Dukes cauſed the Keyes of the City to be brought to them, to the end that no man might get out: They ſlept little, ſpending the greateſt part of the Night in counſell and adviſe: they roſe early, and ſent to all the Villages thereabouts, where their ſervants were billeted, willing them to be ready on Horſeback, and ſending ſome to keepe on the way betwixt that and *Stony-Stratford*, with order to ſend backe all paſſengers that ſhould goe that way. A ſtrange diligence, which yet wrought no impreſſion in ſuch as obſerved it: for they believed it to be done that none might come to the King before Themſelves. But *Rivers* was of another opinion, for if there had beene any reaſon for it, they ſhould have communicated it to him: after many ſeverall conjectures, hee reſolved to go Himſelfe and finde out the bottome of the buſineſſe; but no ſooner did hee appeare before them, then that picking a quarrell that hee had an intention to keepe them from the King, and ruine them; the which hee ſhould not be able to effect; not ſuffering him to reply, but tumultuouſly interrupting him when hee was about to ſpeake; they committed him to the cuſtody of ſome of their owne Servants; and haſted to *Stony-Stratford*, and got thither juſt as the King was putting foote in ſtirrup; kneeling downe before him, who cheerefully received them, not knowing their deſignes: they addreſſed themſelves to *Richard Gray*, Brother to the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, objecting to him that hee together with his Brother and his Unkle, had aſpired to the Government of the King and Kingdome, by raiſing of Diviſions, and by bringing under ſome of the Nobility, that they might deſtroy the Reſt; that the Marqueſſe, to make his inſolencies the more feaſible had taken out of the Tower of *London* all the Royall Treaſure, and had ſent men to Sea, to the end that none might oppoſe him. Both which were true, but in a contrary ſenſe: it being ſo ordered by the Counſell, for the Kingdomes ſervice; not his owne. The King having heard the Accuſation, ſhewed how judicious a Prince hee would have beene, had it beene his fortune, to have lived: for not knowing how to excuſe the Marqueſſe, being ignorant, (by reaſon of his long abſence) of what hee had done, hee thought hee might excuſe the reſt, ſince they had beene continually about him. So as not giving *Richard* leave to reply, hee ſayd: for what concern'd the Marqueſſe, hee knew not what to ſay, ſince hee might be deceived; but as for his Unckle *Rivers* and his Brother *Richard*, he was very certaine they could have no hand in any ſuch buſineſſe for that they had alwayes beene in His company. To the which *Buckingham* replyed; His Majeſty was deceived, that their deſignes were not knowne to His Majeſty, and that they did not deſerve to be excuſed by ſo good a Prince. Immediately, in his preſence, was the ſaid *Richard* ſeiz'd upon, as likewiſe Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hawte*; and the

King,

King, in ſtead of going forwards, was brought back to *Northampton*; ſuch of his attendance as *Gloceſter* durſt not affy in, were removed, and others put in their place; whereat the yong King did complaine and was much greived: having onely the Name of a King, and not being of age to defend Himſelfe, much leſſe his Kinred and Servants. And that Diſſimulation might not be wanting, (though now 'twas needleſſe) the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the next day ſent a made diſh from his Owne Table to the Earle *Rivers* with a meſſage; that, hee ſhould not be troubled at his reſtraint, willing him to be of good courage, for very ſodainely all things would be to his good liking. How much of this *Rivers* believed may eaſily be imagined: but baulking the injury, and apprehending worſe, he returned thankes for the honour done unto him, deſiring the Meſſenger that hee would carry it to his Nephew, *Richard*; for that being young, and not accuſtomed to ſuch accidents as theſe, he needed the more this favour. This feigned courteſy was like the lightening which fore-runnes Thunder; for after many change of Priſons, they were brought to *Pomfrett*, and there beheaded; as in its proper place ſhall bee told.

The next night with great diligence this newes came to the Queene, who preſently gueſſed at the Dukes deſigne: ſhee too late repented the counſell given to her brother to disband his forces: ſhee apparantly ſaw her owne danger, but much more the danger of the Duke of Yorke, and her Daughters. Shee at the very ſame houre fled from her Pallace, and tooke Sanctuary in *Weſtminſter*, and lodged in the Abbey; to the great compaſſion of ſuch who at that time of the night ſaw Trunkes, Beds, and other things carried up and downe in the ſtreetes, in ſuch haſte and feare, as the ſervants hindered one another in their ſervice, not knowing what would become either of their Maſter or Themſelves. The Lord *Haſtings* had received the like advertiſement, but with a contrary reſentment: he rejoyced at the Queenes ſufferings, all which were anſwerable to his wiſh; but imagined not that *Gloceſter* would proceed any farther: for hee having loved King *Edward*, loved his Children, nor would he for all the World that any harme ſhould have befalne them. Being thus ſatisfied in his Owne beliefe, he, at the ſame inſtant, it being paſt midnight, diſpatcht away a Gentleman to the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, who found him in his firſt ſleepe: hee would not ſuffer him to be awaked; but the ſervants not obeying him, he was brought in, and acquainted him with what had been done to the King, *Rivers*, *Gray*, and the Kings houſe-hold; he concealed not the Queenes betaking her ſelfe to Sanctuary, adding that hee ſhould not be thereat troubled, for all ſhould be well. The Archbiſhop differing in opinion from the Chamberlaine, anſwered, He knew not what good to hope for from ſuch demeanours. The

Gentleman being gone hee roſe from bed, made all his Family get up, cauſed them to Arme themſelves, and taking the great Seale along with him, he went unto the Queene: he thought he was come into a Pallace newly pillaged; he ſaw nothing but confuſion, and people juſtling one another for haſte, ſome carrying in ſtuffe, ſome going out to fetch in more; ſighes and teares hee met with everywhere. The Queene was ſet upon the floore, no more now what ſhee formerly had beene. It added to the immenſity of her affliction to ſee her ſelfe bereaved of her eldeſt Sonne, and other kindred who were her onely ſtay; to conſider that though ſhe were ſorely oppreſt with Preſent evills, yet was ſhe to expect greater oppreſſions. Whence it may be gather'd that fore-ſight is the bitter fruit of moſt mature wits: a gift which graciouſly conferr'd for a Reliefe to mankinde, workes a contrary effect: the preſent imagination foreſtalleth future evills, and afflicts the apprehenſion, which ought onely to be cauſed for what hath already happened: So as it can hardly be decided whether the fore-ſight of Evills through the excellency of judgement, be not a bad effect of a good cauſe; and whether, at this rate, ſtolidity bee not rather to be choſen then the moſt refined underſtanding, ſince ſuch as are dull and ſtupid ſuffer onely in the preſent Act of their misfortunes. The Chancellour having comforted the Queene with ſuch reaſons as in ſuch deſperate occaſions hopes may ſuggeſt, acquainted her with what the Chamberlaine *Haſtings* had let him know; ſuppoſing that *Haſtings* who had beene obliged to the late *Edward*, would ſide with his Children and Family: but the Queene loathing to heare that Name, reply'd; hee was in an errour to believe him to be her friend, who hating her bloud indevour'd the utter extirpation of it. The Archbiſhop, not able to perſwade her to the contrary, diſcourſing from the leaſt of dangers to the greateſt that might happen, bad her be aſſured that if any other King ſhould be crowned then that King which now they had in their hands, they would crowne the Duke of *Yorke*, who was now in her poſſeſſion. And that you may bee hereof certaine, Loe Madame (ſaid hee) the Great Seale of *England*: his Father, your Husband, gave it mee; I give it you, that you may keepe it for your Sonne; and if for the preſent I could give you a greater Teſtimonie of my good will, you ſhould have it. Which being ſaid hee left the Seale with her, and departed about breake of day, not weighing of what importance the thing was that hee had done, and how prejudiciall it might be to him. But being come home and ſeeing the Thames, out at his Window, full of Boates, which were fill'd with *Gloceſters* Servants who obſerved if any went by water towards Sanctuary, and hearing that there was partaking, and tumults raiſed in the City, Lords and other people appearing in ſundry Aſſemblies Armed; hee bethought himſelfe

ſelſe that if any extravagant courſes ſhould be taken, his delivery of the Great Seale to any whoſoever without the Kings Command, ſince it was delivered to his cuſtody, might redound much to his dammage, whilſt the Queene could reape no advantage thereby; whereupon he privately ſent for it againe, and when he had it, carried it according to cuſtome, openly in the ſight of all men.

This meane while commotions in the City did ſtill continue, it being believed that the proceedings at *Northampton* were not onely cauſed for what concerned *Rivers*, but out of a deſigne to hinder the Coronation: and troubles had beene likely to have enſued, had not the Lord Chamberlaine aſſured them that thoſe Lords were impriſoned for certaine Conſpiracies plotted againſt the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Buckingham*, as would be made appeare by due proceſſe of Law. That no doubt was to be made of the Duke of *Glocester* ſince he had alwayes continued conſtantly faithfull to the King: but that, to ſuſpect it, might be of dangerous conſequence, if they would not lay downe their Armes, with the ſame facility they had taken them up. This Teſtimony quieted the greateſt part of the people, eſpecially when they underſtood the King was comming, waited upon by the Duke his Unkle with all manner of reſpect: as alſo that amongſt *Rivers* his carriages certaine Barrells full of Armes were found: which though it were not believed by the wiſer ſort, yet *Glouceſters* followers inſiſting much upon it, it raiſed doubts in ſome who otherwiſe would not have beene perſwaded to it. For nothing is more prejudicall to Truth, then Falſhood boldly affirmed, with Confidence and Obſtinacy.

The King was met by the Lord Major of *London*, the Sheriffes and Aldermen, all in Scarlet, accompanied with five hundred Citizens on horſe-back cloathed all in purple. *Glouceſter* ſhewed ſuch appearance of Reverence and Love to the King his Nephew, as hee changed their former ſuſpicions, into a great good liking of him: inſomuch as when a Protectour was to be choſen, as uſually is done in the minority of Kings, hee alone, without any manner of contradiction, was named thereunto; not onely as he was Unkle, and the next Prince of the Bloud; but as he that was loyall, moſt loving, and of all others the fitteſt for a charge of ſuch weight. Many were forthwith removed from their Offices; whereof the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* was one of the firſt, not without ſharpe reproofe for having left the Great Seale with the Queene. Doctor *Ruſſell*, Biſhop of *Lincolne*, a man of Laudable conditions ſucceeded him in his place. Earle *Haſtings* was continued in his place of Lord Chamberlaine. All which were buſineſſes of ſmall importance not being thoſe which troubled *Glouceſter*: and though to have won the Peoples good will and obtained the Protectours place was the right way to his deſignes; yet were they not things hee could

could have miſſed of, the peoples good opinion depending upon his naturall diſſembling, and the Protectours place upon his neereneſſe of Bloud Royall, and conſequently without Competitour. That which moſt troubled him was, that he could not ridde his hands of the One brother without the Other : for if the Elder brother were made away, the Duke of *Yorke* was to ſucceed. In this it was that he was to uſe his beſt wits ; for the Queene being jealous of him, and the Duke of *Yorke* being in a place not to be violated, he could not come by him but by Deceipt and Sacriledge. But it was no hard matter for him to overcome theſe difficulties : a fraudulent perſwaſion eaſed him of the trouble of ſeeking out Other meanes. He at the Counſell Table ſpoke againſt the Queen in theſe or the like words, That there was no malice could parallel hers : ſince to work the Kings Counſell into an ill opinion with the World, ſhe together with the Duke and Princeſſes had taken Sanctuary, as if there were apparant cauſe of doubt : that it matter'd not much what became of Her or her Daughters ; the King might live without them, but not well without his brother, whoſe company was abſolutely neceſſary for His Majeſty ; That the people, upon ſo unexpected a reſolution, could make no other conjecture, but that ſhe was doubtleſſy in danger, and her Enemies poſſeſt of all manner of power, ſince her owne quality and her childrens were not ſufficient to ſecure her, unleſſe ſhe ſhould flie to Sanctuary ; a refuge uſually for guilty people, and if at any time for ſuch as were innocent, onely for ſuch as wanted other meanes of protection. That ſhe ſeemed by Enemies to meane none but the Privy Counſell, ſince they were higheſt in Authority. That to believe their intentions were to oppreſſe the Queene, the Duke of *Yorke*, and the Ladies of the blood Royall, ſo as they were inforced to take Sanctuary, was an injury not to be tolerated : That whoſoever ſhould approve of ſuch ſcandalous proceedings, did not love the King ; neither did he believe that they did diſapprove thereof, who would not helpe to remedy it : ſince the King himſelfe, being a Child, could not do it. That it behooved them to looke to it, who were choſen to looke to the preſervation of the Kingdome, and the Kings health; nor were they diſengaged from the many duties they were bound to by the payment of One debt. That the conſideration of health was the chiefe thing they ought to have in regard ; and rather the health of the mind then the health of the Body : for the former being loſt, the latter could not long continue; for that ſadneſſe of mind did dry up the Bones, eſpecially in a young Prince, who if he ſhould not be ſtreightned in honeſt recreations, muchleſſe, from Honeſt Company. And though it fits not Kings to have companions, yet no converſation being to be had without ſome ſort of Equality, to whom did it more properly belong then to an onely Brother ? And if this alone argument might not be of force as it ought, hee propounded this conſideration

unto

unto their wiſdomes ; that the Coronation could not be proceeded in without ſcandall, whilſt the Duke of *Yorke* (who was to have the firſt place next to the King in that great ſolemnity) ſhould not be there but in a Sanctuary, a ſhelter for Delinquents; affording matter to the common people to judge according to their Ignorance, and to Forreigne Princes according to the appearance of falſe ſuppoſalls ; which muſt needs redound to the ſhame and prejudice of them all : to their ſhame ; for that it was not to be credited, that the onely brother of a King ſhould for his ſafeties ſake be neceſſitated to make uſe of the priviledge of Sanctuary without juſt occaſion ; To their prejudice ; for that, give this neceſſity for granted , great troubles were likely to ariſe thereout , it not being likely that there would want thoſe who would willingly lay hold on any occaſion to diſturbe the State : That , in his opinion , ſome one ſhould be ſent to the Queene , whom ſhee did not miſtruſt, yet ſuch a one as would be zealous of the honour of the King and Counſell ; who might rectify her , and let her know what wrong ſhe did unto them all : To the King, by bereaving him of his Brother : To the counſell , by her thus tacitely accuſing them of an evill that never fell into their thoughts : To the Kingdome ; by kindling a fire which was not ſodainely to be quenched. And that if this ſhould not prevaile, the Duke of *Yorke* ſhould by Regall power be taken from Priſon and brought to the King his brother ; where being more made of then with Her, he might reproach unto her her miſtruſt ; and how ſhe had beene the occaſion of making others do the like : her malignant and fortiſh ſuſpicions tending to the Counſells ſhame, the Kingdomes Harme , and her Owne Confuſion. He propounded the Cardinall Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, for this enterpriſe, remitting himſelfe to their pleaſure, if they ſhould not approve of him , from the which hee profeſt hee would not diſſent. They all commended his opinion, and agreed with him, that , if he could not be had from thence , inconveniences might enſue. But the Cardinall having firſt taken the imployment upon him , was , together with as many Eccleſiaſticall perſons as were there preſent, of a contrary opinion , for as much as concern'd his being taken from the Sanctuary by force : alleadging , the Sanctity of the place was inviolable, as well by the many reiterated grants of Popes and Kings , as for five hundred Yeares before (as is teſtifyed by tradition) it was by St. *Peter*, aſſiſted therein by Angels , miraculouſly conſecrated. He hoped, however, it would be needleſſe, the Queene in reaſon being to deliver him up willingly ; the which if ſhee ſhould not doe, the fault was neither to be attributed to Her, nor Him : Not to Him ; for he would not be failing in his duty : Not to Her ; ſhee being therein to be excus'd in reſpect of her Motherly affection, and the weakeneſſe of her Sex. But *Buckingham*, not approving theſe circumſpections, ſwore : The Queene knew well enough ſhe had no occaſion of feare ; that her feares were meerly

meerely fictitious, and of malice; and if she would be believed becauſe her kinred were hated as they well deſerved to be, ſhee ſhould diſtinguiſh betweene thoſe who were of kin to Her, and who were the like to the Bloud Royall. That her kindred had afforded reaſon wherefore to be hated, as ſhee her ſelfe had likewiſe done through her malignity; but in her extending it to the Duke of *Yorke*, the diſtribution was too large and odious. That he likewiſe had the honour to be a kin unto him, neither would hee in his zeale to his ſervice give way to any one, no not unto his Mother: ſince ſhe deſired to keepe him, not without danger and ſcandall in the Sanctuary, to pleaſe her malicious humour, whereas hee counſelled he ſhould be taine from thence, to the end that all ſcandalls being removed, the danger of his health might be prevented, and other mens troubles. He diſcourſt upon the uſe and abuſe of Sanctuaries, all the Counſell joyning with him in opinion: whereupon it was reſolved; that if the Cardinall could not prevaile with his Perſwaſions, hee ſhould be taken from her by Force The which being agreed upon they went to the Starre-Chamber to expect there, as in the neereſt place, what would be the iſſue. The Cardinall accompained by a great many Lords, either for that the Protectour would not truſt a buſineſſe of ſuch weight to One onely man, or that the comming of ſo many might make the Queene perceive it was not He alone that deſired the delivery of her Sonne; and that, if ſhee ſhould refuſe, they might Force him from Her as was reſolved. The Cardinalls words were theſe; He was ſent by the Protectour, and the Privy Counſell to let her know how much her detaining of the Duke of *Yorke* in that place was of ſcandall to the publque, and of Diſlike to the King his Brother, it being an action which muſt needs produce very bad effects. That the King was grieved at it, and the Counſell offended, as if one brother did live in danger, and could not be preſerved but by the others life. That hee deſired to have the Duke, ſo to ſet him at Liberty, and free him from that Priſon (for in reſpect of him it could be accounted no better) to bring him to his Brother, where hee might live anſwerable to his Condition and Degree. By delivering him up ſhee would give peace unto the Kingdome, ſatisfaction to the Counſell, and Advantage to thoſe ſhee deſired to helpe (meaning her Brother, her Sonne and the other Priſoners) to boot with the Honour and Content the King would thereby receive; and Comfort to the Duke of *Yorkes* ſelfe, who in reſpect of health could be nowhere better then with his Brother: their Yeares and Nature had appropriated them one for the other; and their Loves would be the more confirmed, by their being brought up Together, as well at their Booke as at their Sports. Here the Cardinall pauſed a while expecting what anſwer the Queene would make: who, repeating ſome things he had ſaid, confeſt; There was no better company

pany nor more pleaſing friendſhip then that of Brothers, as is ſhewne by nature in her Ordinations, by her recommending them in their moſt tender Yeares to the care of motherly affection: the which, as it deceiveth not, ſo doth it not ſpare for any thing in the performance of that duty. That all Other loves did couple men togither Onely as farre as conduced to ſelfe intereſt; Brotherly love ſhared in ſelfe-intereſt, Friendſhip and Bloud: This conjunction of love was that which was to be deſired betweene her two Sonnes the King, and Duke of *Yorke*: but as their Age did not render them capable of ſuch converſation as was ripened by Yeares, ſo was it likewiſe the cauſe why the Mothers care, more paſſionate and plyable to their tender humours, was of all others the moſt neceſſary and proper for them; and though the King, being the firſt borne, ſtood not ſo much in need thereof; having beene taken from her Government ever ſince his going into *Wales*, yet the Duke of *Yorke* did of neceſſity require it; who being a Child lately ſick, now upon the mending hand, and in danger of a Relapſe, there was none knew ſo well how to Governe him as ſhee his Mother, who, as beſt knowing his diſpoſition, was fitteſt for that imployment. The Cardinall approved of all ſhee ſaid, ſo as ſhee would take upon her the care of them Both in a place Befitting Her and Them: ſhee ſayd the Counſell would be herewithall ſatisfied: Nay; they would Begge it of her: but in a Sanctuary this was not good; it ſtood not with the Kings Honour, Her owne, nor the Counſells: This parting of the brothers, the one of them kept in Sanctuary, afforded occaſion to the People of ſtrange and ſcandalous conjectures: All this might be remedied if ſhee would returne to Court; which if ſhee would not do, ſhee might thinke it the ſame thing to have the Duke of *Yorke* taken Now from her, as it was to have the Prince (now King) taken out of her charge, when he went into *Wales*. The Queene replyed the caſe is much differing: the Prince was then well in Health; the Duke but about to be ſo, and in danger of falling ill againe: beſides if the one were taken From her the other was left with her: Shee wondred much the Protectour did ſo much deſire to Have him, ſince being not well and that poſſibly he might die, he ſhould, in reaſon, Refuſe to take him though he were Offer'd, ſo to avoide the ſuſpitions his death might cauſe: Shee likewiſe thought it ſtrange that his being in Sanctuary ſhould be aſcribed to the Puntillioes of Honour, as if he might not with his Honour be in a ſafe place and with his Mother, with whom doubtleſſe it was beſt for him to be: As concerning Her going from Thence ſhe would not forgoe the place, leaſt ſhe might fall into the like danger that Others had done: ſhe wiſht it had pleaſed God that They had been with Her, where they might have been ſafer then ſhe ſhould be with Them. The Cardinall was not pleaſed with this diſcourſe: and thinking it

might be dangerous for him to heare the Protectour accus'd (especially in what he did not believe) and he not take notice of it, thought to ſtop her mouth by ſaying it could not be but ſhe muſt needs know ſome Reaſon why ſhe ſhould believe them to be in danger ſince ſhe did ſo confidently affirme it. The Queen, finding the Cardinalls drift, anſwered: ſhe too well knew a reaſon, but not according to His ſence: That ſhe was more then certaine that their intended ruine was not occaſion'd out of thoſe reaſons which He pretended ſhe knew. He perceiving ſhe was ſomewhat offended, and deſirous to make her believe he had ſaid nothing with an ill intention reply'd; He hoped that when the buſineſſe ſhould be well debated thoſe Lords would ſo well juſtifie themſelves that there ſhould be no occaſion of feare: and for what concern'd Her Royall perſon, there neither was, nor was there to be any manner of danger. 'Twould argue great ſimplicity to believe either the One or the Other, reply'd the Queene: for if the fault of thoſe who were impriſoned were only that wherein ſhe ſhared as deep as They, her fault conſiſting in her being Mother to the King, as Theirs in being a Kin to him, (the only reaſon why they were hated) it was impoſſible for them to juſtify themſelves; and 'twas more impoſſible that their enemies ſhould love Her the Originall of their Hatred, and hate Them who were but the Appendices: ſo as their fault being ſuch and their impriſonment cauſed onely for being ally'd to Her, and conſequently to the King, their ruine was unavoidable; for Nature could not undo what ſhe had done, nor, contrary to her order, annull the relation that was betweene Them, Her, and the King. For what remained; ſhe was reſolved not to quit the Sanctuary; and to keep her ſonne There, till ſhe ſaw how the current of buſineſſes would go: and her feares were much increaſed by this their great deſire of having him There. The Cardinals reply was; That others had the very like feare of Her whilſt ſhe detained him in her cuſtody, for that ſhe might ſend him into ſome part beyond the Seas, and no man know where: he therefore wiſht her to know that the common opinion was, that the Sanctuary was no place of priviledge for Him, he wanting Arbitrement, and will to demand it, as well as Fault whereby to make it neceſſary for him: ſo as the taking of him from thence by Force (which would enſue if ſhe would not willingly deliver him) would be no violation to the place, for that the Protectour his Uncle who moſt entirely loved him, was reſolved to have him away before he might be conveighed from thence by others. Is then his Uncles love ſo great (reply'd the Queene) as that he apprehends nothing but that he ſhould eſcape his hands? Shee affirmed for a truth that ſhe never had any thought of ſending him elſewhere: not but that ſhe would willingly have done it, had ſhe knowne any place of more ſafety, but for that ſhe thought no place could be ſo ſecure as the Sanctuary; having never heard of any ſo diabolicall

licall a Tyrant as thought it lawfull to violate it : That children were not capable thereof in respect of their want of Will or Fault, was an opinion as erroneous as Hellish; Innocents being thereby denied the benefit granted to Theeves and Murtherers: Did he deny the Danger, and pretend it to be Fained? She prayd God the Event might not manifest it ; which should it do, all remedies would come too late and be of no use: That for what concerned shame, it belongeth to those who unjustly do it, not to those who undeservedly suffer it. To affirme that since Princes do not disport themselves but with children of their Owne Condition and Blood, it was requisite the King should have his Brother, and that if he should be denied he had cause enough to take him away by Force, was a simple reason to allow of Sacriledge : who ever saw that young Princes did not more willingly play with their Inferiours then with their Equalls ? since they seldome or never meete with their Equalls, and if ever, but for a short time : If children nobly borne and others too, oftentimes were not admitted to disport themselves with Princes ; and that Princes should never play but with such as were every way their Equalls, Few or None of them would know what belongs to play. Comming then to the causes of violating Sanctuaries, shee said they were most False. For let all be granted that could be alleadged, as want of Yeares to Demand it, and will to Desire it ; together with their contraries, to wit the faculty of Choyce and Will to Leave it: there was no cause why he should be tane from thence against Her will : For being by Nature and the Laws voyd of election, hee was subject to his Mothers arbitrement : whereupon nothing wherewith shee was trusted, being to be taken from her under the Priviledge of Sanctuary, much lesse her Sonne, which was the only cause of her flying thither : That if this was not sufficient, it might suffice that she was his Guardian : The Laws of *England* allow unto the Mothers the Guardianship of such as hold nothing by Knights service : so as having demanded Sanctuary for her selfe, she had done it likewise for her Ward, which being by the Laws committed to Her charge was not to be taken from her : for he not being able to demand it for Himselfe, it was Her duty to demand it for him ; since the Laws deliver over the care of the Person before the oversight of goods; goods serving for the use of the person, and therefore administred unto by Guardians : she could alleadge examples enough of this, but her Own example might serve the turne : This was not the first time she had taken Sanctuary : when the King her Husband was banisht and driven out of the Country she being great with childe, had recourse to Sanctuary, and was there brought to bed of the (now) King, who was There safe: she wisht it might please God his Royall Palace might prove as free from danger to him now that he did Reigne, as was that place then, although an Enemy King did Reigne ; who might have made use

of ſuch ſuppoſitions as Now were made uſe of, but did not: ſo as being warranted by the Lawes of the Land, which, together with the Lawes of Nature, gave unto her the overſight of her children, and by the Divine Law, which did priviledge Sanctuaries, and the Sanctuary her Sonne; ſhe was reſolved, ſince the Eldeſt was out of her power, to keep the Younger: for if the unckle had Both of them, and both of them ſhould chance to miſcarry, he might the eaſilier pretend unto the Crown; notwithſtanding his Neeces were between him and home; the which afforded her juſt occaſion of Feare: for ſince the Lawes inhibite the Guardianſhip of a Ward to ſuch as are Next Heires, though but to a ſmall Revenew, how much more when a Kingdome is the inheritance? The Cardinall, perceiving her to wax Hot, and likely to ſay more then he would have her, anſwered; Hee was not come to argue with her; that he demanded the Duke of *Yorke* from her; whom if ſhee would deliver up to him, and the reſt of the Lords that were there preſent, he would pawne his owne Body and Soule for the Dukes ſafety: if ſhee would not do this, he would be gon; ſeeing her fixt in her beliefe that all others (her ſelfe excepted) wanted either Wit or Loyalty: Wit; by her thinking them ſuch fooles, as not perceiving the Protectours intentions, they ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed: Loyalty; for that if they were conſcious of any ſuch intention in him, they ſhould be very wicked to ſerve him as a meanes whereby to effect ſo great a Treaſon. Theſe words did much perplex the Queen, weighing with her ſelfe the diverſe hazards ſhe ran, whether ſhe Delivered him, or did not deliver him. By Delivering him, ſhe conſidered the Danger he together with his brother was to run: in Not delivering him, two things preſented themſelves unto her minde: the one, Force, that aſſoon as the Cardinall ſhould be gon, the Protectour would come in perſon and take him away: ſhe wanted Time to provide for this: Many things were required in ſending of him elſewhere, none of all which were likely to ſucceed, ſhe not having thought thereof before: ſhe knew not whether to ſend him; ſhe had not appointed people to conduct him; ſhe had not time enough to keep the ſecret undiſcover'd, and him unintercepted: The other; ſhe might be Deceived in her ſuſpicions: whowſoever it would be more diſadvantageous to her, to ſuffer him be taken from her by Force, then willingly to ſurrender him: ſhe did not doubt the Cardinalls good intentions, not yet Theirs that were with him: She was ſure they were not corrupted, but not ſure but that they might be deceived: Her appearing to believe in them, would Oblige them: So as, taking the little Duke by the hand ſhe ſaid: ſhe was not ſo ill adviſed as to miſtruſt their Fidelity or Wiſdome: ſhe would give a teſtimony of it; being ſure ſhe ſhould not be deceived unleſſe they ſhould through the malice of others be deceived: the which if it ſhould ſo happen, her Sorrow would be render'd incapable of Comfort, the Kingdomes

Ruine

Ruine remedileſs, and ſhe ſhould have juſt cauſe to complaine of Them : That, notwithſtanding whatſoever objection, ſhe was ſure ſhe might keep her ſon in the Sanctuary free from all violence ; but as ſhe doubted not but that her blood was ſo hated by ſome, as if they thought they had any ſhare therein, they would open their veines, and let it out : ſo was ſhe moſt certain the thirſt of Government knew no kindred : for if brothers had not been ſpared, much leſſe would Nephews eſcape : That the lives of her deare children depended the One upon the Other : If the One were ſafe, Both were ſafe : That notwithſtanding her unfortunate fore-knowledge of thus much, ſhee reſolved to reſigne One of them into Their hands, which was as much as if ſhe ſhould reſigne Both of them to them, that ſhe might at all times redemand them of Them ; both before God and man : She knew that for what concern'd Them, they would render her a very good account, ſhe being not ignorant of their wiſdom and and fidelity : but that this was not ſufficient ; that Force and Reſolution was requiſite, if need ſhould require : whereof they had no lack, nor yet Others upon the like occaſion : but if they ſhould doubt of this, ſhe deſired them to leave her ſon with Her ; conjuring them by the truſt the King her Husband had in them, and for what ſhee at the preſent truſted them withall, that they ſhould not thinke her too unneceſſarily Timerous upon this occaſion, but rather believe themſelves to be too Credulous and Confident : "Then tourning to her Sonne : "Farewell, ſaid ſhee, my ſweet Sonne ; the Lord be thy Pro-"tectour ; let me kiſſe thee before I leave thee, leaſt I never kiſſe thee more. Having kiſſed him, and bleſſed him, ſhee Weeping turned Her backe, leaving Him in their cuſtody, who when Hee ſaw his Mother quit Him, burſt forth a Weeping.

He was preſently brought to the Starre-Chamber, where he was with much longing expected by his Uncle. He tooke him in his Armes with the like affection as doth the Wolfe the Lamb. He welcomed him with Words and Kiſſes, wherewith he artificially diſguiſed his intended Treaſon ; he led him to his brother, who was lodged in the Biſhops houſe neere *Pauls* ; from whence with great Pompe they were brought to the Tower, whence they never came forth. Some thought the Duke of *Buckingham* was not onely an Aſſiſter, but the chiefe Agent in this buſineſſe, having written concerning it to the Duke of *Glouceſter* at the inſtant of King *Edwards* Death : but thoſe who knew him were of an other opinion ; that *Buckingham* knew nothing of it till after *Gloceſter* had gotten both his Nephews into his cuſtody ; who then diſcovered himſelfe to thoſe he moſt confided in ; chiefly to *Buckingham* : for winning Him to ſide with him he needed not to feare what ever Other forces : ſo as to winne Him, was to winne the Prize. For if He ſhould have oppoſed him, all the reſt would have followed his colours ; ſo

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juſt a withſtanding of ſo wicked an endeavour being ſufficient, at the leaſt Nodde, to draw the whole Kingdome after it. The reaſon which cauſed *Buckingham* to ſide with the Protectour, was; that hee had offended the King in impriſoning his Kindred, ſo as hee had no reaſon to hope for ſafety. For ſhould they be put to Death, it were an injury the King in likelihood would never forget; but would be ready to revenge when Hee ſhould be of Yeeres: and if they ſhould be ſet at liberty, their Authority was likely to be ſo great, as hee might deſpaire of Life. The Protectour had provided himſelfe of a Guard; for buſineſſes of this nature are not handled without Præcaution, and Jealouſies. He armed himſelfe whilſt no man thought of it, and truſted the mannaging of his affaires to none but ſuch whoſe fortunes did totally depend upon Him. Truſt in blameable actions is conſtantly Inconſtant. He ſet Spies about *Buckingham*, thinking it impoſſible he ſhould be equally wicked with Him, not having the like Deſignes; and was reſolved, if hee ſhould finde him Faulty, to be his immediate ruine. He made uſe of *Buckinghams* moſt profeſſed friends; and no wonder if they were Traitors, ſince the Conformity of evill Inclinations had cauſed the friendſhip betweene Them and their Maſter; a thing not without danger amongſt ſuch men; the leaſt ſhadow of ſuſpition being ſufficient to make either rob other of their Lives. The ſecrets of Friendſhip are not taſted by ſuch, who have their taſtes contaminated by the bitterneſſe of Ambitious intereſts. Yet had not *Buckingham* joyned herein with him, unleſſe upon very advantageous conditions; for when he obliged himſelfe to make *Glouceſter* King, *Glouceſter* obliged himſelfe to take the Dukes daughter in marriage to His onely Sonne, promiſing him to boote with this the Earldome of *Hartford*, pretended unto by him, as his Inheritance: the which being denied him by the late King, was the firſt cauſe of this his ſo lewd reſolution, thereby revenging himſelfe upon his Children. He moreover of his owne free motion, promiſed him a great part of the Treaſure left by *Edward*, together with a very large proportion of the Wardrobe he had left to furniſh his Houſe withall. Theſe things being agreed upon, they erected a New Counſell, compounded of the Chiefeſt, to treat of things appertaining to the Coronation; to the end that they and the people might be entertained with a beliefe thereof: and to the ſame end, they commanded ſuch Lords as were abſent from the City, to come to *London*, and aſſiſt at the Solemnity. They on the other ſide, with a Counſell compacted out of their Owne Followers, treated of the meanes how to bring the Protectour to the Crowne: So as whilſt the Cardinall of *Canterbury*, the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord *Stanley*, the Lord *Haſtings*, and others, did buſie themſelves how by a not un-neceſſary ceremony to Eſtabliſh a naturally Lawfull King, They treated how

how to depoſe him, and by wicked treaſon to eſtabliſh in his place an Unlawfull Tyrant for King. The firſt counſell was compoſed of Many of the Beſt ranke; the ſecond of Few, and thoſe of the Worſt condition. But his dealings not being to be penetrated into by all, people began to murmure, although they could not gueſſe at the reall miſchiefe intended. 'Twas impoſſible that from ſo many circumſtances and vaine delayes, as were by This Counſell propounded unto the Other, jealouſies ſhould not ariſe, as uſually they doe from things done out of time, and without occaſion.

To this was added, the taking from the Tower all the Kings ſervants, whoſe places were ſupplyed by the Protectours Houſhold-ſervants; and if any one deſired to ſee the King, he was in private wiſht the contrary, for the Protectour would have no man ſee him, ſave ſuch as He ſent: So as the King was not onely left Solitary, and deſtitute of all manner of Company; but likewiſe of all Magnificence, and Regall Splendour: both which were conveighed over to the Houſe and Perſon of the Protectour. Amongſt thoſe who were admitted into the Secret Councell there was one *Catesby*, a man very well skilled in the Lawes of the Land: this man being employed by the Lord Chamberlaine, in all his affaires, and by his favour advanced in the Court, had wonne ſuch credit with all men, eſpecially in *Leiceſterſhire*, where the ſaid Lord was very powerfull, as nothing was done there without Him: ſo as being a creature of his, and by his meanes in a faire way of advancement, the Chamberlaine thought hee would not faile to advertiſe him of any thing of moment ſhould be done in That councell, eſpecially of any thing that might be prejudiciall to Him. But gratitude, diſdaining to aſſociate with one who together with his Conſcience had renounced his Loyalty, and all other duties, forſooke him; and in place thereof ſtept in Ingratitude, which acquitted him from diſcharging the debt hee ought to his Benefactour; which was the originall of all the enſuing evils. For *Stanley*, doubting this Cabinet Counſell, had endeavoured to croſſe it, by the favour and aſſiſtance of many, who likewiſe began to feare it; had not the Chamberlaine, upon conference had with him therein, ſecured him, relying upon *Catesbyes* fidelity. The Protectour did naturally love the Chamberlaine, hee having alwaies beene his friend, and one from whom hee had received friendſhip, in the King his Brothers time: nor had hee reſolved to ruine him, had hee not feared, that if hee ſhould diſcover his ſecrets unto him, hee would have withſtood them. Hee therefore will'd *Catesby* to uſe his utmoſt endeavour to draw him over to their ſide. But *Catesby* either did it not at all, being likely to reape advantage by his downfall; or if hee did it, gave the Protectour ſo ſiniſter an account, as changing his Love into Hatred, hee reſolved to have his life; yet treating him with his wonted confidence, he thereout got

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two advantages. Hee made him Slower in putting on ſuch reſolutions as hee might have done againſt him, and Hee the better brought about his Owne ends to the Others ruine, whilſt hee leaſt thought of it. Inſomuch as the Chamberlaine having acquainted *Catesby* with the jealouſies which this Counſell had raiſed in many, thinking to worke out of him ſome aſſurance, hee did not onely give him no ſatisfaction, but hee perſwaded the Protectour to diſpatch him out of the way as ſoone as might be, as if his life were pernicious to his deſignes. An advice well taken by *Richard*, though not given out of any zeale to His ſervice, as it ſeemed to be; but that by his death hee might enter into the plenary authority, which the Chamberlaine ſolely had in his Countrey. The Protectour not needing any inſtigation to doe miſchiefe, that hee might be rid of him, came on the thirteenth of *June*, three houres before Noone into the Counſell, where they loytered away the time in diſcourſe about the Coronation, the day whereof drew neere. Hee at his firſt entrance civilly ſaluted all the Lords that were there, excuſing himſelfe for his comming ſo late; and paſſing from one diſcourſe to another, hee deſired the Biſhop of *Ely* to ſend for a diſh of Strawberries from his Garden at *Holborne*, ſaying hee had never eaten better. The Biſhop taking it for a great favour, ſent preſently for them, whilſt hee ſoone after riſing up deſired them to diſpence with his abſence for a while; and within leſſe then an houre returned ſo full of anger and bitterneſſe as made them all amazed. Being ſet downe, with angry eyes, and frowning looke, and biting his lippes, hee for a good while ſaid nothing: at laſt hee asked them, what puniſhment they deſerved who had plotted His death, notwithſtanding that hee was next in Blood to the King, and by Office, His and the Kingdomes Protectour? This queſtion ſtartled the Counſell, not knowing by whom it was intended, though each ones Conſcience told him it was not by Him. The Chamberlaine ſeeing them all hold their peace, and thinking it behooved him by reaſon of his familiarity to breake the Ice, ſaid, They deſerved to be puniſhed as Traitors, no man or condition whatſoever excepted. The which the reſt agreeing unto, the Protectour ſaid, It was his brothers wife (diſdaining to call her Queen) and others with her: whereat thoſe who favoured her were troubled. But the Chamberlaine, who feared ſome friends of his might have been concerned, was overjoy'd when hee heard the Queene named: hee was not, though, well pleaſed that the Protectour had not acquainted him with it; ſince their impriſonment and death (which was that very day to enſue, and whereat hee was glad) was not reſolved on without his conſent: little thought he to be himſelfe that very houre beheaded. The Protectour continuing his complaint, unbutton'd his left ſleeve, and ſtripping it up to the elbow, ſhewed a fleſhleſſe dry arme, appearing to be nothing but skinne and bone, ſaying, that the cruelty of

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the Queene and of *Shores* wife, who was her counſellour, and co-adjudreſſe in that wickedneſſe, had thus ſpoiled and bewitched him. The Lords who knew his arme had never been other then what it was, imagined preſently this calumny was invented to ſome wicked end: they knew the Queene to be too wiſe to thinke upon ſo fooliſh an action; and if ſhee ſhould have any ſuch thought, it was not likely ſhee ſhould make uſe of *Shores* wife, the woman of all the world ſhe hated moſt, as being by the King her husband doated on, even to his death. The Chamberlaine had been long in love with this woman; but his Reſpect unto the King, as his Maſter; and his Truth unto him, as his Friend, had mortified his paſſion; but when the King was dead, hee tooke her home unto him; ſo as the Protectour not knowing any other invention wherewithall to lay him low, pitcht upon this; and the Chamberlaine thinking it behooved him to ſpeake, ſince hee had made the firſt anſwer, ſaid: If it were true, they were both worthy to be ſeverely puniſhed; believing that if this imputation ſhould be tried according to Law and the courſe of Juſtice, it would vaniſh of it ſelfe, and not need his aſſiſtance. But the Protectour, who in the preſent affaires had no regard either to Juſtice or Law, anſwered with an angry countenance: that hee ſtood upon Ifs and Ands; but that he told him it was true, and that hee would make it good upon his body Traytor that he was: then giving a great blow with his hand upon the Table (which was the appointed ſigne for thoſe that waited without) Treaſon, Treaſon, was heard from without, the doore was forced open and the chamber was inſtantly full of armed men; one of which making a great blow at the Lord *Stanleys* head, had cleft him to the teeth, had not hee (perceiving it comming) falne underneath the Table; yet fell hee not ſo ſoone but that hee was therewithall wounded, and the blood ranne downe about his eares. 'Twas thought the Protectour, not finding any objection whereby to put him to death, had taken this order, to the end hee might be thought to be caſually ſlaine, in that confuſion. The meere ſhadow of *Shores* wife was ſufficient to move the many for what concerned the Chamberlaine: whom he arreſted by the name of Traytor: and being by him in all humbleneſſe demanded whether hee ſpoke to Him, or no? Yes, to Thee traytor, replied he. With what face the Authour of this treachery could give this title to the party betrayed, would not be a diſcourſe much out of purpoſe, ſince the world abounds in ſo many of the like. Being in this manner arreſted, the Protectour ſwore by Saint *Paul* hee would not dine before he ſaw him dead: ſo as haſte being to be made, for the houre of dinner drew nigh, and the Protectour was too religious to breake Such an oath, the Chamberlaine was forced to make a ſhort confeſſion to the firſt Prieſt could be found, for the uſuall forme would prove too long, and being led from the Chappell to a greene Court, he had his head ſtrucke

off, and was afterwards buried at *Windſor*, neere to King *Edwards* Tombe. The reſt of the Councell, who in this uproare were kept lockt up in the Chamber, were conveighed into ſeverall places, being reputed by the Protectour to be averſe to his deſignes, and more particularly the Lord *Stanley*.

A miraculous preſage of this miſ-fortune is related; by which, (if it be true) is ſeene what care the Heavens have over Us, advertiſing us by dreames of imminent dangers, which might be ſhunn'd, if, together with them, we were endued with the ſpirit of *Joſeph*, or *Daniel*, to interpret them. The night preceding this miſchance the Lord *Stanley* dream'd that a wilde Boare had wounded both Him and the Chamberlaine in the head, ſo as the blood ranne downe both their ſhoulders: whereupon awaking hee thought this wilde Boare muſt be the Protectour; the Wounds and Blood ſome imminent danger of their lives: in this affright hee forthwith aroſe, and ſent to acquaint the Chamberlaine with his dreame, (who was faſt aſleepe) reſolving to be inſtantly gone (it being but a little paſt midnight) ſo that in the morning hee might be ſo farre from thence, as to be in ſafety: hee adviſed him to doe the like, to the end that their danger being alike, their ſafeties might be ſo too. The Chamberlaine was not ſubject to melancholly, and therefore not ſuperſtitious; ſo as laughing at the meſſage he anſwered the meſſenger: that he wondered his Maſter ſhould give beliefe to ſuch follies; hee bade him tell him from Him, that Dreames were Dreames, and ſuppoſe they were to be allowed as foretellers of future evils, they were ſo uncertaine, as they might no leſſe harme then helpe. Who could aſſure him that the danger that was to be feared might not conſiſt as well in their Flight, as in their Tarrying? and if as they fled away they ſhould be taken, and brought backe (as might very well happen) would it not afford the wilde Boare an occaſion of wounding them with his Tuskes? for their flight could not but be imputed to an evill conſcience, and to ſome faults, if not committed, yet intended: Hee deſired him therefore to appeaſe himſelfe, and feare nothing, for there was no danger: and if there were any, they would rather be met withall by running away (as he had ſaid) then by Tarrying: that he was as ſure of the man he doubted (meaning the Protectour,) as of his owne Hand. The Gentleman returned with this anſwer; thereby making his Maſter forgoe his former reſolution; with leſſe harme to himſelfe who Feared ſo much, then to the Chamberlaine that was ſo Confident. Many things were obſerved before his death: as he rode towards the Tower, his horſe ſtumbled twice or thrice under him even almoſt to the endangering of a fall: A very vulgar obſervation; for if all ſtumbling horſes ſhould preſage misfortune, the number of thoſe who ſhould periſh would be very great. As hee was making himſelfe ready to goe thither, a Gentleman of good quality came to him, who was purpoſely ſent by the Protectour, to perſwade him

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to come in caſe hee ſhould not intend it: this man ſeeing him tarry to ſpeake with a Prieſt, (a friend of his) as he was upon the way, fearing leaſt hee might come too late, haſtned him, telling him the time paſſed, and that as yet he needed not a Prieſt: knowing that within two houres hee would have need of one. Being come to the Tower, he met a Purſuivant neere the place where hee was beheaded, and calling to mind that hee had met him in the very ſame place, whilſt, being priſoner by procurement of the Earle *Rivers*, he much doubted his life: he asked him whether hee did remember that hee had met him in that place, in a time when hee was in great danger? the Purſuivant anſwered, Yes; praiſing God that the authour of his affliction got not much thereby, and that hee ſuffered no harme at all. Thou wouldſt ſay more (replied the Chamberlaine) if thou knewſt as much as I know, (meaning that that very day Earle *Rivers* was to loſe his head.) I was never ſo afraid, as then: matters are well amended: mine enemies are now in danger, as I was then; as ere long thou ſhalt heare: and I more joyfull, and more ſecure then ever. Oh the pooreneſſe of our confidence! which ignorant of what is to come, takes one thing for another, and doth not thinke it ſelfe deceived. Hee apprehended Death, when hee was to Live; and was confident of Life, when he was to Loſe it. The Chamberlaine was apt to flatter himſelfe, and to be miſtaken. Thoſe who are given to Pleaſures, are commonly free from Suſpicion, and from believing what themſelves would not doe. And if hee concurred to the evils that befell *Rivers*, it was not in him either Malice or Treaſon, having alwaies openly Profeſt himſelfe to be his enemy; nay had he imagined that his death would be cauſe of the like to the ſonnes of his Maſter King *Edward*, hee would have ranſom'd them from death, not onely by preſerving *Rivers* alive, but with his Owne Blood: for his favouring them coſt him both his Blood and Life; the impoſſibility of alienating him from them, was that which made the Protectour reſolve his death; the former affection he bare unto him being cancell'd by Ambition and Cruelty: affections which at all times did ſuperabound in him. I obſerve, that of all his plots and windings about, there were onely two that can be ſaid to ſavour of Wit: his perſwading the Queene to make her brother lay downe his Armes, that ſo hee might ſeize on him unarmed; and his making the Cardinall and the reſt believe, that his deſire of having the Duke of *Yorke*, was an effect of Charity and Love. In other things the art hee uſed was of no availment; it was as ſoon Diſcovered as Uſed: ſo as if he had not wonne the reputation hee had by Valour, which made him to be feared; by the priviledge of his Blood; and by *Buckinghams* favour; hee aſſuredly had effected nothing by his Cunning.

It behoved him to finde out ſome colour of Juſtice whereby to make good the Chamberlaines precipitated death: not know-

ing how to do it otherwiſe; after dinner he ſent for ſome of the chiefeſt Citizens to the Tower. Before they came, hee and *Buckingham* had put on two old ruſty Armours, fitter for Ruffians then men of their quality; for he thought, ſhould they have put on handſome Armes it might have beene imagined that time and commodity muſt have gone to their ſo going, whereas the ruſty ill-ſhaped Armes would argue a ſurpiſall, which being diſcovered inforced them to make uſe of what came firſt to hand. Being come he told them that the Chamberlaine with ſome others had that very day indevour'd to kill them both as they were in Counſell, whereof they could not gueſſe the Cauſe nor Deſigne: that he came to know of this Treaſon a little before Dinner, ſo as they had no time to Arme themſelves otherwiſe then as they ſaw: that God had protected them by turning upon the Authors of this evill, the miſchiefe they intended to Them: that hee had ſent for them, to the end that being informed of the Truth of the buſineſſe, they might informe others. There was none ſo ſimple but knew how the buſineſſe went: but being circumſpect through Feare, they went their wayes not making any Reply, or further Inquiry.

The Protectour having put off his Armour, ſent a Herauld into the City, to publiſh a Proclamation, the contents whereof were: That Baron *Haſtings* Lord Chamberlaine, accompanied with ſome other Conſpiratours had an intention to kill him the Protectour, and the Duke of *Buckingham* that very day as they ſate at Counſell, that ſo hee might uſurpe the Government of the King and Kingdome: hoping that when theſe two Princes ſhould be dead there would be none that would oppoſe him. But becauſe this bare Narration without Witneſſe, or other circumſtances, was not likely to worke any great effect, hee aggravated it with complaints no wayes relating to the matter in hand: That hee had beene an evill Counſellour to the late King: that hee had perſwaded him to many things contrary to his Honour and the good of the Kingdome: that by his example hee had given him occaſion to debauch himſelfe, particularly with *Shores* Wife; who as ſhee was partaker of all his ſecret Counſells, ſo was ſhee a complice in this abominable Treaſon: that the laſt night (which was his laſt) hee lay with her; ſo that it was no wonder if having lived ill, hee dyed ill; that the ſodaine Juſtice done upon him was by Order from the King, and his faithfull Counſell, hee having deſerved it; and to the end that His complices might bee prevented from daring to raiſe a dangerous inſurrection to ſet him at liberty: the which being wiſely foreſeene was the onely meanes, by Gods Providence, to reſtore the Kingdome to its former tranquillitie: It is to be obſerved that there was not much above two houres ſpace betweene his Execution and the Publiſhing of the Proclamati-

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on ; ſo as the contents thereof being Long, well dictated, and fairely written out in Parchment, every one knew it muſt needes be written before hee was put to Death, the interim of time betweene the Execution and Publication not being ſufficient to write it out, much leſſe ſo Handſomely to digeſt the matter, though to the Swiftneſſe of hand had beene added the Readieſt witte : The which occaſioned diverſity of diſcourſe, whereof ſome ſaid it was written by the Spirit of Prophecy. But the Protectour having accuſed *Shores* Wife as an Acceſſary and an Adviſer, ſent to her Houſe and made her be plundered of all ſhee had, not out of Avarice but Malice ; and that ſuch a demonſtration might make the falſehood ſeeme the more likely, and the imputation the more probable, ſhee was committed to Priſon, and examined by the Counſell, where ſhee anſwered ſo well for her ſelfe as not the leaſt likelyhood appearing whereby to make her guilty of what ſhee was accuſed, they fell upon her diſhoneſt and ſcandalous courſe of living, the onely thing indeed wherein ſhee was faulty : the which would have beene winked at in any other, by the Protectour, and imputed to the frailty of Nature : but to exerciſe his cruelty upon Her, hee was contented to bee held an Enemy to Incontinency. Shee was delivered over to the Biſhop to doe Publique Pennance in the Cathedrall Church, the which ſhee did the next Sunday morning, being led by way of Proceſſion, with a white Sheet about her, with a Wax Taper in her hand, and the Croſſe borne before her : In which action though ſhee were deſtitute of all manner of Ornament, yet ſhee appeared ſo lovely and handſomely behaved, as her bluſhes adding to her Beauty, all the lookers on did not onely blame the ſeverity, but were taken with her comelineſſe, which was the cauſe as well of Their Compaſſion, as of her Ignominy : and if any one hateing her paſt Life, was contented to ſee her puniſht, yet did they not praiſe it, as not proceeding from the Juſtice of an upright Judge, but from the Malice and Cruelty of a Paſſionate and Unjuſt Tyrant. Shee was well borne, and civilly brought up ; her ruine was her being unequally Married : not that her Husband was not of good eſteeme amongſt the Citizens, and according to his quality well to live : but for that ſhee being of riper Yeares then hee, the love which uſeth to be betweene equalls was not betweene them ; ſo as it was not hard for the King to winne Her ; Hee being Handſome, Lovely, and from whom Preferment and Reſpect (things much coveted by young Woemen) was to be hoped for. The King being Dead, the Chamberlaine got poſſeſſion of her : ſhee was yet alive when Sir *Thomas More* wrote this Hiſtory, but ſo much altered as it could not be ſaid ſhee had beene handſome ; though in her youth ſhee wanted nothing of Beauty, but a little more Stature. Her outward gifts though very excellent

cellent were out donne by the inward gifts of her Minde, which are much more esteemed when accompanied with a handsome Body. Shee had a Quick wit, was of a cheerefull Humour, Prompt, Facetious, and Eloquent; borne to doe Good, not Harme to any one: Shee obliged many who being falne from the Kings good Opinion, were, for her sake, received againe into favour: Shee caused confiscated Goods to be restored to many, without any manner of Avarice: shee was more desirous to oblige others, then to enrich her selfe; more to Do good turnes then to Receive them: Her Ambition was to be esteemed, and well thought of: Shee was alwayes affable, never insolent. All of them conditions abundantly to be praised, but by which her fortune received no reliefe: for being first reduc'd to Poverty, and then to Old Age, her beauty lost, and her good turnes Forgotten, she begg'd of those, who, if they had not formerly begg'd of Her, would have been more beggers then shee.

The Protectour had given Order that on the same day whereon the Chamberlaine was beheaded at *London*, the Earle of *Rivers*, and Lord *Gray*, the one brother, the other sonne to the Queene, (and brother, by the Mothers side to the King) should lose their heads at Pontefract: the two Knights that were seised on together with them at *Northampton*, bare them company in their punishment. The execution was done in presence of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, a favourite of the Protectours, and one that partooke of his designes: who being naturally wicked, and knowne by him to be so, hee thought he could not trust the managing of this businesse to one more wicked, and consequently more faithfull then he. Hee made them be brought out of Prison, and being exposed to publike view as Traitors they were beheaded without any other manner of Justice. He would not suffer them to speake, least their innocency being made knowne, and commiserated, might make the Author thereof more odious. These being ridde out of the way, as likewise the Chamberlaine; and *Stanley* being hurt and a Prisoner, there remained no further obstacle; every man looking to himselfe, not troubling themselves with other mens affaires. And say there had beene other rubbes, they would have come out of time; the designe being to be effected before they could be prepared to hinder it: and though there was neither pretence, nor least appearance thereof, every shadow or colour would serve the turne; for force if it be not able to make things be believed, it is sufficient to make Beliefe be Fained. 'Tis dangerous for an unarmed man to dispute, and worse to give the lie to one that is in the posture of striking. But as the successe of things cannot bee represented upon a Theater without the concourse of severall personages requisite to the composure of the Story; so did it behove him to make use of many others besides the above named, to

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the weaving of this Treaſon. Amongſt the reſt Sir *Edmund Shaw*, Lord Major of *London*, his brother *John Shaw*, and *Pinker*, Provinciall of the *Auguſtine Friers*, were ſome: the firſt to draw the City to the Protectours will, and to ſuppreſſe tumults; a very fit perſonage for this purpoſe, whoſe vanity did aſpire to greatneſſe, though by what ſo ever precipitious way, and whoſe ambition for the like cauſe did not deteſt the moſt enormous miſdeed: the ſecond and third Doctours of Divinity, and by the people eſteemed famous Preachers; choſen to give Authority and Fervour, as is uſuall in ſuch like actions: for ſuch men pretending integrity of Profeſſion, and minding nothing leſſe, are the beſt meanes to ſeduce and irritate the People. But had not the feare men ſtood in of the Protectour been of more force then their preaching, little progreſſe would have been made in the buſineſſe; for by their endeavours they had raiſed ſo Univerſall a hatred againſt them, that from the eſtimation they formerly were in, they fell into ſuch a Deteſtation, as Doctour *Shaw* dyed for grief. The knot of this buſineſſe lay in finding out a meanes to exclude the heires of *Edward* the Fourth: and though he made no great account of the Duke of *Clarence* his heires, yet did he not altogether contemne them, though they were but young, without or Friends or Favour. The pretences found out to this purpoſe were two: the firſt, that King *Edward* and the Duke of *Clarence* were both of them the iſſue of Adultery: that they were not ſonnes to the Duke of *Yorke*, whoſe onely legitimate heire the Protectour was. The ſecond; that *Edwards* children were not only Baſtards, as Children of a baſtard, but as borne in an illegitimate Marriage; he having, before hee married their Mother, engaged himſelfe, by word to the Lady *Lucy*, who if ſhe did not make good her claime, when ſhee was interrogated thereupon, it was for feare; ſo as the Dutcheſſe of *Yorke* Mother to them all three, layd it afterwards to *Edwards* conſcience: therefore ſuch Marriages being illegitimate before God, did exclude all Children therein begotten, from all pretences due to the lawfull Heires. I write not the Particulars of this Matrimonall diſpute, becauſe they have beene ſufficiently ſpoken of in the Life of *Edward* the Fourth, whereunto I referre the Reader. Theſe pretences were to be to Preachers the ſubject of their Sermons, eſpecially to *Shaw*, the introducer of them; and from the beginning partaker of the Counſell: the *Auguſtine* Fryer, was afterwards imployed therein; both of them behaving themſelves in it with ſo bare-faced flattery as they nauſeated the eares of their auditors. And becauſe the Firſt of theſe two points was out of meaſure ſcandalous, the whole Houſe of *Yorke* being thereby injured, and the Protectours Mother in particular defamed; they reſolved not to Treate thereof in downeright termes, but by way of circumſpection, as if it ſhould ſeeme to be done out of a feare of offending the Protectour.

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In the ſecond point they were not mealy-mouth'd, but did at large expatiate themſelves. *Shaw* Preached at *Pauls*-Croſſe taking his Text out of the Wiſdome of *Solomon*: *Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas.* The baſtard ſlippes ſhall take no deepe rooting. Whereupon hee diſcourſed amply, it being a ſubject plentifull in Examples, Sentences, and Apophthegmes taken out of both Holy and Profane writ; and ſeconded by the agreeing diverſity of Fathers, Philoſophers and Poets: He ſhewed Gods bleſſings to ſuch as proceeded from lawfull Matrimony; his Curſes to ſuch as were Adulterouſly begotten, the uſurpation of Goods belonging to the lawfully begotten being an abomination in his Eyes: that therefore God would replant the lawfully begotten, and roote out the contrary. Here falling upon the praiſes of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, hee made a long Panegyrick; repeating his Titles to the Crowne, confirmed by Parliament, and declared King after the Death of *Henry* the ſixt; that the now Protectour was his onely legitimate Heire, as the onely iſſue diſcended from him; King *Edward* and the Duke of *Clarence*, being by ſuch as knew the ſecret paſſages of the Houſe, not eſteemed His: that they reſembled Others who were very well knowne, more then Him; and did likewiſe ſo farre differ from him in Vertue, as they could not diſcend from Him: That there was no diſpute to be made of *Edwards* Sonnes, they being the Iſſue of a Marriage contracted whilſt the Lady *Lucy* His Firſt and True Wife was alive: ſo as the Protectour was the onely Legimate of-ſpring of that houſe, in whom might eaſily be diſcern'd his Fathers manners, Image, and Valour: that therefore he was onely to be looked upon: as he on whom the Laws by Nature, and the Heavens by Grace had conferred all their favours.

The further Order herein taken was; that when *Shaw* ſhould be entred into this Encomium, the Protectour ſhould appeare; to the end that the People, hearing theſe things ſaid at the inſtant of his arrivall, might thinke *Shaw* inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, and might cry up *Richard* King: but he comming ſomewhat late, and the Preacher being paſt on to ſome other matter, hee quitted it at His appearing, turning diſorderly and from the purpoſe, to what he had formerly ſaid: This (ſaid he) is that Noble Prince, the mirrour of Chevalry; this is hee that naturally repreſents the noble Duke his Father as well in the Lineaments of his Minde as Countenance: this is his very Figure, his true ſtampe, his undoubted Image, his full Reſemblance; whoſe memory will never die ſo long as this man lives. Had hee who ſaies *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, the Peoples voyce is Gods voyce, ſeene how huſht all the Auditory was, hee would have ſaid The Peoples ſilence is Gods ſilence: for being amazed to heare ſuch bold and ſhameleſſe impudence, they ſtood like ſo many Statues:

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in ſo great a concourſe of People no one Voyce or Geſture of applauſe was heard or ſeene either for Protectour or Preacher, their conceived hopes were rendered vaine; ſo as both of them being utterly out of Countenance the one returned much confuſed to his Palace, the other very Reſolute to his Houſe, where underſtanding by his friends how exceedingly Hee was blamed, Hee, a few dayes after Died for meere ſhame.

The Protectour for all this, ceaſed not to purſue his intent, being reſolved, come what would come, to effect His deſire. Audacity, Importunacy and Violence might effect that which Fraud, Calumny and Perſwaſion could not: ſo as having put the Chamberlaine to death on the Thirteenth of *July*, and indeavored three or foure dayes after by Doctor *Shaw's* Preaching to ſeduce the People, on the one and Twentieth of the ſame Moneth hee ſent the Duke of *Buckingham*, accompained by many Lords and Gentlemen, to the Major and Aldermen of *London*, with whom were likewiſe the Common Counſell of the City commanded purpoſely to attend. Where (being a very well ſpoken man) hee made a long Narration of the laſt Kings Actions, thereby to make his memory odious, and his Children incapable of ſucceſſion. Hee ſaid, Hee was come to propound unto them a weighty buſineſſe, and of ineſtimable advantage to the whole Kingdome, and every Member thereof; the which conteined in it the ſecurity of their Lives, their Wives Honeſty, and the ſafety of their Goods, which till that time had beene ſubject to ſo many Robberies, Taxes, and Impoſitions; which being impoſed without neceſſity, there was no hope of ever ſeeing an end of them: the ableſt men amongſt them were moſt ſubject to theſe miſeries, as better endowed by Fortune then were the reſt: and becauſe theſe grievances were not ſufficient to ſatisfy Avarice, great ſummes of Money were raiſed under Title of Benevolence: the Title taking from both the Name and Nature, that not being given with Good Will, which being not in the power of the Giver to withſtand, was given by violence: the Good Will remaining onely in the King, in His Deſiring it, Receiving it, and thereby inriching his Coffers: things which though they were all inſufferable, yet might they bee indured, were they not come to that height as that Impoſitions paſt on to Puniſhments, Puniſhments to Ranſomes, deniall of the Benevolence to Contempt of the Lawes, ſuch contempt to Treaſon, which was the Trap-hole whereinto did fall the Lives and Livelyhoods of the impoveriſhed and evilly treated Subject: ſo as ſo long and exemplary a Patience was not longer to bee indured. Hee inſtanced in the Names of ſundry that had come by Siniſter ends, that their Goods might bee ſeiſed on: hee called the Auditors to witneſſe; not any one of them being

there, who had not had ſome feeling of theſe proceedings either in themſelves or their friends. That plots had not been wanting to endanger their Lives and Goods : little things had beene made great ; meere Chimeras, and imaginations, though in themſelves vaine, were made capable of Pretence : none was ſo poorely ſpirited or void of ſence, but might invent ſome ; any ſuperficiall colour being ſufficient to ruine the People. Then falling upon diſcourſe of the late Warres, he ſhewed how his acceſſe unto the Crowne was through much blood : That hee came to it before his time ; for during *Henry* the Sixt his Life Hee had no pretence thereunto : The very imputation of being of the contrary faction was enough to make a rich Man a begger : Great were the number of thoſe that were impoveriſhed ; the one halfe of the Kingdome at leaſt being then *Lancaſtrians*. Hee bad them conſider how long the Warre indured ; which if it were deplorable betweene two ſeverall Nations, and in a forreigne Countrey, how much more miſerable was it at Home, where the Sonne ſhould be found to be againſt the Father, one Brother againſt Another, friends becomming Enemies ? Hee forgot not to urge his flight into *Flanders* when hee had loſt the Kingdome : and how many Mens lives his retorne coſt, as well of thoſe who adhered to Him, as of His oppoſers. Hee called to minde the many fought Battells, the cruelty uſed in Victories, the deſolations of Cities, and Provinces ; the Slaughters of ſo many of the Nobility, which were not for number and Valour to give way to whatſoever Empire, and which was not to be regained but in a long revolution of time : more blood being ſpent in a ſhort time to loſe themſelves, then was loſt in ſo many Yeares for the winning of *France* : That they had beene but little bettered by Peace ; rich Men not being ſecure of their Lives and Goods : an avaritious Tyrant, neither truſting nor loving one that had Power and Meanes : not truſting nor loving His Brother, he put him to a miſerable Death. For what concerned Woemens reputation, it never had a more inſnaring Enemy, or Perſecutor : ſince not contented to have deceived the Lady *Lucy* with promiſe of Marriage, and to have taken away the Wife of *Shore*, a Man of ſuch eſteeme ; (and here, though from the purpoſe, Hee fell to praiſe *Shore*, to captivate the good will of his fellow Citizens) hee never caſt his Eye upon Woman in his Life, that hee deſired not to enjoy ; not regarding either the feare of God, nor his Owne nor other mens Honour : trampling the Laws under foote, and thoſe of Friendſhip and Blood ; whilſt a Prince, who is the Father of his Subjects, ſhould abſtaine from ſo doing, as from Inceſt ; his Women Subjects being his Daughters : Hence proceeded the Earle of *Warwickes* diſtaſtes ; the illegitimate Marriage (if Marriage it might be called) with

a Widdow full of Children; and the renewing of a Civill Warre the cauſe of ſo many evills: and if reputation (which is for its owne ſake to be deſired) were not the chiefe Ornament of Woemen, the eſtabliſhing of Families, and of more worth then all Worldly Treaſure; hee ought to reverence it, if not as the generall duty of All Princes (to whom it is not permitted to uſurpe what is another Mans, much leſſe his Honour, the chiefeſt of all poſſeſſions) yet as his owne Peculiar duty; being Obliged to the noble City of *London* the Metropolitan of ſo great a Kingdome, for that ſhee had taken part with the Houſe of *Yorke*, aſſiſted it in ſo many Warres with Expence, Blood and Danger; and not to repay it with Ingratitude, rendring evill for good, ſhame for Honour; and charging himſelfe with an ignominy neither to be cancelled in this World, nor forgotten in the World to come, without the extraordinary mercy of God, but was to be puniſhed with like puniſhment as Tyranny, Luſt and Ingratitude. But it was not to be wondred if Hee were ſuch a Man; Hee was like to little Rivulets, which deriving themſelves from Ditches and Marſh-grounds are thicke and muddy: ſince not being of the Houſe of *Yorke*, Hee could not partake of the worth thereof; his actions ſhewing Hee diſcended from ſome low and ſtinking originall. That therefore they were to praiſe God, who drying up the Puddle, had given them a Spring, which, iſſuing from its undefiled Fountaine, would not onely water with his favours ſuch as had deſerved well of His Houſe, but would make them bud forth by the opulency of his rewards. That Hee was ſorry Hee could not fully expreſſe Himſelfe upon this occaſion; ſince the Dutcheſſe of *Yorkes* reputation was therein concerned, as well Mother to the Protectour (whom hee feared to offend) as to King *Edward*: but neceſſity had enforced him to ſay more then willingly Hee would have done. He referr'd himſelfe therein to what the Preacher had ſaid the preceding Sabbath day at *Pauls* Croſſe; whoſe integrity was not to be contradicted, hee being a Meſſenger of the Word of God, ſo wiſe, intelligent, and indowed with ſo much worth, as it would not ſuffer him to ſay any thing (eſpecially upon ſuch an occaſion and in ſuch a place) which was not certaine truth: that great was the efficacy of truth, which had opened his Mouth, formerly ſhut up by the way of circumſpection: that Hee had fully layd open the claime which the Protectour Duke of *Glouceſter* had to the Crowne; ſince *Edwards* Children being illegitimate, as the iſſue of an unlawfull Marriage, the Kingdome fell to him: the which being maturely conſidered, and therewithall the Valour and Worth of ſo gallant a Prince; the Nobility and Commons, eſpecially them of the Northerne parts, being reſolved not to be governed by Baſtards, they had reſolved humbly to Petition Him that He would vouchſafe to take upon Him the Government of the

Kingdome, which by Nature, and by the Lawes belonged unto Him. For his part he knew not whether he would Accept of it, or no; for being free from all manner of Ambition, and sufficiently acquainted with the troubles of Government, he was affraid he would refuse it. Howsoever the necessity of the Kingdome being great, King *Edwards* Children not onely excluded by the Lawes, but very Young, hee hoped that the threats of the holy Scripture, (Woe be to the Kingdome, whose King is a Child) would move him to condescend to the generall supplication of the State; which needing a Prince of mature age, who might be Wise, and of Experience, would never cease to call upon him till they were heard in what they desired: That he had taken upon him the charge of delivering the Petition, but considering it might be the more graciously accepted if the Citizens of *London* would joyne with him therein, hee was come to intreat them that weighing the Publique good, and their owne particular advantage, they would be the first that might doe it; and that their forwardnesse herein would make him more favour the City then all the preceding Princes had done.

His Speech being ended, and expecting when the people, applauding his discourse, should cry up *Richard* King, he was amazed to finde the contrary: he found he was abused in his hopes of the Lord Majors having prepared them for it; so as drawing neere unto the Major he asked him what might be the reason of the peoples so great Reservednesse and silence? who not knowing what to say, answered hee thought his Grace was not well understood: whereupon, believing that that might be the cause of their silence, and that his eloquence might yet prevaile with them, he in a lowder tone and in other words repeated all he had said before; whereat all that heard him marvelled; for he could not have spoken better though he had penned it, and gotten it without Booke. But for all this the people altered not their silence. He then would have had the Recorder of *London* to repeat once more what he had said: wherein he desired to be excused, as being but lately entered upon the Office, and not having as yet had any occasion to speake unto the people: but the truth was, he did not like the businesse, thinking it to be unjust. Yet notwithstanding, the Major urging him, and alleaging that the Dukes too eloquent and Court-like Speech was not well understood, he unwillingly obeyed; interposing ever and anon this Parenthesis (He saies) to the end they might not believe his Vote went with it. But the people still more deafe then formerly, the Duke said unto the Major; He never met with so obstinate a silence; and preparing to speake a third time, he said, He was come hither to perswade them to concurre in a businesse, wherein peradventure their assistance would not be requisite: for the Nobility and Commons of the other Provinces would doe it without them; but that he bearing a particular affection to that Noble City, did not desire it should be done

done without them, but rather would have them have the firſt part therein. Hee deſired them to ſay, whether in conformity with the reſt of the Kingdome, they would name the moſt Noble Prince *Richard*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, at the preſent Protectour of the Kingdome, for their King. To the which, though no man anſwered, yet was not the ſilence ſo great as before: for one whiſpering in anothers eare, a noiſe was heard, much like the noiſe of a Hive of Bees: but in the lower end of the Hall, where were many ſervants, and ſhop-boyes, who in the crowde were gotten in, they began to cry aloud (the Dukes ſervants being the Ring-leaders) Long live King *Richard*: throwing their Hats up: but the Citizens turning about to ſee what the matter might be, continued their former ſilence. The Duke wiſely making uſe of this diſorder, and being ſeconded by the Major, ſaid: Hee was much overjoyed to heare, that with ſo much conformity, and without one Negative voice, they had deſired this Noble Prince for their King; hee would acquaint him with it, ſo as it ſhould redound to their advantage. He wiſhed them to be ready; for the next morning he would preſent him with their ſupplication; to the end that the Protectour might be perſwaded to accept of the Kingdome, ſo much deſired by Them, and by the Kingdome. Which being ſaid, he went away, few or none appearing well pleaſed. The next morning the Major aſſembled all the Aldermen, and chiefe of the Common-Counſell of the City into *Pauls* Church, from whence they went to *Baynards* Caſtle, the place where the Kings of *England* had formerly kept their Courts, where the Protectour now lay, and where according to appoinment made came the Duke of *Buckingham*, accompanied with a great number of Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, who ſent word to the Protectour, that a great many men of great account were ready there to waite upon his Grace in a buſineſſe of great importance. The Protectour ſeemed unwilling to come downe the ſtaires, and give them admittance (as if the buſineſſe had been New unto him) feyning as though their unexpected comming, the cauſe not knowne why, had made him ſomewhat jealous. *Buckingham* by this His refuſall ſtrongly argued the Protectours integrity, as being farre from imagining what the buſineſſe now in hand was. Hee ſent him word againe, that the buſineſſe was not to be imparted to any ſave Himſelfe; ſecuring him in ſo humble and ſubmiſſive a way, as was ſufficient to have wrought beliefe in one who had really doubted. He at the laſt appeared, having two Biſhops by his ſides, in a bay-window, which lookes out upon the Hall. The Duke of *Buckingham*, making a low reverence, begg'd two things of him: the one, that he would ſuffer them to make an humble ſupplication to him: the other, that he would pardon them, in caſe it ſhould not prove acceptable to him; for though it aimed at nothing but his Honour, and the good of the Kingdome, yet hee was afraid his Modeſty (hee being a Prince endued with ſo much worth) might

might take it in a contrary ſence to their intention. The Protectour anſwered: He was ſo confident of their integrity, as Hee hoped they would ſay nothing that might diſpleaſe Him; Hee therefore granted the Leave and pardon they demanded. *Buckingham*, after having made a long digreſſion of the Kingdomes grievances, which were not to be cured but by a Prince of his vertue and endowments, ſaid: That they were expreſſely come humbly to deſire him, that the unlawfull birth of his brother King *Edwards* children conſidered (not daring to touch upon the birth of *Edwards* ſelfe) he would vouchſafe (for his owne innate Goodneſſe, for the Zeale he had ever borne to the Weale of the People, and for the Compaſſion, which upon this preſent occaſion, more then upon any other whatſoever, was to ſhine forth in him) together with the Government of the Kingdome, to accept of the Crowne, to the glory of God, and Countries ſafety: being he might reſt aſſured, that never did any Prince reigne whoſe people did thinke themſelves ſo happy, as would His people thinke themſelves moſt happy under Him. The Protectour, as if offended at this requeſt, with angry looke, anſwered: That though much of what hee had ſaid was true, yet the love hee bare to his brother King *Edward*, his affection to his Children, and his regard unto his owne Honour, would not permit him to accept of ſuch a burden: for it was to be believed, that ſhould hee depoſe his Nephewes, and make himſelfe King, the ignorant and malignant would accuſe him to all the Princes of the World, as if hee had done it not out of the right pretence hee had thereunto, or being enforced to it by the Peoples importunacy, and neceſſity of the Kingdome (which, to ſay truth, could not be in worſe condition then it was) but through his owne Ambition: Yet knowing their good intentions, hee did not onely pardon them, but returned them thankes, ſince hee conceived it proceeded from the love they bare him; the which hee deſired might be turned to the King, under whoſe government they now lived, whom he with his perſon and beſt advice would ſerve; hoping to put the affaires of the Kingdome into ſo good order, as they ſhould not have any thing to wiſh for: as (he praiſed God) he had given ſome teſtimony ſince his being Protectour; notwithſtanding the malignity of ſome, which had rather been ſuppreſt by Divine Providence, then by Humane Wiſdome. This anſwer being given, the Duke of *Buckingham* ſtept aſide, as if to conſult with the Noble-men, the Lord Major, and the Recorder of the City: the which being done, he deſired pardon againe; and having obtained it, he ſaid with a Loud voice, as if he were ſomewhat moved or heated: That the Kingdome was abſolutely reſolved not to permit *Edwards* Children to reigne; not ſo much for that they had proceeded ſo farre in their requeſts they were not to hope for Pardon, as for that the Publique good required it: That therefore hee beſeeched

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him to accept of the Crowne, which if he would not doe, they ſhould be enforced to offer it to one that would not refuſe it. The Protectour ſeemed to be affraid of theſe threats; hee ſeemed ſorrowfull, that they ſhould have ſo ill a conceipt of his brothers iſſue: Hee confeſt hee could not governe or reigne without their good wills; therefore their reſolution being ſuch, and there being none to whom the Crowne did of right belong but to Him, being legitimately deſcended from the Duke of *Yorke:* and that to his Naturall and Lawfull Titles, there was added his now Election, the chiefeſt of all the reſt; Hee yeilded to their intreaties and requeſts: by accepting the Crown, and taking upon him from this time forward the State and Regall preheminence of the two Kingdomes of *England* and *France:* the former whereof ſhould be Commanded, Governed, and Defended by Him and his Heires: the other by Gods aſſiſtance and theirs Regained; that ſo it might be in perpetuity eſtabliſhed under the obedience of *England*, whoſe greatneſſe and reputation he ſo much coveted, as he deſired God he might live no longer then his life might be ſerviceable to this end The which being ſaid, they cried aloud King *Richard*, King *Richard*, the Artillery playing their part. The Lords went up to him where he was, to kiſſe his hand, whilſt the People departing, ſpake as leudly of him as they might: being diſpleaſed at nothing more then at the counterfeit carriage of the buſineſſe, which being plotted and reſolved upon long before, there had notwithſtanding been ſo many ſtage-like actions uſed therein, as if it had never been thought of till then: and as if choice had been made of the Spectatours as of ſo many of the moſt ſenſeleſſe and ſtupid people of the Land.

The End of the Seventh Booke.

THE

THE EIGHTH BOOK OF THE CIVILL WARRES OF ENGLAND

In the Life of Richard the Third.

KIngdomes which belong to others are not usurped without violent meanes; of all which Warre is the least blameable, though the most harmfull. A valiant usurper is like your Highway robber who bids the traveller stand, and if he take away his purse does it with his Sword in hand. *Richard* tooke not this way in his usurping the Crown: not that he wanted courage (for of the good qualities he was endued withall, Valour was the onely one which was not counterfeit) but because hee found none that did withstand him. Deceipt, fraud, cruelty, and treachery were the meanes he used: one or two of which being sufficient to other men; they did not all serve his turne; for he invented one beyond imitation or example; the defaming of his mo-

ther. Had he who wrote the booke *De Principe* met with this ſubject, he would have quit Duke *Valentine*, and taken this man for the patterne of his tyrant. Not that the difference between them was great, but for that that was, was in the moſt eſſentiall points. *Valentines* vices, if they were not more execrable, yet were they more diſhoneſt. *Richards* were more execrable, but more ſecure. And though both were bad beyond belief, yet *Richard* by the death of a few infuſed terrour into the reſt, and made himſelfe a King; where *Valentine* by the death of very many could keepe his owne Principality. And if it be ſaid, that *Richard* weakned the Kingdome and its forces by taking off the heads of ſuch as might have made themſelves heads of the people, and ſo have withſtood him; that being of the Blood-royall, he had many that ſided with him: whereas *Valentine* on the contrary, had Provinces, Princes, and Republiques for his enemies: the wary wickedneſſe of the one will be the more remarkable, who knew his advantage; and the unwary raſhneſſe of the other, who aſſiſted onely by Eccleſiaſticall forces, terminable with the Popes death, undertooke what was not to be effected, or at leaſt not long to be made good.

The ambition of getting the Kingdome began in *Richard* during his brothers life: and having formerly plotted the whole affaire, he laid the firſt ground-worke thereof by the death of *Henry* the ſixth, and the Duke of *Clarence*; and in proceſſe of time, he finiſhed the Fabrick by putting thoſe to death who were likely to oppoſe him: and by terrifying the reſt, he made his election, which was made by the baſer ſort of people, be as available as if it had been legally reſolved upon by the whole Kingdome: and which is further obſervable, he pretended not to accept of it, till intreated and enforced. Arguments of a head-piece, which had it been imployed in good enterpriſes, inſtead of proving the moſt lewd might have been the wiſeſt then to be found. For all things elſe, there was no evill which he committed not: He betrayed his Nephews, and then ſlue them: he cheated his brothers wife; and together with her, thoſe whom he made uſe of as inſtruments to remove the little Duke of *Yorke* from the Sanctuary: in the height of cruelty and irreligion, he counterfeited the perfection of piety, and tendernеſſe of blood: All his actions were larded with fraud and lyes: the Queen and her brother were by him perſwaded to lay downe their armes; the later whereof he impriſoned and beheaded: in like manner he incenſed and ſlue the Chamberlaine: He ſacrilegiouſly divulged his mother to be an Adultreſſe in a place appropriated for preaching the Word of God; declared his nephews to be Baſtards, counterfeited the good he had not, conceal'd the evill he had; was like to none but to himſelfe. Encomiums worthy of ſuch qualities; and qualities unworthy of that Crowne, which conſiſting of Honour, was whilſt he wore it diſhonoured by his wickednеſſe. He omitted not any ſhew of ſorrow at his brothers death: he ſolemniſed his Funerals at *Yorke*, with the rites of mourning. But whilſt aiming at uſurpation, he ſeemed to

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be fond of his nephews, whom he intended to betray, he minded not divine admonitions, which manifesting themselves by sundry waies, are wont by way of observation to advertise us of dangers, to the end that reforming our selves we may change our lives and thoughts from bad to good: for Christian vertues are able to frustrate that which the Ancients called Fate, by withdrawing us from vice, and procuring the divine Providence to protect us. The observations here meant are, that all the (Kings) *Richards*, and all the Dukes of *Glouceſter* came to violent ends: an obſervation redoubled in him, being by name, *Richard*; and by title, Duke of *Glouceſter*. Such like obſervations, though they be not ſuperſtitiouſly to be believed, yet are they not ſlightly to be deſpiſed. But the proud man conſiders no other intereſt, no not the concernment of his life, ſo his ambition may be ſatisfied: upon which his ſpirits were wholy bent; and upon the arriving whereunto he out did himſelfe. He made his vices vertues. He became courteous, liberall, and affable, eſpecially to Lawyers: he ſtudied nothing but juſtice, obſervance of the Lawes, and the peoples indempnity: by which arts he prevailed ſo farre, as the Crown, which was tumultuouſly conferred upon him, was legally offered him by the Parliament; which with baſe flattery intreated him to accept of it, out of theſe reaſons. "That the Kingdome of *England* had "been very happy under the government of wiſe Kings, aſſiſted "by underſtanding Counſellors: but when their ſucceſſors began "to governe themſelves according to their owne fancies, ſhe fell "into all manner of miſery: The chiefeſt of which, and from "which all the miſchiefes of the preſent time did derive, was *Ed*-"*ward* the fourths unfortunate pretended marriage with *Eliza*-"*beth* widow to Sir *John Gray* (who did ſtill aſſume to her ſelfe "the title of Queen) which had perverted all the orders not onely "of God and the Church, but of nature and the Kingdome: there "being now no more propriety, nor any condition which was not "ſubject to feares; ſince the Lawes either abandoned or abuſed "were rendered uſeleſſe and of no protection. Hence proceeded "faults of all ſorts; murthers, extortions, and ſuch oppreſſions "as men had no ſecurity neither of their lives nor fortunes; much "leſſe of their wives or daughters: all women were ſubject to "violence; nor was any one though ſhe ſhould refuſe, ſafe in her "Honour. To this might be added the blood of ſo many of the "Nobility, of hundred thouſands of the Communalty, ſhed in the "late warres, to the univerſall prejudice of all men, and to the "greateſt ſufferance of the moſt innocent. That the forenamed "pretended marriage was Clandeſtine, made without the know-"ledge or conſent of the Nobility: the Devill was the authour "thereof, witchcraft the meanes, *Elizabeth* the chiefe agent, and "her mother, the Dutcheſſe of *Bedford*, her coadjutrix: that ſo it "was believed; and when time and place ſhould ſerve it would "be proved. But that which chiefly aggravated this buſineſſe, was, "That King *Edward* was long before married to another Lady,

"when he tooke her to his wife; so as in living with her, contrary "to the Lawes of God, and of the Church, in continuall adultery, "his sonnes by her were bastards, and, as such, incapable of succes- "sion. That by this so heinous sinne, and to the prejudice of the "true heire, hee had provoked Gods anger, who had therefore "forsaken him, and brought the Kingdome into all those miseries. "For these and other reasons they were inforced to elect a King, "who by nature, and by the Law was undoubted heire unto the "Crown. And because the Duke of *Clarence* convict of high trea- "son in the seventeenth yeere of the reigne of his brother *Edward*, "had, by his Attainder rendred his issue incapable of succession; "therefore the Protector, being the onely undoubted sonne and "heire of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, He and no other was undoubted "successour; not reckoning in his vertues which were such as of "themselves made him worthy of the Crowne: he being so rich- "ly indowed, especially with justice, wisedome, and valour, wit- "nessed in so many actions and battels, wherein he had personally "beene, shewing his naturall inclination to the common good. "Whereupon having no other respect but the peace and tran- "quillity of the Kingdome, his prosperity and ancient reputation, "they had chosen him their King and Soveraigne Lord. Intrea- "ting him to accept the charge, as well by Title of Inheritance, as "of Election: they promising for their parts that they would be "his good and faithfull Subjects, ready upon this and any good "occasion to live and die with him: for the oppressions and ex- "tortions they had suffered, contrary to the Lawes of God and "the Kingdome, had made them resolve to runne what ever dan- "ger, rather then to live in the miseries they hitherto had done. "They cal'd upon Almighty God the King of Kings, to inspire him "with his light, and to continue unto him in his Regall dignity, "those praise-worthy parts, by meanes whereof he deserved to "be King, though he were not. And that though his right needed "not any publique Acts of Parliament (he being King and heire "unto the Crowne without them) yet in regard the people might "be ignorant of the cause of the deposing the one, and assuming "the other; for this cause, and to remove all doubts that might "arise, the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons assem- "bled in Parliament, had in full Parliament pronounced, decreed, "and declared, that *Richard* the third their Soveraigne Lord, was "whilest hee should live the undoubted King of *England*, and of "all that within or without belonged thereinto; and after him "his heires: That the high and mighty Prince *Edward* his sonne "was his heire apparant; and after him those who should discend "from him. This decree being registred among the Acts of Par- liament, and approved of by King *Richard*, with order to be held authentically in all the parts thereof, made it be understood, that the Kings of *England* have power to doe what they will; when they are either loved for their vertues, or feared for their force. For what concernes love, there is no proof in this present case; but

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of fears sufficient, feare being the *primum mobile* of this businesse. *Richard* having by the assistance of the Duke of *Buckingham* and their adherents raised a powerfull faction; the lawfull King being a Child, and prisoner; the Tyrant a man of braines, well-spoken and of reputation in armes, not likely to undertake such a businesse unlesse certaine to effect it: all men doubting themselves since their forces being cut off, and those put to death which might have re-united them, they were exposed to the violence of so cruell a man as *Richard*; who had given proofe of his cruelty by his detaining the King, by his taking the Duke of *York* from the Sanctuary, by his impudence in declaring them to be bastards, and by his shamelessnesse in publishing his mother to be a whore, to boote with the death of so many Peeres. This feare was that which gave a maske to the flatteries of Parliament, and which furnisht it with some colour of pretence drawne from Doctor *Shaw's* Sermon, and the speeches made by the Duke of *Buckingham* in the City-Hall. *Richard* being thus confirmed and believing to settle his tyranny by resting it upon un-accustomed circumstances, hee went into *Westminster-hall*, sate him downe in the Kings Bench where in doubtfull cases the Kings of *England* had wont attiently to sit, and where hee avowed his accepting of the Crowne: the which hee expresst in a formall Oration, and in a manner so well composed as those who had not knowne him, would have thought *England* had never beene blest with so good a King: and to colour with the shew of clemency his innate cruelty, hee caused one *Fogge* who had taken Sanctuary, and whom he had alwayes mortally hated, to be brought before him; hee tooke him by the hand in sight of all the people, and made professions of loving him now as much as he had formerly hated him: by which act he made a great impression in the simpler sort; but those who were better advised knew that this was but a Bait wherewith to catch better fish. In his returne to his Palace, Hee courteously saluted such as Hee knew loved Him not, thinking by this servile flattery to infatuate their mindes, and to establish his government. Yet for all this he durst not rely upon his present fortune; He ascertained His Coronation by unaccustomed forces; causing five thousand men to come from the Northerne parts of the Kingdome, in whom hee trusted, aswell for that they tooke part with the House of *Yorke*, as likewise that living in remote parts, they were not acquainted with his actions, as were the Londoners; who having him alwayes in their eye, abhorred Him. These Northern men appeared ill clad, and worse arm'd; which made them be but laught at: for twas thought that if He should have occasion to make use of them, they would not serve His turne; and that twas neither these forces not yet greater but a meere Fatality which had precipitated *England* into so dire and miserable a subjection. The last act of His possessing the Crowne was His Coronation, all things thereunto belonging being ready, as prepared for His Nephews Coronation. Hee

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went with his Wife and His Sonne to the Tower; where the next day Hee created the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*; *Thomas Howard*, Sonne to the same man Hee created Earle of *Surrey*: Hee made *William Barckley* Earle of *Nottingham*; and the Lord *Francis Lovell* Viscount and Lord *Chamberlaine*: and Hee made seventeene Knights of the *Bath*. The Archbishop of *Yorke*, the Lord *Stanley*, and the Bishop of *Ely* had beene prisoners in the Tower ever since the *Chamberlaine* lost his Head; Hee set the first at liberty, finding himselfe peaceably possest of the Kingdome, otherwise Hee would not have done it; for being an honest man hee would never have given his consent to the deposing of the true King: Hee freed the second out of feare; for His Sonne, the Lord *Strange* was raysing great forces in *Lancashire* (a place wherein Hee had great Power and was mightily followed) it behooved him to appease Him: but Hee did not set the Bishop of *Ely* at liberty, who was a faithfull servant to King *Edward*; for Hee was certaine Hee would never condescend to his Childrens deprivation, nor to the unjust wayes whereby Hee usurped the Kingdome: whereof Hee had made tryall in the Councells held in the Tower, whilest by oblique meanes He set the businesse on foot. The Bishop was of no great birth; but having lived a long time in good repute in *Oxford*, hee was taken from thence, being but bare Doctor, by *Henry* the sixt, and made a Privy-Counsellour: *Edward*, knowing his integrity, kept him still in that condition, and chose Him at His death to be one of his Executors. *Richard* therefore, fearing Him, would have kept Him still in Prison, though Hee set the others at liberty; had not the *Vniversity* of *Oxford* (which Hee did alwayes very much favour) interceded for Him: so that desirous in part to satisfy the *Vniversity*, Hee was content to take him from the Tower, as being too publick a place: but that Hee might not have His free liberty, Hee committed him to the custody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who sent Him to a Castle of His in *Brecknockshire*; where they joyntly laid the first ground-worke of *Richards* ruine.

Hee together with his Wife was Crowned in great pompe the sixteenth of *July*: his Wife was daughter to the great Earle of *Warwicke*, who had made and unmade the two preceding Kings, and Widow to *Edward*, Sonne to *Henry* the Sixt Prince of *Wales*: to whom she was give in marriage, when *Edward* the Fourths ruine was agreed upon in *France*. So as being destin'd to be a Queene, it was her ill fortune to be one by his meanes who had slaine her former husband, and married her only for that shee, together with her Sister, Wife to the Duke of *Clarence*, were great Heires.

I will not treate of this Coronation; it tends not to our purpose. The solemnity being ended, hee dismist all the Lords that they might returne to their own homes: recommending to such as were in Office, the due Administration of Justice without extortion or injury, the execution of the Laws, and Libertie of the Subjects

jects, as not willing to have any thing ill done but by himselfe He dismist not the Lord *Stanley*, till such time as his Sonne *Strange* had disbanded the forces hee had raised. Hee also dismist the five thousand which he had caused to come for his Guard from the North having spoken them faire and rewarded them: whereupon they went away so well pleas'd, as becomming thereupon insolent, they forced him to go in person into those parts, to appease the tumults they had there raised, the which could not be done but by the death of many of them. He forthwith sent to *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, touching the continuance of the League made with his brother *Edward*: but his Embassadour arriving after his Nephews death, *Lewis* would not afford him audience, esteeming his friendship unworthy of any humane correspondency.

In what concerned their death, he demeaned himselfe in this sort. He first withdrew himselfe to *Glocester*, the place of his Patrimony and Title, his conscience not permitting him to be in the place where his cruelty was to surpasse the cruelty of all other tyrants. He might have kept them prisoners without any manner of danger, since they had no friends: and so he might not have arrived to the height of hatred he did after their death. But he, not esteeming himselfe King, whilst they were alive, sent his trusty servant *John Greene* with Letter to Sir *Robert Brakenbury*, Constable of the Tower, wherein he commanded the to put them to death; who, abhorring the act returned answer: He would rather die himselfe then obey him therein. *Richard* hereby perceived he was not arrived at that power he thought he had beene; since any one durst disobey him in any how unjust soever a Command: so as not able to quiet himselfe, nor to take any rest in his bed, his page who usually lay in his Chamber, desired His Majesty he would be pleased to acquaint him with the reason of his disquiet. To whom he replyed, he was miserable, not having any one on whom to trust: that he was repay'd with ingratitude, and his service denied by those, who having beene befriended by him, should thinke themselves happy when blest with an occasion of doing him service. The page not knowing the cause of his complaint, but well acquainted with his nature, thought the command must be horrid which any one durst disobey: and calling a Gentleman to minde who lay on a pallet bed in the Ante-chamber, hee named him to *Richard*; and told him, there was not that thing of danger nor difficulty which he would not undertake. His name was *James Tirrell*: He might have past for a well-conditioned man, had hee not beene corrupted by dishonest ambition; he had left nor did leave no stone unturn'd whereby to get preferment in Court, which was his element: but was discontented being held back by *Richard Ratcliffe* and *William Caterby*, who govern'd the King, and were not desirous of a third companion, that surpassing them in audacity, might surpasse them in fortune and put them from the favour they possessed.

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This Page was a friend of his, and knew his discontents; so as thinking to do him a good turne (whilest he could not have done a worse) he propounded him to King *Richard*: who knowing his quality, rose out of his bed to make tryall of him; and throwing a night-Gowne about him, hee went where *Tirrell* lay, and *Thomas Tirrell*, his brother by Bloud, but not in conditions. Hee awaked him; and acquainted him with what hee desired craving his aide therein. *James* was not at all amazed, but undertooke the businesse; and was the next day dispatcht with Letters to *Brakenbury*, wherein hee was commanded to deliver up the Keyes of the Tower for one night to this *Tirrell*, to the end he might do what he had in command. The Constable obeyed and delivered the Keyes. The two innocent children had beene more strictly kept after their unckle had quitted the title of Protector, and assumed that of the King: they were not only debarred visits, but had their servants taken from them; and had each of them two assigned to waite on them whom they knew not: and that rather in place of Guardians then servants. The Prince knew what was done to his prejudice: hee knew hee was no longer King: that his Unckle was crowned. Nature pointed forth unto him his danger; the apprehension and feare whereof was augmented by his tender age, subject to weakenesse: hee thought no longer of the losse of his Kingdome, neither did hee much value it; he though only on his Life: which being by the instinct of nature desired, and to be hoped for, (though as a prisoner) it might, in all reason, have beene granted him. He sighing said to him that brought him the first tidings that his Unkle had bereft him of his Crowne, He did not greatly care; so as together with it he would not take his Life away. After this time hee never put off his cloathes, nor ever went out of his Chamber; but being together with his brother full of sad thoughts he kept his Chamber till the comming of this miserable night. Of the foure that waited upon them, *Tirrell* chose *Miles Forest*, a man from his youth brought up in bloud; to whom hee gave for his companion *John Dighton*, the groome of his stable, a lusty strong rascall. He made them goe at mid-night into the Chamber where they slept, and where wrapt up in their Bedclothes, they stopt their mouthes with the Bolster and Pillowes, and so stifled them. The businesse was soone dispatcht. *Tirrell* forthwith buried them under a great heape of Rubbish at the staire-foot in a deepe hole: which being done he hasted to horse, to acquaint the King with what had past; who together with other favours did at the instant Knight him (as some relate) being well pleased with all that had beene done, save their Buriall. He had no scruple of minde to usurpe their Crowne, they being the true Heires; nor to murther them, being innocent: but He was troubled that being the Sonnes of a King and of His bloud, they should be buried in so contemptible a place: whereupon the Chaplaine of the Tower tooke them from thence, and

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buried them elſewhere ; but hee dying ſoone after himſelfe, 'twas never knowne where he layd them. Some will have it that hee put their bodies in a Coffin of Lead, and ſunke it in the *Thames* mouth. 'Tis certaine that *Tirrell* being impriſoned in the Tower for treaſon in *Henry* the Sevenths time, confeſt what had beene ſayd, after the ſame manner 'tis here, not knowing what became of their bodies after they were taken from the place were hee had buried them. He ſuffered for other faults the puniſhment he deſerved for this : as did likewiſe the reſt. God doth not alwayes puniſh all faults in an inſtant ; but ſeldome ſuffers evill actions to have good ends : for being approved of neither by men nor by the Lawes, if they eſcape one puniſhment, they fall upon another ; and for their ſecond fault receive the puniſhment due for the former. As long as *Richard* lived after this, He was both outwardly and inwardly troubled with feares and agonies ; and according to the relations of ſome that were moſt inward with him, He after this ſo execrable act, injoy'd not one houre of quiet : his countenance was changed, his eyes were troubled and ghaſtly, Hee wore coates of Male underneath his clothes ; and had almoſt continually, His hand upon His Daggers-hilt ready to ſtrike, as if Hee had then beene ſtrucken : He ſpent whole nights in watching ; and if at any time He chanced to take a little reſt, He would be wakened with fearfull Dreames, which would force him to quit His bed, and ſo walke up and downe His chamber full of prodigious feares. The other two though they eſcaped humane Juſtice, yet were they met with all by Juſtice from above : for *Miles Foreſt* dyed having almoſt all his members firſt rotted, and then cut off : if *Deighton* fared not altogether ſo ill, yet was hee in daily expectation to be made an exemplary ſpectacle by ſome ignominious death ; for it is affirm'd by one who writes of him, that in his time he was alive in *Callis*, but ſo univerſally hated and deteſted by all men, that hee was pointed at as he went along the ſtreetes : Others affirme that he lived and dyed there in great miſery. The firſt inteſtine troubles which *Richard* was afflicted withall, were occaſioned by the bad intelligence which was held betweene Him and the Duke of *Buckingham*. What the occaſion thereof might be is onely knowne by conjecture ; yet ſuch as is not likely to erre : They were both naturally proud ; therefore prone to breake ; and though *Buckingham* firſt endevoured *Gloceſters* friendſhip before *Gloceſter* His, he did it not in reſpect of his alike *Genius*, but fearing leaſt hee might fall from the greateſſe he was in, under the authority of the Queene and her kinred ; to ſhun this Rock, he gave againſt the Other : which though it were the more dangerous, yet did he rather chuſe to ſubmit himſelfe to a Superior who was borne great, then to his Inferiors who had acquir'd greatneſſe. It is ſaid that *Edward* being dead, he ſent his ſervant *Perſall* preſently to *Yorke* where *Richard* then was ; who being privately admitted by night, made offer unto him of his Maſters ſervice in this

change of King; and that if neede ſhould be, his maſter would come unto him in Perſon waited on by a Thouſand fighting men: that he made the ſame be ſaid over to him againe when he came to *Nottingham*: and that when he returned to *Yorke* he went to viſit him attended by three hundred horſe; where a cloſe friendſhip being contracted betweene them, things followed as hath been ſaid, even to the Uſurpation of the Crowne: after which they cooled in their affections, to the amazement of thoſe who obſerved their friendſhip: for they came to the point of not Truſting one another; and 'twas thought moreover, that in the laſt journey to *Gloceſter*, *Buckingham* ran hazard of his life. The cauſe of their diſtaſt was ſuppoſed to ariſe from ſome claime *Buckingham* had to the Duke of *Hertfords* Lands, for that reputing himſelfe to be his Heire, he thought that *Richard* would not have denied them unto him, neither in Juſtice nor yet in Recompence of his ſervice. But theſe Lands were ſo linkt to the Crown as that being falne from the houſe of *Lancaſter* upon the late depos'd *Henry*, and from Him upon the Crowne, they were to be free from any privat propriety or pretenſion; which ſtill continuing in the Duke, *Richard* feared leaſt his thoughts might exceed the condition of a Subject: inſomuch as when *Buckingham* demanded them, he received ſo ſharpe, ſo threatning, and ſo ſcornefull a deniall as not able to endure it, he fained himſelfe ſick, that ſo he might not be at the Coronation; and *Richard* ſent him word that if he would not come, he would make him be brought thither: whereupon he was forced to go in all the rich and ſtately Equipage which at an Extraordinary charge he had prepared before their diſtaſts. Others notwithſtanding will have that the diſtaſts between them roſe after this, not having as Then any being: that the King ſtanding in need of him, would not have hazarded the loſing of him in that manner; and that the Duke, very well acquainted with his Nature, would not have hazarded his Life, being aſſured that upon any whatſoever occaſion, he could not expect better dealings then his Nephews had met withall. Notwithſtanding the firſt opinion was thought true, in reſpect of his proud behaviour; as likewiſe for that in the very act of *Richards* Coronation, he turned his Eyes another way as Repenting he had bin the occaſioner of it: and that *Richard* though he knew him to be diſtracted, treated him civilly, and preſented him at his departure to *Gloceſter*; but his Alienation grew after he was come to his houſe at *Brecknock*, and had had diſcourſe with Dr. *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*.

This Biſhop was a learned man, and of a good life; a conſtant part-taker with *Henry* the ſixt, neither did he ever forſake him even till his impriſonment. He fled with the Queen and Prince into *France*, and returned with them into *England*. But their affaires ſucceeding ill, and *Edward* being eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome, He was by him received into favour for knowing him to have bin Loyall to his Firſt maſter, he thought he would be

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the like to Him; ſo as leaving him Executor of his laſt Will and Teſtament, he continued his wonted loyalty to his Children: which *Richard* knowing to be ſuch as was unalterable, he put him in the Tower, and afterwards aſſigned him to the cuſtody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, with whom diſcourſing of *Richards* iniquities, he gave the riſe to his Ruine: for they found the true way to put a period to the Civill warres by marrying *Henry* Earle of *Richmond* to *Edwards* eldeſt daughter. But having retired himſelfe to *Rome* with intention not to meddle any more in Worldly affaires, he returned not till ſent for by the ſaid Earle when he was King: by whom hee was made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellour of *England*; and who likewiſe procured him to be made Cardinall: in which Honours he died as vertuouſly as he had lived.

This man at the Dukes returne found a great alteration in him towards *Richard*. He hoped to worke ſome good effect thereout; not by propounding any thing, but by ſeconding his opinions: in which he govern'd himſelfe ſo well, as the more averſe he ſhewed himſelfe to what indeed he did deſire, the more provoked he an eagerneſſe in the Duke to diſcover what he ſought to hide: ſo as "exagerating *Englands* happineſſe falne into the government of "ſo wiſe a Prince, whilſt under the government of a Child, gui-"ded by perſons intereſſed, and hated, it muſt have been ruina-"ted; The Biſhop anſwered, He muſt confeſſe the truth; (being "ſure that by doing otherwiſe he ſhould not be believed) that if "things lately paſſed had been to be decided by Votes, he ſhould "have voted that after *Henry* the ſixths death, the Crowne ſhould "have gone to his ſonne Prince *Edward*, and not to King *Edward*: "but that both of them being dead, it had been great folly in him "not to comply with the new King, ſince the dead doe not re-"vive: That hee had behaved himſelfe to *Edward* in all things as "a faithfull Subject and Servant ought to doe to his King and "Maſter: That he would have done the like to his Children, had "they ſucceeded Him in His Kingdome: but God having other-"wiſe diſpos'd of them, his pretences were not to raiſe up that "which God would keepe downe: And for what concern'd the "now King, formerly Protector--- Here he held his peace, as if he had unadviſedly falne upon that diſcourſe; but after a whiles "ſilence he purſued to ſay, That hee had already too much trou-"bled himſelfe with Worldly affaires; 'twas now time to retire "himſelfe, and conſider nothing but his Bookes, and his owne quiet. The ſilence that unexpectedly interrupted the diſcourſe which the Duke deſired to have heard finiſhed, made his deſire thereof the greater; ſo as thinking he had held his peace, as not being confident of him, he deſired him to ſpeake his minde Boldly, aſſuring him he ſhould be ſo farre from receiving Dammage thereby, as that it might redound more to his Advantage then hee imagined: That he had begg'd his Guardianſhip of the King for no other end, but that he might better himſelfe by his wiſe Coun-

ſels; and that if He had been in any other mans cuſtody, He could not have met with one that would have ſet ſuch a value upon his worth, as did he. The Biſhop thanked him, replying, That it "was not his deſire to ſpeake of Princes ſince they made the "world to be not what it was, but what it ſeem'd beſt to them. "Then when the Lyon baniſht all Horn'd-beaſts out of the "Woods, one that had a little Wen in his forehead fled away with "the reſt; and being demanded by the Foxe, why he fled? he anſwered, becauſe of the proclamed baniſhment. Yea but thou haſt no Hornes (ſaid the Fox.) 'Tis true, I have none, (ſaid the "other animal;) but if the Lyon ſhould ſay this Wenne were a "Horne, who durſt ſay the contrary? In what caſe ſhould I be? "The Duke was well pleaſed with a Fable, yet could hee not "perſwade him there was no Lyon ſhould doe him any harme. "The Biſhop ſaid: It was not his intention to diſpute the Pro-"tectours title, who was now King: but ſince their treaty con-"cerned the Common-wealth, whereof he was a member, he wiſht "it an addition of perfections to the many it already was endow'd "withall; and amongſt theſe, ſome of thoſe with which God "had adorned Him (the Duke.) This being ſaid, hee held his peace, much to the others diſpleaſure; who was grieved, that whilſt the Biſhops diſcourſe promiſed Much, hee had ſaid juſt Nothing: whilſt the compariſon betweene the King and Him required not ſo darke but more intelligible explication. He told him, theſe many clouds of Diffidence injured their friendly communication, aſſuring him, that whatſoever he ſhould ſay, ſince it proceeded from a perſonage he ſo much honour'd, it ſhould be as if it had not been ſaid at all. Upon theſe words the Biſhop reſolved freely to unboſome himſelfe; encouraged by the Dukes vanity, who loved to heare himſelfe praiſed, and by the Hatred he had now diſcovered he bore unto the King. Whereupon he "ſaid, He had read, that man was not borne for Himſelfe alone, "for his Friends or Parents, but Chiefly for his Countrey; that "this conſideration had moved him to take into his thoughts the "preſent condition of this Kingdome, his native ſoyle; the which, "(in compariſon of former times) 'twas a wonder if it were not "utterly ruin'd. That there had been Kings under whoſe go-"vernment it had happily flouriſhed, the love betweene them "and their Subjects being reciprocall; their intereſts being the "ſame: At home Peace, Juſtice and Security; Abroad Victory, "Honour, and Trophees: But now the world was much altered; "there was but onely one hope left, which was in Him (the "Duke) for conſidering his Publique Zeale, his Learning, his "Wiſdome, Wit, and ſo many other endowments, the Kingdome "in the midſt of ſo great miſery could have recourſe to none but "Him: and that it had no Haven wherein to ſave it ſelfe during "this tempeſt in which it was agitated, but the ſafe Rode of His "government, out of which it was certaine to ſuffer Shipwrack: "That it could not be denied but that the Protector (who now

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"ſtiled himſelfe King) was endowed with Vertues, which made "him worthy of the Kingdome, did he not reigne: but that theſe "his vertues were corrupted by ſo many Old and New vices, that "they had loſt both their Quality and Name; a wicked Prince "converting Vertue into Vice, as Vipers and Toads doe Nouriſh-"ment into Poyſon: That there was no example in the uſurping "a Crown comparable with his for Wickedneſſe: He had procured "it without any pretence of Law: contrary to the lawes of Hu-"manity, making his way thereunto by the Death of ſo many "Worthy and Innocent perſons: contrary to the law of Nature, "by calumniating his Mother; whom hee would have to be ho-"neſt onely when ſhee conceived him: contrary to the Laws of "the Church, by declaring his Nephews to be borne in Unlawfull "Matrimony: contrary to them All together, by being their Exe-"cutioner; ſo as their Blood, crying to Heaven for Revenge, "warn'd every man to beware of his life; for if to poſſeſſe Him-"ſelfe of a Kingdome, hee had not ſpared Their lives who were "Neereſt in Blood unto Him, he would muchleſſe ſpare the lives "of Others that were Nothing at all unto Him, ſo to uſurpe what "belonged to them. To ſhunne therefore the Rockes they were "likely to runne upon, he humbly deſired him, That as he loved "God, his owne Houſe, and his native Countrey, he would accept "the Cr[illegible]ne; free it from the captivity whereinto it was falne; "and if he would not doe this, he conjured him by the obligations "he ought to God, that hee would doe his uttermoſt to change "the Government; ſince upon whomſoever it ſhould fall, it muſt "needs redownd to the publique ſervice: but if He would aſ-"ſume it, God would be therewithall well pleaſed, He and his "Houſe ſecured, the Kingdome obliged; and all the World would "thanke him. When he had ceaſed ſpeaking, the Duke ſtood a good while penſive with his eyes fixt: whereat the biſhop was much aſtoniſhed, inſomuch as his colour changed. In ſuch like matters men are not ſatisfied with ſilence, nor mentall replies, which argue perill and prejudice. But ſupper time broke off their diſcourſe, which the Duke adjourned till the morrow morning: and perceiving the biſhop to be much troubled, he intreated him not to be diſquieted at this delay, aſſuring him hee would keepe promiſe with him: which did not notwithſtanding ſatisfie the Biſhop, who was as deſirous to know the Dukes intention now, as the Duke was earneſt to know his the day before. But he failed him not in what he had promiſed him: for having handſomely and methodically gone over all that the other had ſaid, he laid his Hat upon the Table, and calling devoutly upon God, he thanked him for "that they being amidſt ſo many tempeſts and dangers, in a good, "but ill-governed ſhip, he had been pleaſed to enlighten them, by "affording them a meanes how to provide themſelves of a Steerſ-"man, who being one that would give ſatisfaction, would bring "ſafety and welfare to the Kingdome. Then taking up his Hat, "and putting it on his head, he thanked the Biſhop for the affe-

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"ction he had ever found in him, eſpecially at this time, in this "their weighty and truſty communication: his fidelity and zeale "unto his Country, together with ſo many other unfained cir-"cumſtances, and voyd of ſelfe-intereſt, rendering him worthy "to be eſteemed the honeſt man that all men thought him: He "was ſorry his deſerts had not met with a fortune worthy of "him; but he aſſured him that if God ſhould at any time bleſſe "him with meanes to ſhew his gratitude, he would not faile there-"in, but give it the precedency of all other duties. That now he "came to his anſwer, wherein he would conceale nothing, being "ſo taught and obliged to doe by his example. He wiſh him then "to know that the reaſon of his alienation from King *Edwards* "children, was their fathers diſcountenancing of him upon all "occaſions, without any cauſe given; whilſt they two having "married two ſiſters, he might have expected to have been more "friendly treated: he therefore thought himſelfe free from all "bands of humanity, ſince the King uſed none to him, having not "onely excluded him from all Offices and Honours, but treated "him after a manner not worthy of his quality. The firſt thing "then that after his death came into his thoughts was the miſerable "condition of the Kingdome, under the government of a woman "and of a child; not ſo much in reſpect of the ones ſex and the "others age, as that her brother the Earle *Rivers*, and the Marqueſſe "*Dorſet* her ſonne were to exclude from all authority and preemi-"nence, not onely the Dukes and great men of the Kingdome, but "even the brother to the deceaſed King. He thought it therefore "requiſite for him, as well for the publique, as his owne private "good, to joyne with the Duke of *Glouceſter*; whom hee then "thought as free from all diſſembling, injury, and cruelty, as hee "now knew him to be moſt diſſembling, injurious, and cruell man "that ever was borne. Upon this falſe opinion, at the firſt Coun-"cell held in *London* hee was by his meanes created Protector of "the King and Kingdome: and after having by fraudulent preten-"ces gotten the Duke of *Yorke* out of the Sanctuary, he had the "boldneſſe (not without ſprinkling ſome threats) to demand the "Crown of him and the other Lords that were then in Councell, "till ſuch time as the King being full foure and twenty yeeres old "ſhould be of age to governe it: but that meeting with ſome diffi-"culties, (the like thing not having been formerly heard of, and "that it was unlikely any man would be found ſo moderate, as to "lay downe the Crowne, become a Subject, and ſubmit himſelfe "to Anothers government, after He had governed of Himſelfe ſo "long) hee preſented them with certaine Writings authenticated "by Doctors, Notaries and Witneſſes, by which it appeared "*Edwards* ſonnes were Baſtards: which was then believed to be "as True, as it is Now knowne to be notoriouſly Falſe; the "falſe witneſſes being by recompences and promiſes, drawne to "ſo great a treachery. This writing being read, he ſaid unto the "Counſellors: My Lords! I am aſſured that being Wiſe and

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"Faithfull, you will not ſuffer my Nephew to receive any injury:
"but I am likewiſe confident that being Juſt, you wil ſee no wrong
"done to Me. That which you have heard is either true, or falſe; if
"you believe it not, cleare your ſelves in the point; and if you be-
"lieve it, which of you will deny Mee to be the undoubted Heire
"to *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *Yorke*, declared by the Authority
"of Parliament to be heire unto the Crowne? ſince the Duke of
"*Clarence*'s Sonne is by his Fathers Delinquency made incapable
"thereof; and his Father more then He, being reputed a Baſtard,
"and upon good preſumptions held for ſuch a one in the houſe
"of *Yorke*. Not any one anſwering him, much leſſe oppoſing
"him, he was (chiefly by the aſſiſtance of Him, the Duke of Buc-
"kingham) of Protector, made King; hee having firſt received
"his plighted faith there, which afterwards was confirmed to
"him by giving of him his hand in *Baynards*-caſtle, that he would
"provide for the Lives of the two Princes in ſo good a manner,
"that He and All the world ſhould be therewith ſatisfied. Now
"where is that Prince that after ſuch a Service, would not of his
"owne free will have ſought out ſome meanes how to have gra-
"tified him, unleſſe it were *Richard*, who being demanded a
"thing which was not His, and which was not in Juſtice to be de-
"nied, denied it him out of meere ingratitude? The things hee
"required of him were; the Office of High-Conſtable of *Eng-*
"*land*, which having been enjoyed by his Fore-fathers, it was a
"ſhame for Him to goe without it; and the Lands belonging to
"the Earle of *Hereford*, which had beene wrongfully detained
"from him by his brother, King *Edward*: the which hee did not
"ſodainely deny unto him, but held him a while in Hope; till
"being conſtantly ſolicited therein, hee abſolutely denied him,
"objecting that ſuch a demand pretended to ſet on foote againe
"the pretences of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, ſince *Henry* the fourth,
"who was heire thereunto, having wrongfully uſurped the
"Crowne, and by his uſurpation united them to the ſame, they
"were not againe to be taken from the Crowne, unleſſe that to-
"gether with them pretence were had unto the Kingdome: the
"which it ſhould ſeem was by him intended: ſince that, being
"falne by the death of *Henry* the ſixth upon him, (*Buckingham*)
"according to the Common-law (in what concernes private men,
"but not the State) he did againe revive the tacit pretence there-
"unto. Of the which, in good faith, Hee never had the leaſt
"thought. Whereupon ſuppreſſing within himſelfe the baſe in-
"juſtice of ſo ungratefull a man, hee had much adoe to keepe
"himſelfe within the bounds of Patience; till he heard of the
"Death of the two diſpoſſeſſed and innocent Princes: of the
"which he tooke God to witneſſe He was ſo innocent, as it never
"entered into his imagination; and that when he heard of it, he
"was ſo heartily grieved, as it was impoſſible for him any more
"to looke upon the King, abhorring his ſight, and being reſolved
"never to returne to Court, till he had wrought Publique Re-
"venge:

"venge: but that finding it hard to get from him, (for Tyrants "have no more faithfull nor vigilant guardians then their owne "Suſpitions) he at laſt ſo farre prevailed, as diſſembling the True "cauſe, and finding excuſes to make his journey ſeeme neceſſary, "hee had got leave, *Richard* believing that hee went away very "well ſatisfied, whilſt in truth he was much diſcontented. That, "wherewith he entertained his thoughts in this voyage, was to "finde out a meanes how to depoſe *Richard*; but a Succeſſour "being to be found out, he could not light upon any one more "lawfull then Himſelfe: for having made a mentall ſcrutiny, and "finding that his Grandfather *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet* was "Twice removed from *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Founder of "that houſe; and *Henry* the ſixth, Thrice; it followed that His "mother, daughter to *Edmund*, being removed as *Henry* the ſixth, "He (her heire) ſhould, after *Henry* the ſixth, be the undoubted Suc-"ceſſour; the line of *Sommerſet* deſcending from the ſaid *John* "Duke of *Lancaſter* in like ſort, the other having onely prece-"dency by Birth-right in *Henry* the fourth, the fifth, and ſixth: "ſo as feeding himſelfe with this imagination, aſſiſted by Vanity "and Ambition, he though he might have grounded *Richards* "ruin upon the foundation of his Owne pretence not finding any "oppoſition therein. But meeting with the Counteſſe of *Rich-"mond* (wife to the now Lord *Stanley*) betweene *Worceſter* and "*Bridgnorth*, his ill-grounded Fabrick was ſoon overthrowne. For "calling to mind that ſhee was the onely daughter and Heire to "*John* Duke of *Sommerſet*, elder brother to his Grandfather *Ed-"mund*, it followed that Her ſonne the Earle of *Richmond*, was the "true heire and pretender, which he had formerly thought Him-"ſelfe to be. And that believing himſelfe to be ſo, he had pro-"ceeded even to the point of weighing the Dangers, and amu-"ſing himſelfe about what meanes he were beſt to make uſe of: "whether of his naturall Right, or of Election: and though the "Lawes both of the Kingdome and of Nature appeared ſufficient "to him, for what concerned his Naturall Right; yet the Succeſ-"ſion having been Interrupted, and the houſe of *Yorke* in poſ-"ſeſſion, he had thought it requiſite for him to have the Votes "of the Lords and Commons, for that the generall lawfull Election "would corroborate his particular Right, and exclude the Ty-"rant. Touching Dangers; he found they would be great in "a litigious Kingdome, in which let the title be never ſo apparent, "ſome will not be wanting who will oppoſe it; particularly "upon the preſent occaſion; the houſe of *Yorke* reigning, *Edwards* "daughters being well Beloved, and by reaſon of their Unkles "evill intreatment, Pittied by all men: ſo as though they might "have a great deſire to free themſelves of a perverſe King, yet "was it not ſuch as to make them favour Another to their pre-"judice who were held the true Heires. But the ſeeing of the "Counteſſe having made him aware of the Injuſtice of his pre-"tences, and that if he ſhould continue Obſtinate therein, dan-

"gers

"gers were likely to increaſe, if *Edwards* daughters joyning with "the Earle of *Richmond*, He were by their partakers to be ſet "upon on both ſides, hee had changed his mind. Not that the "Counteſſe had ſpoken to him of it, who had no ſuch Thought, "but that he had obſerved Here a Neerer Propinquity. The diſ- "courſe ſhe held with him was; To conjure him by the Neere- "neſſe of his Blood, and by the memory of *Humphrey* Duke of "*Buckingham*, his Grandfather, and ſworne brother to *John* Duke "of *Sommerſet* her father, that he would entreat the King to re- "aſſume her ſonne the Earle of *Richmond* into his favour, and "ſuffer him to returne to *England:* and that for her part, ſhee "would oblige her ſelfe to make him marry which of *Edwards* "daughters the King would pleaſe, without Portion or any o- "ther thing, ſave onely his re-patriation. The which hee pro- "miſed to doe; whereupon they parted: ſhe with New Hopes, "and he with New Thoughts. For, calling to mind the Earles "claime, with the ſame apprehenſions which were by Him (the "Biſhop) propounded the night before; he fell upon a reſolu- "tion to aſſiſt him with all Might and Meanes, as true Heire of "the houſe of *Lancaſter*, in the defence whereof his Father and "Grandfather had beene ſlaine; upon this condition notwith- "ſtanding, that hee ſhould marry *Elizabeth* eldeſt daughter to "King *Edward*: for that this marriage joyning together the "two houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, in the two perſons who "could onely pretend unto the Crowne, the Kingdome would "be eſtabliſhed, and all occaſion of Warre or Civill Diſſenſion "would be taken away for the time to come. The which mar- "riage, if the Mother and the Sonne of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* "would accept of, on the one ſide; and the Mother and Daugh- "ter of the Houſe of *Yorke* on the other; none would be to be "feared but the Boare that wounded all men with his Tuskes, "and who would doubtleſſy be ſoone deſtroyed; ſince all men "were to joyne in a worke, from whence were to iſſue both Pub- "lique and Private eaſe and quiet.

It cannot be conceived how overjoy'd the Biſhop was to heare this his Concluſion, being the ſame he deſired: ſo as praiſing the Dukes Goodneſſe and Wiſdome, and now longing to ſee the buſineſſe on foot, he asked him with which of the two he inten- ded to treat firſt? who anſwered, with the Counteſſe of *Rich- mond*; for that it was neceſſary firſt to know the Earle her Sonnes mind. Which the Biſhop approving of, he offered to bring unto him *Reynold Bray*, a Houſhold-ſervant to the Counteſſe, a wiſe diſcreet man, and who being verſt in the negotiation of great buſineſſes, would be fitteſt to be imployed in this. The which the Duke approving of, hee wrote unto him, and ſent the Letter by an Expreſſe, wherein he deſired him to come to *Brecknock*, for a buſineſſe which concerned the Counteſſe his Miſtreſſe. He forthwith obeyed who twas ſent for him. The inſtructions he received were, that conſidering the Kingdome could not be

brought to quiet but by advancing the Earle of *Richmond* to the Crown, by meanes of uniting the two houses of *Lancaster* and *York* by marriage; that the Counteſſe of *Richmond* ſhould treat thereof with Queen *Elizabeth*, and having obtained Her good will, and Her eldeſt Daughters, ſhee ſhould ſend into *Brittany* to treat thereof with her Sonne: who if He woud promiſe to marry Her after He ſhould have obtained the Crowne, they engaged themſelves, by joyning the Forces of the Factions, to make him King. *Bray* being diſpatched away with this Embaſſie, the Biſhop took leave likewiſe of the Duke: the Duke was loth to part with him, needing his Advice; but he reſolved howſoever to be gone: and whilſt the Duke fed him with hopes, under pretence of raiſing men who might ſecure him in his journey, he ſtole away diſguiſed; and getting luckily to *Ely*, he provided himſelfe of moneys and paſt over into *Flanders*: where being Abſent, but in a ſafe place, he furthered the buſineſſe more then he could have done, had he, not without danger, ſtay'd in *England*. Yet did his departure prove unfortunate to the Duke: for, wanting His advice, and ſome too early notice being gotten of the Deſigne, it proved his finall ruine.

Bray acquainted his Lady with the buſineſſe, who approved of it, encouraged thereunto by the great quality and condition they were of who were the promoters of it: but the Queen being in Sanctuary, and it not befitting the Counteſſe to goe to her in perſon, ſhe ſent to her her Phyſitian *Lewis*, who being a learned man, by birth a Welchman, and one of the greateſt eſteeme of as many as were of his profeſſion, was fitter to be imploy'd in this buſineſſe then any one of another condition; for the Queen ſtood in need of ſuch men, being continually troubled with new indiſpoſitions of health, cauſed either for want of bodily exerciſe, or by the ſuperaboundant exerciſe of her mind; ſo as willing him to viſit her as of Himſelfe, ſhe wiſhed him to acquaint her with the buſineſſe; not as it was Digeſted and Concluded, but as a conceit of his Owne, not hard to be effected if She would approve of it. The Phyſician conſented; and going to *London* upon ſome Other pretence, he went to viſit her, being well known unto her: and having occaſion to ſpeake of her Afflictions, he "deſired leave to acquaint her with a Thought which ſince it pro-"ceeded from a good Heart, he hoped that though it might "appeare to Her to be Vaine, and not Feaſible, yet ſhe would "not be the worſe for knowing it. The Queene permitting him "to ſay his pleaſure, he told her; That ſince the Death of King "*Edward* of glorious memory, and of the two innocent Children "her Sonnes, and ſince the Uſurpation made of the Kingdome "by *Richard*, the moſt deteſtable of as many Tyrants as ever "had been heard of, he could never be at quiet within himſelfe "till he had found out a meanes whereby to put the Kingdome "in Quiet, the juſt Heires in their Poſſeſſion, and to bring the "unjuſt Uſurper to ruine. But that having conſidered many, he

be-

"bethought himſelfe, that ſo much blood having been ſpent be-
"tweene the two Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, the beſt way
"was to unite them both by Marriage; giving the Lady *Eliza-*
"*beth* heire to the houſe of *Yorke*, for wife to the Earle of *Rich-*
"*mond* heire to the houſe of *Lancaſter*. A match wherewith all
"the Kingdome was to be ſatisfied, for that Peace being thereby
"likely to enſue, the two Houſes were to be accorded, to the
"Deſtruction of the Tyrant, and the reſtoring of Her ſelfe, Fa-
"mily, and Children, to their former greatneſſe. If things natu-
rally good of themſelves are apt to content ſuch as are endued with Reaſon, and eſpecially thoſe who are thereby to receive Eaſe and Comfort, great reaſon had the Queene to be herewith-all pleaſed; who being laden with ſo many miſeries, ſaw in this her deſperate condition, an evident meanes of reſtoring her Selfe and Family. She thanked God, acknowledging that if there remained any hopes of conſolation to her, there was none in humane appearance, more likely then this. After ſhe had thankfully acknowledged her Obligation to the Phyſitian for his ſo wiſe and diſcreet adviſe, ſhe prayed him that ſince he had beene the firſt inventor, he would likewiſe put it in execution: that ſhe knew of what eſteeme he was with the Counteſſe of *Richmond*; to whom ſhe bad him ſay in Her behalfe, That if the Earle her Sonne would binde himſelfe by Oath to marry *Elizabeth* her Eldeſt Daughter; and in caſe ſhe ſhould Die, her Second daughter; ſhe promiſed to aſſiſt him, by all friends and adhærents, in getting the Crowne. The Phyſician having told the Counteſſe thus much, ſhe preſently went to worke. *Reynald Bray* dealt with ſuch as he knew faithfull, and fit for a buſineſſe of ſuch importance; whilſt the Queen negotiated with all thoſe who hated the King, and wiſht for nothing more then an opportunity of doing her ſervice. Thoſe imployed by the Counteſſe, beſides *Bray* and the Phyſitian, were Sir *Giles Aubeny*, Sir *John Cheinie*, Sir *Richard Gilford*, *Thomas Ramney*, and *Hugh Conway*. The Phyſitian had preferred one *Chriſtopher Urſwick* to be her Chaplaine; a wiſe man, and who having ſerved on the behalfe of *Henry* the ſixth as long as he lived, might ſafely be relied upon, as well for his Fidelity as for his Wiſdome. She had purpoſed to have ſent him into *Brittanny* to her ſonne; but being the Duke of *Buckingham* was the promoter of the buſineſſe, ſhe thought it was fitter to imploy ſome one of a better quality: ſhe therefore ſent unto him *Hugh Conway*, who with a good ſumme of Money tooke his way by *Plymouth* through *Cornwall*; whilſt Sir *Richard Gilford* ſent *Thomas Ramney* for the ſame end through *Kent*; to the effect that if the one ſhould miſcarry, the other might doe the worke: but Fortune was ſo favourable to them, as they differed not many houres in their meeting in *Britanny*. Their Embaſſie was: That
"he was ſent for as King, Named thereunto by the Great ones,
"and deſired by All: The marriage agreed upon by the Queene
"and the Duke of *Buckingham*: That he ſhould come away with

"all possible haste, and land in *Wales*; where he should finde Ayd "and Friends sufficient to render himselfe powerfull in an In- "stant; both factions being for him. The Earle, fashioned out by nature to be King, communicated the businesse to the Duke of *Britanny* (who after King *Edwards* death had given him his liberty) desiring his assistance in so necessary an expedition: he being called in by a free-borne people, profest enemies to the Tyrant, whose cruelty was so detestable to all the world; promising him that if God should so farre favour his cause, (as he well hoped he would) he would be answerable unto him with such Services as befitted an obligation never to be forgotten. *Richard* had by meanes of his Embassadour *Thomas Hutton*, yea by the proffer of certaine summes of Money, dealt with the Duke not long before, to keepe him in safe custody: but the Duke detesting *Richards* wickednesse, did not onely doe nothing therein, but made good all his promises of Favour to the Earle upon this occasion. So as confident of good successe, he sent *Conway* and *Ramney* backe to his mother, with answer that he did accept of the invitation; that as soon as he should have provided things necessary, he would come for *England*; that in the meane time order might be taken for the affaires there, to the end that he might finde the lesse impediments. Upon the hearing of this, they who sided with him tooke courage, and began to prepare for the businesse. They sent into requisite places people fit to make them good; and disposed of other Commanders in other places, that they might be ready upon occasion: Others under-hand sollicited the people, to the end they might be ready to rise when time should serve. The Bishop of *Ely* wrote from *Flanders* to such as he knew hated *Richard*, promoting the businesse by the sole authority of his Letters. So as though amongst as many as were therein imployed, there was not found one Unfaithfull person, yet the affaire being to passe through so many mouthes, and to come to so many Eares, it was impossible but that some Whispering or confused Notion thereof should reach *Richards* eares; who judged things the Greater by his not knowing them: for ignorance cannot Obviate, since it doth not foresee. He was not ignorant of his being generally hated; and was not sure that no man out of his owne inclination would discover any thing to Him; so as all his intelligence must proceed from his owne Diligence and quicke Foresight. So as placing Spies everywhere, he tooke Armes: and though he knew not which way to bend his course, yet was he in readinesse to march whether necessity should compell him. But such commotions never wanting a prime Ring-leader, he thought the Duke of *Buckingham* must needs be the *Primum mobile* of this: he therefore was of opinion, that the chiefest provisions were to be made against Him; but resolved first, to try him with offers, which if they should not take effect, then to make him an Example to all such as had or should hereafter conspire against him. He sent an expresse messenger to him with

Letters

Letters full of Courteſie, wherein he deſired him to come unto him: giving order to the Gentleman that carried them, to promiſe him he ſhould have what ever he could demand. But theſe proffers, the Larger they were, the more Suſpicious were they, and out of time: the Duke would not heare on That eare; he knew *Richards* nature, and that he had proceeded on like manner with all thoſe he deſired to abuſe. He therefore deſired to be excuſed, alleaging the indiſpoſition of his Stomacke, which having taken his Appetite quite away, did likewiſe rob him of his wonted Repoſe. *Richard* not herewithall ſatisfied, wrote to him in termes cleane contrary to the former: he commanded him in a reproachfull manner, that all delayes and excuſes laid ſide, he would come to him. The which the Duke not being able to digeſt, and being reſolved upon the Rebelion, he forgot all manner of Artifice, and in down-right terme told the Gentleman that brought the Letter, he would not come: that he eſteemed him as an Enemy, and that he had never been befriended by him. Thus all diſſimulation layd aſide, they prepar'd for Warre; and advertiſed their friends, to the end they might raiſe the People, and make them take Armes. The noiſe hereof made the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* ſonne to the Queene Dowager, quit the Sanctuary where together with his Mother he was, and goe to *Yorkeſhire* to raiſe forces. In *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall* Sir *Edward Courtney*, and his brother *Peter*, Biſhop of *Exceter*, did the ſame: and Sir *Richard Gilford*, aſſiſted by many other Gentlemen, began the warre in *Kent*. *Richard* was not taken at unawares, having formerly provided for himſelfe; but this Bore not making any account of theſe little Beagles (for ſuch he reputed *Gilford*, *Courtney*, and *Dorſet*) he did not diſunite his forces, that ſo he might lead them All againſt the Duke, who was the chiefe Maſtiffe of this Bore-baiting, whom if he ſhould beate, he aſſured himſelfe, he ſhould eaſily teare the other in pieces. Thus reſolved, he tooke his way toward *Salisbury*, whilſt the Duke (who had gotten together an Army of Welſhmen, more by Threats and Haughty Demeanour, then by money or faire entertainment) marcht towards *Glouceſter*, that he might paſſe the *Severne* there, and ſo joyne himſelfe with the two *Courtneys*, and the reſt of their adherents: which could he have done, *Richard* had been undone. But whilſt he marched along with this deſigne, the *Severne*, through the extraordinary Raine, had ſo overflowed its bankes, as that it became not onely impaſſable, but men had therewithall been ſurpriſed by night in their beds, children carried away in their Cradles, and the tops of Hils were covered with waters, ſo as flockes of ſheepe were not there ſafe. This deluge of raine continued for the ſpace of Ten daies, leaving an unlucky name behind, of the great waters of the Duke of *Buckingham*. He then finding the paſſage ſhut up on all ſides was enforced to ſtay a while; whilſt his Souldiers almoſt drowned with Raine, famiſht for want of Victuals, and having no Pay, tooke a reſolution to diſ-

disband of themſelves : the Duke had no authority to keepe them together, his Intreaties were not heard, his Perſwaſions were of no efficacy, his promiſes vaine and unprofitable; inſomuch as he was left almoſt all Alone, not knowing what way to take, or where to ſave himſelfe. He dismiſſed all his attendance and reſolved to go neer *Shrewsbury* to the houſe of one *Humphrey Baniſter*, a ſervant of his, who having beene beloved by him and well rewarded, he thought he might expect from him ſuch ſervice as by obligation and gratitude he was bound unto; till ſuch time as he might either gather new forces, or paſſe over into *Britanny* to the Earle of *Richmond*. But he failed in his deſigne; for in this ſo great neceſſity, *Baniſter* who ought him all the Obligation that one man may owe another, was faulty to him.

The disbanding of his Army being known, and it not known whether he were Alive or Dead, ſuch feare was thereby apprehended by thoſe of *Kent*, *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, as laying down their Armes, they thought only how to ſave themſelves, ſome into Sanctuaries, ſome beyond the Seas. The Biſhop of *Exeter*, his brother Sir *Edward Courtney*, who was by *Henry* the 7th afterwards made Earle of *Devonſhire*, *Thomas Gray* Marquis of *Dorſet*, the L. *Wells*, Sir *John Bourchier*, Sir *Edward Woodvile* a gallant Souldier, and brother to the Queen *Dowager*, Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Sir *Giles d' Anbeny*, *Thomas Arundell*, *John Cheyny*, with two of his brothers, and *Richard Edgcombe*, (all of them for the moſt part Knights) fled into *Britanny*; and were follow'd by Captaine *John Hollowwell* and Captaine *Edward Poynings*. *Richard* hearing of the *Welchmens* retreat, the Dukes flight (it not being known whether, and the reſt of the Conſpirators deſigne to ſave themſelves) he ſent to all the ports to the end they might not be ſuffer'd either to come in or go out at any of them; making Proclamation, that whoſoever ſhould diſcover or deliver up into his Hands the Duke of *Buckingham*, if he were under the condition of Villenage he ſhould be enfranchis'd; and if otherwiſe, together with a generall pardon he ſhould have a Thouſand pounds ready money given him. Together with this he made ſtrong preparations at Sea, being aſſured by *Thomas Hutton*, who had been Embaſſadour in *Britanny*, that, without all doubt the Earle of *Richmond* was to be aſſiſted by the Duke thereof both with men and monie : hee ſent many Ships well furniſhed with men and Guns to the Coaſt of *Britanny*, with intention either to fight with him, or hinder his landing on the *Engliſh* ſhoare. In other parts he left no place unprovided for; people were not ſuffer'd to land without diligent ſearch, that ſo ſome news might be had of the Duke of *Buckingham*. *Baniſter* (into whoſe hands the Duke had truſted his ſafety) hearing of the Proclamations, and the Rewards therein promiſed (were it either for Feare or Avarice) diſcover'd where he was to the Sheriffe of *Shropſhire*: who going to *Baniſters* houſe, found the Duke in a Day-labourers apparrell digging in a Garden; in which habit he ſent him well guarded to *Shrewsbery*, where *Richard*

ard then was. He denyed not the Conſpiracy, he hoped by his free confeſſion to have gotten admittance into the Kings Preſence; ſome think with an intention to beg his Pardon; others, to kill the King with a Dagger which he wore underneath his Cloths. But *Richard* not ſuffering him to be brought unto him, he was beheaded on All-ſoules day without any other manner of Proceſſe, in the Market place. To *Baniſter* (the chiefeſt of all ungratefull Traytors) nothing that was promiſed was made good: *Richard* who was unjuſt in all things elſe was juſt in This; denying him the reward of his Diſloyalty: which amongſt his many Faylings worthy of Blame, was the only one worthy of Commendation. Puniſhed thus ſlightly by man, he received much more greivous puniſhments from God: his Eldeſt ſon died mad; his ſecond of Convulſion fits; his Third ſon was Drown'd in a Standing poole; and his Daughter a very Beautifull young Woman was cruſted over with Leproſy: he himſelfe in his later Yeares was convict of Man-ſlaughter, and condemned to be Hanged, but was ſaved by his Booke. The Duke was in his death accompained by many others; amongſt which, by Sir *George Browne*, Sir *Roger Clifford*, and Sir *Thomas Saintlieger*, who was the laſt husband to the Dutcheſſe of *Exeter* the Kings ſiſter.

The Earle of *Richmond* aſſiſted by the Duke of *Britanny*, had got together five Thouſand *Britons*, and forty Ships furniſhed for all purpoſes, wherein he imbarked himſelfe and made for *England*. But the next night he met with a terrible Tempeſt which diſperſt all his Veſſells, carrying them into ſeverall places, inſomuch as there remained onely One with him, with the which he found himſelfe neer the Haven of Poole in *Dorſetſhire*: where he diſcoverd the ſhore all over peſter'd with men; whereat he was much afraid; for they were placed there to hinder his landing, in like manner as others were ſent for the ſame purpoſe to other places. He caſt Anchor, expecting the arrivall of his Other Ships: he commanded that none ſhould go on ſhore without His leave, and ſent forth a boate to ſee who thoſe men were: when the boat was come within Hearing, thoſe on ſhore ſaid they were ſent to conduct them to the Duke of *Buckingham*, that was not far from thence with a great Army, expecting the Earle of *Richmond* ſo to give chaſe to *Richard* who had but ſmall forces with him, being abandoned almoſt by All men. But the Earle finding out the coſenage (for had it beene ſo, they wanted not Boates to have ſent ſome known man abord him) no newes being heard of the reſt of his Fleet, and the wind being reaſonable faire for him to returne, he hoiſted Saile, and with a fore-winde landed in *Normandy*. *Charles* the Eight Reigned then in *France*, his Father *Lewis* being not long before dead: the Earle was deſirous to returne by Land to *Britanny*, and being to go through *France* he durſt not adventure without a ſafe conduct: he therefore diſpatcht away a Gentleman to the King for one: he was graciouſly heard by the King; who commiſerated the Earles misfortunes, and together with

with a ſafe conduct, ſent him a good ſum of money; by meanes whereof he paſt ſafely into *Britanny*, whether likewiſe he ſent his Ships. But underſtanding there what ill ſucceſſe his affaires had in *England*, how the Duke of *Buckingham* was dead, and that the Marquis of *Dorſet* with the reſt of his companions (who having many dayes expected ſome news of him in that Court, grew now to diſpaire thereof, believing ſome miſchiefe had befalne him, and therefore had withdrawne themſelves to *Vennes*) was come, he was much grieved and tooke this frowne of Fortune at his firſt beginning for an ill *Omen*: yet was he comforted at the arrivall of his Friends, promiſing ſome good to himſelfe through their ſafeties. When he was come to *Renes*, he ſent for them and welcomed them with termes of Curteſy and Thankefulneſſe. The condition of affaires being well weigh'd, they reſolv'd to effect what formerly had beene but ſpoken of: to wit, The war againſt *Richard*, and his depoſing: and the making of *Richmond* King; upon Condition that he ſhould promiſe to Marry the Lady *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth. Theſe Articles were agreed upon and ſworne unto by all parties on *Chriſtmaſſe* day in the Cathedrall Church of that City; where likewiſe the Marquis, with all the reſt did Homage unto him, as to their actuall King, ſwearing to ſerve him Faithfully, and to employ their Lives and Eſtates in endevouring *Richards* deſtruction. The Earle failed not to acquaint the Duke with all theſe proceedings; and to make knowne unto him the cauſe why he undertook this buſineſſe, and what he ſtood in need of to effect it: the cauſe was; his being ſent for, Called in, and Expected; *Richards* government being growne intolerable: that he ſtood in Need of was Another Fleet, and ſupplies of money; he having in ſetting forth the Former, ſpent all that his Mother had ſent him, and what he had gathered amongſt his Friends: he therefore deſired the Duke to lend him ſome monies promiſing (to boote with the never to be forgotten Obligation) ſodainly to repay him, when God ſhould have given a bleſſing to his juſt endevours. The Duke was not backward either in Promiſes or Performance: ſo as the Earle had conveniency of furniſhing himſelfe with Men and ſhips; whilſt *Richard* did what he could in *England* to hinder his deſigne: though to no purpoſe, for if God keepe not the City, the Watchman watcheth but in vaine. He in ſundry places, put many who were guilty or ſuſpected to death: and having returned to *London*, Hee called a Parliament wherein the Earle of *Richmond* and all that for his cauſe had forſaken the Land were declared enemies to the King and Kingdome, and had their goods confiſcated. They being many and the richeſt men of the Kingdome, their confiſcations would have beene able to have diſcharged the Warre againſt them, had not *Richard* beene formerly too liberall in his Donatives, thereby endevouring to reconcile mens mindes unto him, and to cancell the uncancellable memory of his cruelty to his Nephews: ſo as though the Summes were great which hereby accrew'd, yet were they not ſufficient; nor did they

they free him from laying insufferable Taxes upon his people. Twas a wonder the Lord *Stanley* was not in the number of the Proscribed, his Wife Mother to the Earle of *Richmond* being chief of the Conspiracy: but he freed himselfe from any the least signe of guilt; and *Richard* seemed not to valve his Wife, least if He should embrue his Hands in the blood of a Lady of so great quality, He might yet more incite the Peoples hatred. He was contented shee should be committed to the custody of her Husband, with order that she should be kept in some private place of her House, and that none should be suffered to come to her, who might conveigh Letters to her Son, or Messages to any Other. He also caused *William Collingborne*, who had beene High Sheriffe of *Wiltshire* and *Dorsetshire*, to be executed, for having written by way of jeare That a Cot, a Rat, and *Lovell* the Dog, did Governe *England* under a Hog: alluding by Cat, to *Catesby*; by Rat, to *Ratcliffe*, and by the Dog to the Lord *Lovell*, who gave the Dog for his Armes, as did *Richard* the Boare for His: and these three were His chiefest Favourites: Some were of opinion, Hee was put to death for having had Intelligence with the Earle of *Richmond*, and with Marquis *Dorset*; for hee was convict to have proffered Money to a certaine man, to carry Letters into *Britanny*; wherein Hee perswaded them to come Instantly, and Land at *Poole* in *Dorsetshire*, whilst Hee assisted by others would raise the People.

To keepe himselfe from troubles out of Forraine parts, and that He might the better minde his Home-broyles, *Richard* thought necessary to hold good intelligence with the King of *Scotland*, who often troubling Him with Inroades, diverted him from his Home-affaires wherein consisted the preservation of his Life and Kingdome. This businesse was treated by Commissioners, who agreed upon a Truce for Three yeares, each of them being to keepe what they were possest of; except the Castle of *Dunbarre* which was given to King *Edward* by the Duke of *Albany*, the last time that Hee fled from *Scotland*: which the *Scots* would have restored. And that he might have a double tie upon them, he concluded a Marriage betweene the Duke of *Rothsay* Prince and Heire of *Scotland*, and his Neece *Anne* of *Poole* Daughter to *John* Duke of *Suffolke*, and his Owne Sister *Anne*, a Lady so affectionately beloved by him, as his Onely Sonne the Prince of *Wales* being dead, he made Her Sonne *John* Earle of *Lincolne* be proclamed heire to the Crowne, disinheriting, of meere hatred, his brothers Daughters, and for that having declared them to be Bastards, his Owne title was preserved by the continuance of their such repute. All these precautions did not notwithstanding free his perturbed minde from those furies which (leaving their naturall habitation, had brought Hell into his Conscience; so as though *Buckingham* were dead, and so many others Dead and Banisht, yet could not he have any Security: his Faults committed, his deserved Hatred, and the Earle of *Richmond*, would not

ſuffer him to enjoy any one houres reſt. And albeit in his contriving how to uſurpe the Crowne; hee made no account of Him, whilſt his brother liv'd, his minde being then fixt upon *Hall*, that had beene King, and was then in Being, yet Times and Perſons being changed, He likewiſe changed Opinion: the one being Dead, the other Alive and at Liberty, and who was the onely man that with Right and Juſtice could do that to Him which he unjuſtly and againſt all Right had cruelly done to others. Hee therefore indevour'd againe to have the Earle in his poſſeſſion, or at leaſt that the Duke of *Britanny* by bereaving him of his Liberty (as he had done in his brother King *Edwards* time) would ſecure him from the Miſchiefe that might enſue by his comming into *England*: and not believing he was likely to obtaine a favour of this nature by way of Friendſhip, much leſſe for any Rights ſake, he grounded his demands upon the baſis of Profit and Intereſt; the onely meanes to obtaine ones deſire from ſuch as have no feeling of Juſtice. He loaded his Embaſſadours with Monies and Preſents to preſent unto the Duke: together with Them he offered him *Richmondſhire*, and all the Revenues of the Earle, as likewiſe all that belonged in *England*, to all thoſe that were fled over to him into *Britanny*: the which being very much, would have ſufficed to have corrupted any other ſave Duke *Francis* the ſecond one of the Nobleſt and moſt vertuous Princes that lived in thoſe times, as he was held by all men. This is *Argentres* his relation, who affirmes hee hath found among the Records of *Britanny* the grant of this County, together with the Names of the Churches, Monaſteries, and Priories therein: but if the Duke ſhould die without heires of his body, the Reverſion ſhould fall to the King. The Embaſſadours or Deputies (as Hee termes them) could not have acceſſe unto the Duke, being come to a ſeaſon that He was beſide Himſelfe, an infirmity He was often ſubject unto; whereupon they made their adreſſes to *Peter Landais*, who had power to diſpoſe of the Prince and State as He pleaſed. The large ſums of *Engliſh* money made him liſten to what they propounded: his baſe minde (not valuing Honour) made him accept of the Offer, but not in ſuch manner as it was propounded. For He being the man that was to deliver up the Earle (the Duke not being in condition either to yeild him, or to detaine Him) He would have *Richmondſhire* to himſelfe; whereupon many Meſſengers were ſundry times diſpatcht for *England*, which was the Earles ſafety: for theſe practiſes being diſcovered in *England*, and the Biſhop of *Ely* being advertiſed in *Flanders*, He ſpeedily gave the Earle notice thereof adviſing him immediately to depart from thence, for that He was bought and ſold betweene *Richard* and thoſe who were of chiefe authority in that State; ſolas if He did not ſodainely ſave himſelfe, He would fall into his enemies hands. The Earle received this advertiſement when he was at *Vennes*, from whence hee ſent into *France* for a ſafe-conduct, which was by the King

thereof without delay ſent him: and it being impoſſible to ſave Himſelfe and all his Partakers, at the ſame time, he feigned to ſend the Lords that were with him to viſit the Duke at *Rennes*; giving order to the Earle of *Pembroke*, who conducted them, that when they ſhould be upon the Confines, He ſhould immediately quit the Countrey; as he did: whilſt He himſelfe, feigning two dayes after to viſit a friend of his not farre from *Vannes*, got on horſe-back, waited on onely by Five ſervants; and when He was entred the Wood, He put on one of His ſervants Coates and got by By-wayes out of the State, and arrived at *Anion* whether the Earle of *Pembroke* with the reſt were, but long before, come. His eſcape was the eaſier in that it was not ſuſpected; having left above three Hundred *Engliſh*, all of His Retinue behinde him in *Vennes*; otherwiſe it would have gone ill with Him: For *Peter* had already raiſed people, and appointed Commanders over them, who were within three dayes to have beene at *Vennes* to have detained Him; hearing (by what meanes I cannot tell) of his Departure, he diſpatched ſo ſpeedily after Him, as thoſe who had the Commiſſion to ſtay Him, got to the uttermoſt bounds of *Britanny* not above an Houre after He was gone out of them. The Duke, being this time returned to His perfect ſence, was diſpleaſed hereat, thinking this might redound to his Diſhonour: He chid *Landais*; and commanded that all the *Engliſh* that were left in *Vennes* ſhould be ſuffered to depart, making them to be defrayed not onely whilſt they were in His State, but till they came to their Maſter; to whom He likewiſe ſent the Money He had promiſed, by *Edward Woodvile* and *Edward Poinings* two *Engliſh* Gentlemen: for the which the Earle returned Him many Thankes; ſaying, He ſhould not be at quiet till Fortune had befriended Him with ſome meanes whereby in ſome ſort to requite His infinite Obligation to the Duke, by whoſe favour onely He lived. King *Charles* was then at *Langres*; whither the Earle went to Him and acquainted Him with the reaſon of His flight from *Britanny*, and how the Nobility and People of *England* had ſent for Him to free them from *Richards* tyranny. Hee intreated his aſſiſtance; which was not hard to obtaine from ſo generous a Prince as Hee was, againſt one who for his notorious wickedneſſe was abhorred by all men. The King bad him be of good comfort, promiſed to aſſiſt him, and brought him on his way to *Montargis*, treating the Lords that were with him with hoſpitality becomming a King; whilſt thus he was ordering his affaires, Fortune, the better to encourage him, ſent unto him a man, not onely forgotten but who was little better then thought dead; *John Vere*, Earle of Oxford, who after the Battell at *Barnet*, had gotten into *Scotland*, from thence to *France*, and from thence had made himſelfe Maſter of Saint *Michales* Mount in Cornwall: where being beſieged, and yeilding up the place, King *Edward* had ſent him priſoner. This Noble-man had ſo farre prevailed with Sir *James Blunt* Captaine of that Fort, and Sir *John*

Forteſcue Porrer of *Callis*, that he did not onely obtaine his liberty, but got them to forſake their commands, and go along with him to put themſelves under the conduct of the Earle of *Richmond*. But *Blunt* having left his Wife and all his goods in *Hammes*, he fortified it compleately, and added to the uſuall gariſon an extraordinary number of Souldiers, to the end that if they ſhould be beſieged they might defend themſelves till Fortune had turned her back upon *Richard*. The Earle tooke this unexpected Liberty of the Earle of *Oxford* as a good augury: for being of Noble Blood, of eſteemed valour, of praiſe-worthy conſtancy, (having beene alwayes a ſider with the Houſe of *Lancaſter*) one in whom vertues diſputed for precedency, in whom wiſdome and valour were rivalls; he thought God had given him his Liberty at this ſo neceſſary time, that hee might aſſiſt him. The King being returned to *Paris*, the Earles retinue increaſed; all that were fled from *England*, as well as all the *Engliſh* that were in thoſe parts, either as Schollers in the Univerſities, or returning from their Travells, flockt unto him: amongſt which one *Richard Fox* a Secular Prieſt, a man of very good parts, who was ſhortly after advanced to great places and dignities.

Richard this meane while was not wanting to Himſelfe; his ſpirits were bent upon his Owne Preſervation, and the preſervation of the Crowne which hee unworthily wore: and though he ſaw both Heaven and Earth conſpired againſt him, yet hee thought by his own Wil-neſſe to make his party good in deſpight of them both. But when he underſtood the Earle was fled out of *Britanny*, he was much amazed; his ſafety conſiſted in his hopes of having Him in his power, vvhich now fayling him he began to feare: his enemies forces conſiſted novv of both the factions; for by the Match vvith the Princeſſe *Elizabeth*, he had united the faction of *Yorke* to his owne of *Lancaſter*; ſo as the claime of *Yorke* falling upon him by his Marrying the right Heire, he vvas ſure to meet vvith great Oppoſition: His onely remedy vvas to breake the Match; but barely to breake it vvas not enough: he muſt do more, and by fore-caſting the vvorſt, do vvhat vvas beſt for Him. He thought how to ſtrengthen himſelfe by the ſame pretences, notwithſtanding his being therein oppoſed, by the Laws, Blood and Enmity; he vvould marry his Neece: Inceſt vvould ſerve but as a Laurell to crowne all other his abominations: He could eaſily vvithout any ſcruple rid himſelfe of his preſent Wife: His conſcience vvas ſo ſteeled over as it could not ſuffer compunction: As for the opinion of the World, vvho regards not Honour, values not ſhame: His ſubjects hatred vvas not to be reſpected; ſo long as with a Rod of Iron he could keepe them in obedience. That vvhich he pitcht upon vvas, Deceit, Slaughter, and Inceſt: for Deceit; vvith Allurements and faire Promiſes to ſweeten the Queene Mothers diſtaſtes; and thereby to make vvay for the other two; his Wives Death, and his Marriage vvith his Neece. "He choſe people fit for this office.

"fice. They excuſed what was paſt; they made her believe the "King was much troubled for his much beloved Neeces: that "he was ſorry they ſhould make themſelves voluntary priſoners, "that they miſtruſted the naturrall inclination and love of an "Unkle, who, as if he were their Father thought of nothing but "their Good: That his chiefeſt deſire was to treate them accord-"ing to their Birth and his Affection: to have them in Court; "to finde out good Husbands for them, and ſee them well be-"ſtowed: and that if it ſhould be his fortune to loſe his Wife "(whoſe indiſpoſitions were ſuch as there was no great hope of "her Life) his reſolution was to make the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* "his Queene: that the Neereneſſe of Bloud would prove no "impediment; Lawes were not without ſome Exceptions, and "were to be diſpenced withall, when the Neceſſity of the State, "the Quiet of the Kingdome, and the Peoples ſafety did require "it: They forgate not the Marquis *Dorſet* promiſing him Moun-"taines of Gold if he would returne to *England*: they ſhewed "how the way he was in was dangerous; that he ſhould rather "hope upon a fortune already made, then to be made; that old "wayes were plaine, and ſure; New ones, ſlippery and Preci-"pitious. Theſe men with theſe and the like conceptions knew ſo advantageouſly to behave themſelves, that the Queene at the very firſt Onſet gave them Hearing, and began to Melt; and at the ſecond, gave conſent to All that the King deſired: forget-ing her ſonnes deaths, her Husbands Infamy, who was divulged to be a Baſtard; her own ſhame, her marriage being in the Pul-pit ſaid to be Adulterous, ſhe a Concubine, and her Daughters illegitimate; and (which moſt imported) the Promiſe ſhe had made to the Counteſſe of *Richmond* concerning the Marriage of her eldeſt daughter ſealed with an Oath: All theſe things were to her as if they never had beene: Ambition ſo farre prevailed with her, as to make her faulty to her owne Honour, to the ſafe-ty of her Daughters, to the Generoſity of her paſt actions, and to her conſcience; not regarding Oathes when put in balance with the Perſwaſions of him, vvho had alwayes done her miſchiefe. Being thus abuſed ſhee diſpatcht away a Meſſenger to her Son *Dorſet*, vvho vvas in *France*, commanding him that he ſhould leave the Earle and come for *England*; telling him that all paſt injuries vvere forgotten, and forgiven, and were to be repair'd with Honours and Preferments; for that the King deſired nothing more then how to give him ſatisfaction. *Richard* having obtained the Firſt of his three deſignes (having reconciled his Siſter in Law, and his Neeces being come to the Court, where they were by him with great Solemnity received) the other Two remained: the Second would bee imperfect without the Third; and the Third vvas impoſſible without the Second: Hee could not marry his Neece, except his VVife were dead; upon this therefore hee wholly bent his thoughts, Hee conſidered that by putting her to a Violent death hee might

alienate

alienate his peoples hearts, which hee ſomewhat gained upon by his hypocriticall proceedings, which made them believe he was changed in life and diſpoſition: ſo as a Relapſe would prove dangerous to him, and make him not to be believed in what for the future he was to counterfeit. He lighed upon a meanes never dreamt of any Divell in Hell: that Griefe, Melancholy, and Feare, might joyntly worke that effect in her without Scandall, which Sword nor Poyſon could not doe but with Scandall. He forbare her bed, nor would he Speake with her; not onely denying her his Company, but his Sight: He began to bewaile his misfortune, in that he had a wife that was Barren, who would beare him no Children; a curſe which did ſo wound his Soule, as it would in ſhort time coſt him his Life: he made knowne this his great ſorrow to the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, whom he had newly ſet at liberty, being ſure he would acquaint his wife with it, and hoping it might worke the Effect he deſired. The Archbiſhop, who was a wiſe man, and very well knew *Richards* diſpoſition, ſpake hereof with ſome of his moſt intimate friends, judging the unfortunate Ladies life to be of no long durance. The King ſhortly after made it to be noiſed abroad that ſhe was Dead, to the end her death when it ſhould happen, might be the leſſe ſtrange, mens eares being accuſtomed thereunto: and he made the bruite of her death arrive at her owne eares: all this was done, in hope that the violence of Griefe would kill her; or if not, that he might with the leſſe Noiſe make her away, who had been ſo Often thought Dead. The Queen, who was a Tender Lady, and not able to reſiſt ſo many machinations, was hereat much diſmayde, knowing that Tempeſts uſe to follow Thunder, eſpecially in ſo perverſe a Climate as that of her Husbands: ſhe ran much afflicted to him, to know wherein ſhe had ſo Highly offended him, as that he thought her not onely worthy of his Hatred, which was apparently ſeene, but of the Puniſhment which being to befall her, the world thought her dead Already? His anſwer was pleaſant in words, but of ſad Senſe, mingled with Smiles, which gave her more cauſe of Suſpition then of Comfort. She went backe to her owne lodgings, where not many daies after ſhe departed this life: whether of Griefe or Poyſon, it is not certaine; thoſe who judge by likelihood, thinke the laſt. This Princeſſe was borne under an unhappy Conſtellation, as well in reſpect of her Selfe, as of thoſe who did any waies appertaine unto her. She was daughter to *Richard Nevill* Earle of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, a Peere of greateſt Power and Repute that ever *England* had; her Grand-father was beheaded, her Father and her Unkle were ſlaine in the battell at *Barnet*; her Nephevv, Son to her Siſter the Dutcheſſe of *Clarence* vvas beheaded by *Henry* the Seventh; and her Neece his Siſter, by *Henry* the Eighth, both her Husbands came to violent ends; the Firſt, Sonne to *Henrys* the ſixt, ſlaine by this her ſecond Husband; and He by others (as wee ſhall ſhortly ſee).

She

She was in her Life time bereft of the onely ſonne ſhe had by him. Laſtly as for her owne death what ever it was, it could not but be happy for Her, ſhe being thereby freed from the hands of ſo cruell a Monſter.

Two of *Richards* deſignes being obtained, the Third yet remained, his marriage with his Neece. He began to make love unto her, but it was not love that troubled him (though he would have it ſo believed) hee was troubled with thoughts of another nature: To ſee ſo many of the prime Nobility fled into *France* to the Earle of *Richmond*, to ſee himſelfe ſo nauſeous to his People, as they were ready to vomit him out, and that the Conſpiracy Diſcovered, but not Extinct, had made the Conſpirators the more wary; theſe were the buſineſſes which excluded his feyned love; love being fed by Idleneſſe, Delights, and want of other affaires whereon to imploy ones thoughts. He was jealous of none more then the Lord *Stanley* father in law to the Earle: his brother Sir *William Stanley*, *Gilbert Talbot*, and hundreds of others did not ſo much trouble him as did He alone: inſomuch as this Lord *Stanley* being deſirous to returne to his Countrey-houſe, under pretence of ſome domeſticall affaires, (but in effect, that hee might be ready at the arrivall of his ſonne in Law whom he daily expected) he would not ſuffer him to goe, unleſſe hee would leave his Eldeſt ſonne *George Stanley* in Court, reputing him a ſufficient hoſtage for his Fathers loyalty.

When he underſtood of *Blunts* rebellion, how that the Earle of *Oxford* had eſcaped out of priſon; and how that Both of them having betaken themſelves to the Earle of *Richmond*, they had delivered up unto him the Caſtle of *Hammes*; hee gave order to have it beſieged by the garriſon of *Calais*; and *Richmond* ſent the Earle of *Oxford* with a great many Souldiers to raiſe the ſiege; who having encamped himſelfe not farre from the Beſiegers, paſſed *Thomas Brandon* with Thirty commanded men into the Town, which ſo encouraged the Beſieged, as that the Enemy being ſhot at, at the ſame time, from the Town, from the Caſtle, and from *Oxfords* campe, offered a Blanke paper, into which they might enter what Conditions they pleaſed, ſo as they would ſurrender up the place. The Earle of *Oxford* who conſidered that the poſſeſſion of *Hammes* was not of any conſequence to the getting of the Kingdome, which they were in purſuit of; and that it was ſuccoured onely out of a deſire to ſave the Garriſon, and *James Blunts* wife, together with their Goods, willingly ſurrendred up the place, taking from thence the Men, Mumition, Victuals, Cannon, and all that was there of any value, which he brought all ſafe to *Paris*. *Richard* was ſo puft up with this appearance of victory, as he believed that to be true, which was falſely informed him: That the Earle of *Richmond*, weary of the large promiſes made him by *Charles* to aſſiſt him with Powerfull ſuccours, was faine 1485.

to

to content himſelfe with very ſmall ones, in which he likewiſe found himſelfe to be abuſed. Whereupon thinking his men of warre upon the Narrow Seas, and the troops of men he had diſpoſed upon the Sea-coaſts, to be ſuperfluous, he recalled his ſhips, and disbanded his men: judging that the Nobility which inhabited the maritime parts (particularly thoſe of *Wales*) were ſufficient to take order that the enemy ſhould not land unfought withall and unbeaten.

The information which was given to *Richard*, though in effect it was falſe, yet it bare with it ſo many likelyhoods of Truth, as were ſufficient to make him believe that the Earle of *Richmond*, abandoned by *Charles*, was not likely to trouble him with any forces he ſhould receive from Him; and this was the occaſion: *Charles* being in his Fourteenth yeere of age under the government of his Siſter *Anne*, wife to *Peter* of *Bourbon*, Lord of *Beau-ieu*; and according to the Ordinance of *Charles* the fifth his predeceſſour, free from Guardian-ſhip; the Princes of the Blood did notwithſtanding aſpire to the Regency, under pretence of the weakneſſe of his Conſtitution, and of his being ill brought up, he having till then been onely brought up in Childiſh ſports, not being taught ſo much as to Read. The pretenders hereunto were, the Duke of *Orleans* firſt Prince of the Blood, and *Peter* of *Bourbon* in his wifes right, ſhe being thereunto named by the late *Lewis*: and great troubles were likely hereupon to have enſued, had not the State, by committing the Kings perſon (according to his fathers will) to his ſiſters cuſtody, determined that the Kingdome ſhould have no Regent, but ſhould be governed by the Counſell of State, compoſed of Twelve perſonages, to be choſen for their worth and Quality. So as *France* being in this condition, the Earle could not obtaine what was promiſed him, ſince it was not the King Alone that could effect it; and the Twelve, though willing to aſſiſt him found many Difficulties therein, but were eſpecially hindred, through feare of a Civill warre within themſelves.

At the ſame time the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* attempted to eſcape away; his Mothers advertiſements, which filled him with high hopes, and the rubbes he ſaw the Earle met withall made him tacke about, and ſide with *Richard*. He went out of *Paris* ſecretly by night, taking his way for *Flanders*, that from thence hee might paſſe into *England*: but the Earle being informed thereof, and having gotten leave from the King to ſtop him whereſoever he ſhould be found, ſent into all parts after him, and *Humphrey Cheuie* had the fortune to light upon him, who with Perſwaſions and faire Promiſes brought him backe: otherwiſe he might have proved very prejudiciall to them, for hee knew the very bottome of all their deſignes. But this chance made the Earle very much apprehend, that through delay he might either Loſe or Ruine his friends; he therefore judged it neceſ-

ſary

ſary to attempt that with a Few which he could not with Many. He borrowed money of the King, and many others, to whom he left as in pawne Sir *John Bourchier* and the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, whom hee did not aſſie in, to have him neere him. Thus having aſſembled together certaine Souldiers, hee went to *Roan*, expecting there till the ſhips came to *Harfleur* which were to carry him over. Here he underſtood of the death of King *Richards* wife, how he had reſolved to marry his neece, who by her mother was promiſed unto Him; and that *Cecilie* the Second daughter was married (which was falſe) to one of ſo baſe condition as his pedegree was not knowne: hereat hee was much troubled, as were likewiſe all the Lords that were with him; ſince the hopes which they had built unto themſelves upon the Yorkiſh faction were vaniſhed by vertue of the aforeſaid marriage. Conſultation was held what was to be done; it was judged a raſh reſolution to undertake ſo dangerous a buſineſſe with ſuch a Handfull of people: The reſolutions which they pitcht upon were; not to ſtirre till they ſhould have new advertiſements from beyond the Seas; and to entice over to their party Sir *Walter Herbert*, a Gentleman of a great family, and of a great power in *Wales*, promiſing that the Earle ſhould marry His ſiſter; and to ſend a Gentleman to the Earle of *Northumberland*, who had married the Other ſiſter; to the end that he might negotiate the buſineſſe. But nothing enſued hereon; for finding the paſſage ſhut up, the meſſenger returned not doing any thing.

But having much about the ſame time received Letters from *Morgan Ridwell*, a Lawyer and a Confident of his, with newes that Sir *Rice ap Thomas* and Captaine *Savage*, two men of great retinue in *Wales*, would declare themſelves for him; and that *Reynald Bray* had in his poſſeſſion great ſummes of money to pay the Souldier; ſo as he ſhould doe well to make haſte, and land in *Wales*, ſince delay might be prejudiciall to him: hee tooke ſhipping on the fifteenth of *Auguſt*, having but a few ſhips and two thouſand Souldiers with him. In ſeven daies ſpace he landed at *Milford-haven* in *Wales*; from whence paſſing on to *Dale*, (a place wherein all Winter long troopes of Souldiers had beene kept to hinder his landing) he went to *Weſt-Hereford*, where he was entertained with all ſort of content by the inhabitants. Here he underſtood that Sir *Rice ap Thomas* and Captaine *Savage* had declared themſelves for *Richard*, which if it had beene true, the buſineſſe had beene ended. Upon ſuch like occaſions diverſity of Newes uſeth to be ſpread abroad, good or bad according as people hope or ſuſpect. Thoſe who were with him were much amated at this, till they were comforted with a later advertiſement. *Arnold Butler* a very valiant Commander, and one that in former times had been no great well-wiſher to the Earle, gave him to underſtand, that thoſe of *Pembrokeſhire* were ready to obey *Jaſper* Earle of *Pembroke*, his unkle and their naturall Lord:

that therefore he might make uſe of this advantage: the Earle being herewithall encouraged, marched on to *Cardigan*, his camp increaſing every houre, by people which flocked unto him. But here he heard newes againe that Sir *Walter Herbert* (he whoſe ſiſter the Earle had thought to have married) was in *Caermarthen*, with intention to oppoſe him; the which did much affright him, for hee did thinke to finde him an enemy; ſo as whilſt they betake themſelves to their Armes, with an intention to fight with him, the Scouts who were ſent before to diſcover the Countrey, returned with newes that there was no enemy to be ſeen, the Countrey being open, free, and voyd of Oppoſition. This contentment was augmented by the comming of *Richard Griffith*, and *John Morgan*, with a great many fighting men: aud though *Griffith* was a confederate of Sir *Walter Herberts*, and of *Rice ap Thomas* (of whoſe inclinations he was doubtfull) yet the Earle forbare not to march on, fighting with, and beating as many as oppoſed him, that hee might leave no enemies behind him. But ſeeing himſelfe reduced to ſuch termes as he was not to hope for ſafety but by victory, it being impoſſible for him to Retreate; and that Sir *Walter Herbert* and *Rice ap Thomas* drawing neere him, to hinder his paſſage, hee could not without more helpe make any long reſiſtance; he wrote to his Mother, to his Father in Law, and his Father in Lawes brother, and to Sir *Gilbert Talbot*: "That "being come upon Their Advice into *England*, it was Their "Aydes that muſt ſuſtaine him; for he having but a Few peo"ple with him, if hee were Once defeated, hee was defeated "for Ever: That the Countrey hee was to paſſe over, was of "a great Length: That reaſon required hee ſhould paſſe the "*Severne* at *Shrewsbury*, to come to *London*: That they ſhould "thinke how to ſuccour him in Time; otherwiſe their ſuccours "would be too Late for Him, and Ruinous for Themſelves: "That their communication being neceſſary for his Counſels, "they ſhould come Suddenly, leaſt Delay might marre All: "That Temporizing was the Ruine of Deſignes: That if Diſ"ſimulation had been requiſite till Now, it was now no more "So, but Harmefull: for that thereby thoſe who yet had cou"rage would be diſheartned. This diſpatch being ſent away by a faithfull ſervant, he reſolved to fight with whoever ſhould oppoſe him: it was the onely way to worke his ends; Regality was not to be had but by Regall valour. Hee tooke his way towards *Shrewsbury*, and in his march met with *Rice ap Thomas*, who with a conſiderable number of Welſhmen ſwore Fealty to him, the Earle having two daies before promiſed to make him Preſident of *Wales*, as ſoone as hee ſhould be King, (which accordingly hee did.) Being come to *Shrewsbury* hee met with an anſwer from his Mother and the Others, according to his deſire. From thence hee paſt on to *Newport*, where Sir *Gilbert Talbot* with two thouſand men came to meet him; as likewiſe did

did Sir *William Stanley* at *Stafford*, where hee made ſome ſtay to refreſh his people. Sir *William* after he had a long time conſulted with the Earle, returned to his Troopes, which being defrayed by his brother, were not farre of. The next day hee came to *Litchfield*, where being come by Night, hee lay in the Field; and the next day was by the Townesmen received into the City as their Prince. The Lord *Stanley* had been there two daies before with his Souldiers, and was gone from thence to make way for the Earle, and that he might not be ſeene in his company: he was cautelous in what he did by reaſon of his Sonne who was left Hoſtage with *Richard*, and who otherwiſe would have loſt his life.

Richard (who at this time was at *Nottingham*) knew of the Earles arrivall; but with ſuch a relation of his inconſiderable forces, as he made no Account of him. He thought he was come onely with thoſe who had fled to him from *England*, and that his Forces conſiſted meerly of Baniſht men, who growne deſperate, betooke themſelves to their laſt refuge: as for others, he perſwaded himſelfe there would not be any one that durſt declare himſelfe for him: ſo as the raſhneſſe of a deſperate man was not worthy his trouble: hee thought it would be beneath Him to take Notice of him; and that Sir *Walter Herbert* and *Rice ap Thomas* were ſufficient of Themſelves either to beate him, or to make him ignominiouſly ſurrender himſelfe. But afterwards well weighing the Conſequences, hee was of another minde: his affaires appeared to be in a condition not to be truſted to Other mens directions, by reaſon of his being ſo generally Hated; and the wicked meanes uſed in his uſurping of the Crowne. He therefore thought it not ſafe for him to confide in Others; and having a Scrutiny of ſuch as were moſt Interreſſed in the preſervation of his Perſon and Dignity, from out the not many he choſe *John* Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Earle of *Surrey*; giving them Commiſſion to gather together the beſt and moſt truſty of ſuch as did depend upon them, and come unto him: and he gave order to *Robert Brackenbury* Lieutenant of the Tower, that he ſhould raiſe all the force hee could, and bring along with him as his companions in Armes Sir *Thomas Bourcher* and Sir *Walter Hungerford*; not for that hee expected any ſervice from them, but that being jealous of them, he feared leſt they might conſpire againſt him. All theſe his foreſights did not ſatisfie him, when hee underſtood the Earle had paſt the *Severne*. He then began to miſtruſt his affaires, and to complaine of thoſe who had promiſed to defend the paſſage: Now it was that he ſaw his buſineſſe was not to be truſted to any Third party; and growing to diſtruſt all men, he went himſelfe in Perſon in the head of his Army to give him battell: executing Himſelfe the duty of a Sergeant Major. He came by night to *Leiceſter* upon a white Steede, environed by his Guards and great number of Foot, with a ſtaring and threatning Coun-

tenance anſwerable to the ſpeeches hee uttered againſt ſuch as forſaking Him, had denied him to be their King; or who by abandoning him Hereafter, were to doe ſo. The Earle hearing of his approach, encamped himſelfe neere to *Tamworth*, where in the mid-way hee was met by Sir *Thomas Bourcher* and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, who fearing *Richard*, had privately ſtolne from *Brackenburies* forces. The like from Other parts did divers perſonages of good condition; who it may be would have proved his Enemies, had not their Hatred to *Richard* moved them to take part with Him. Yet this Concourſe of people wherewith hee ought to have been comforted, freed him not from the much melancholy cauſed by the Lord *Stanley*, who kept farre from him, and in a poſture (as it appeared) rather to be Doubted of then Hoped in. As hee rode thus penſively in the Reare of his Troopes, hee was ſo tranſported with ſad thoughts, that hee was not aware how hee was left behind, with not above twenty Horſe with him: the Army being paſſed on, and having encamped it ſelfe, whilſt hee through the Obſcurity of the Night had loſt the Tract thereof. He wandred up and downe a good while, hoping to meet with ſome of them, or to heare their noiſe; but neither Finding nor Hearing any thing of them, hee got into a little Village, fearing leſt hee might be knowne, taken, and carried to the Enemy: and not daring to aske the Inhabitants any queſtions, hee continued in theſe feares till the Breake of Day; whilſt his campe was more troubled then Hee, not dreaming that hee had Loſt his Way, but fearing ſome ſtrange Misfortune had befalne him. 'Twas his good lucke not to meet with any enemy: but when hee was come to his Army, hee did not tell them that hee had loſt his way through Muſing or Careleſneſſe, but that he ſtayed purpoſely behinde to Speake with ſome hee had received advantageous advices. From hence he went to finde out the *Stanleys*, who with their Militia were quartered in *Aderſton*; hee underſtood the falſhood of his ſuſpition; and how that the Lord *Stanley* could not openly declare himſelfe for Him, till the very laſt Up-ſhot, for feare leſt his Sonne might ſuffer for it: after divers conſultations it was reſolved to give Battell, if *Richard* would accept it. At his returne he found Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Brian Stamford*, and Sir *Simon Digby*, who having left the King, were come with their forces to ſerve Him. Both ſides were equally inclined to fight; moved thereunto out of their Severall feares; *Richard*, of being abandoned; the Earle, that his followers might grow weary, either by the Incommodities they might ſuffer, or by their Expences; ſince hee had no Authority but what they of Free will gave him. But *Richards* condition was by much the worſe of the two, for ſtill Some or Other fled from him; ſo as ſeeking out a fit place to fight in, hee encamped himſelfe neere a Village called *Boſworth*, not farre from *Leiceſter*, where having refreſhed his people hee pre-

prepared to fight. They ſay that the night preceding he in his ſleepe had certaine ſtrange fearefull Apparitions that he believed to be Divels, which troubling him, broke his ſleepe, leaving him ſo affrighted, as every one wondred at it: whereupon he who had alwaies wont to appeare Chearefull in fight, thought that if now any Sadneſſe ſhould be diſcovered in him, it would be accounted Cowardiſe; and that therefore it was neceſſary for him to tell his Dreame. *Hollingſhead* layes this to his ſting of Conſcience, the which as it is credible, ſo is it incredible that when a man drawes neere his End, hee is by ſome internall motions admoniſhed thereof.

Day being come, *Richard* drew forth his Troopes, putting them into ſuch a figure as for terrour ſake might make the greateſt ſhew. Hee made the Rankes of the Vantguard very long, which was commanded by the Duke of *Norfolke*, and his Sonne the Earle of *Surrey*: hee Himſelfe led on the Second, wherein were the choiceſt and beſt armed men; and which was guarded on the Flankes by the Horſe, and on the Front by Bowmen. For all his Boaſts their whole number was but very Small, not worthy to have decided the controverſie for a private Caſtle, muchleſſe a Kingdome. But it behoved him to haſten; as well for that His Forces were by much greater then the Earles; as likewiſe, if hee ſhould have Tarried expecting More, hee might have runne hazzard of Loſing thoſe he had: for *Savage*, *Stamford*, and *Digby* had carried along with them a great many fighting men. The Lord *Stanley* ſtood as ſtickler betweene them, who having taken his ſtand betweene the two Armies with three thouſand Souldiers, afforded Hopes and Feares to them Both: for being deſired by his Sonne in Law that hee would come to take the care of Ordering and Commanding his men, his anſwer was: Let him doe that office Himſelfe; hee would come when he ſhould ſee convenient time: and to *Richard* (who ſwore by the paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, that if hee came not over to him, hee would cut off his Sonnes head before Dinner) hee anſwered: Let him uſe his pleaſure; howſoever I have More Sonnes. This ambiguity was notwithſtanding his Sonne *Stranges* ſafety; for *Richard* having commanded that hee ſhould be beheaded, hee ſuſpended the Order; not ſo much in that hee was Adviſed thereunto (it being time to Fight, not to play the Executioner) as that hee feared leſt *Stanleys* Cloud which threatned a Tempeſt might ſhoure downe upon Him; as it did, in a ſeaſon when hee could not with danger to the other avoyd it. The young *Strange* did for all this account himſelfe as a Dead man, being aſſigned over a priſoner to thoſe who kept the Tent Royall; and certainely hee had ſuffered death, had not God ſaved his Life by the Kings Death. The Earle was not troubled at his Father in Law's anſwer: Hee ordered his

Souldiers. Hee placed the Bow-men in the Front, under the Conduct of the Earle of *Oxford*: hee gave Sir *Gilbert Talbot* charge over the Right-wing; and Sir *John Savage* command over the Left: Hee kept for Himſelfe and His Unkle the Earle of *Pembroke* a good proportion of Horſe, but few Foot: with intention to joyne with the Troopes which were kept as a Reſerve, to come in and ſuccour where need ſhould require. All his Forces exceeded not the number of five thouſand, and his Father in Law had not with him above three thouſand; *Richard* having Twice as many men as Both they put together. The One and the Other of them made long Speeches to their Souldiers. *Richard* had much adoe to colour over his Cruelties, which not being to be Denied, hee ſlubber'd them over, not naming them; hoping thereby to get "Abſolution. For what remained hee ſaid, That hee had "governed the Kingdome by meanes of their Advice and Va-"lour: Hee had puniſhed ſuch as were Seditious and Rebels "according to their Merits; hee hoped to doe the like upon "the ſame occaſion: Hee held the Crowne of Them, 'twas "They that ought to make it good unto him: An unknowne "Welſhman contended with him for it, begotten by a Fa-"ther leſſe knowne then Himſelfe; whoſe Forces conſiſted "of Baniſhed Delinquents, and certaine Britons and beggerly French, come to plunder their Goods, raviſh their "Wives, and kill their Children: A better occaſion then "this could not be met withall, wherein to exerciſe their "Valour, and to grow angry without Sinne or Offending "God; ſince thereby they were made miniſters of his Juſtice, "and their Owne Revengers, for which they ſhould be prai-"ſed of all Nations: As concerning victory, it was not to be "Doubted; ſince they were to fight againſt a Handfull of two "ſorts of people ſo often Overcome, of which theſe were the "very Scumme, led on by Neceſſity, appearance, and Num-"ber; a number notwithſtanding ſo Small as would make "up the third part of Them: for Himſelfe; hee promiſed "all that could be expected from a generous Prince, and a "Valiant Commander; which the Effects ſhould Witneſſe; "for he reſolved not to quit the field till either Conquerour or "Dead.

The Earle on the Other ſide, being got to the higheſt part "of his Campe pleaded the Juſtice of his Cauſe; ſhewing "how neceſſary the Extirpation of ſo cruell and monſtrous a "Tyrant was, for Publique and Private good: That there "was not a more praiſe-worthy action, nor more conforma-"ble to whatſoever Law, then to puniſh Him who having "deſtroyed his Owne houſe, by the Effuſion of ſo Innocent "Blood, and Defamed it with ſo Falſe defamations, had "Slaine, impoveriſhed, and brought to an ill end ſo many

of

" of the Nobility, onely out of a desire to Tyrannize: For
" what concerned Himselfe, hee would say nothing; from
" whom the lawfull inheritance was usurped, which had been
" so long possessed by the house of *Lancaster*; all whose Kings
" had been men of Reputation in the World, and of Glory
" to the Kingdome; and if there were any thing amisse in the
" Last, they were not his Faults, but superabundant Good-
" nesse abused by wicked people: It was to be believed, that
" their adversary Outwardly assailed by Their forces, and In-
" wardly by his Owne faults, must needs fall; since Gods
" judgements the Longer they are in comming they fall the
" Heavier, the weight of Heavens scourge being (according
" to the orders of Divine justice) inevitable: It was not to
" be endured, that to the excesse of so many enormities, In-
" cest should be added; the Onely sinne remaining for him
" to have runne through the whole Catalogue of wickednesse:
" That he pretended to marry his Neece the Princesse *Eliza-*
" *beth*, to honest by some colourable Title, his unlawfull pos-
" session of the Crowne; the which being due to Him, as one-
" ly true Heire, and therewithall the said Princesse (who was
" promised to him in marriage) 'twould be great errour in
" Them to permit either the One or the Other: That since
" God had freed him from so many Treacheries, beene gra-
" cious to him, in suffering him quietly to passe the Seas, to
" be peacefully received in *England*, and brought to confront
" His and the Common Enemy, hee would not be now wan-
" ting to worke the confusion of that Enemy, through Their
" valour; since hee makes use of Good men to punish the Wic-
" ked: Their rewards were to be Great, all goods Confisca-
" ble should speedily be distributed by Him, who was to be
" Judge of each mans valour and desert: They ought not to
" be terrified at their owne Small numbers, and the Many of
" the Enemy; for as divine Justice was the first argument of
" Victory, so those people which they saw were led on by the
" Lord *Stanley*, were all for Them; as likewise were many
" Others, who now appearing under the Enemies Colours
" would in the heate of the battell shew themselves Friends.
" For Himselfe; hee promised all that could be expected from
" a Souldier, and Commander; He desired them onely to Imi-
" tate Him in what belonged to the Souldier; that whilst hee
" fought, They should fight; and when Hee should forbeare to
" fight, that then they should Forsake him: The summe of all
" his considerations and reasons were; That as the Victory con-
" sisted in their Valour, so if they should be Failing to them-
" selves, were to fall under the power of an Enemy, who not
" being to be parallel'd for Cruelty, 'twas better for them to Die
" Honourably with Sword in Hand, then Ignominiously to Lan-
" guish under a Tyrant, that had not forborne his owne Nephews.

This

This being ſaid, vvith a Confident heart, and vvith Cheerefull countenance he gave on upon the Enemy, and vvas as cheerefully followed by his men.

Richard fared otherwiſe: no Jollity was obſerved in his march nor yet willingneſſe, ſave in ſuch whoſe fortunes depended upon His: all the reſt were wavering and divided into Three ſeverall opinions; ſome thought to ſide with the Earle, ſome with him of the two who ſhould Overcome, and ſome, neither with the One nor the Other, but to be meere Lookers-on. *Richard* being now King found like loyality in his ſubjects, as whileſt He was a ſubject, he uſed to the King his Nephew.

There ſtood between the two Armies a piece of mariſh ground with ſome cauſey waies that had beene made for the convenency of Paſſengers; and though the ſeaſon (it being the 22 of *Auguſt*) had hardened it, yet the Earle, knowing the ſituation thereof to be for his purpoſe, to ſecure his ſmall number on that ſide, he haſtened to be firſt Maſter thereof: and having it on his right hand hee wonne the Sunne, which was in face of the Enemy; who advancing, the fight beganne. The Earle of Oxford being himſelfe ſo farre advanced that hee was in danger to be cut off, commanded his men not to ſtirre Ten foote from their Colours: whereupon They forbearing to fight, that they might cloſe together; the Kings Vantguard did the like, being deſirous either Not to fight, or that the victory might be theirs againſt whom they were Enforced to fight. But *Oxford* being returned to his charge, returned to Handy blowes. At the joyning together of the two Armies, their ſeverall inclinations were quickly ſeene: thoſe of the Kings ſide that Fought, fought Faintly; and thoſe who fought Not, withdrew themſelves, and forſooke the Campe. The King had commanded thoſe he moſt relied on, to have a care that buſineſſes might be carried without Diſorder, and that they ſhould advertiſe him of any Danger that ſhould appeare; Theſe ſeeing how ſome were Negligent, and how other ſome withdrew themſelves, adviſed him to ſave himſelfe, judging that hee was betrayed. But Divine Juſtice would not ſuffer him to liſten to ſuch advice; no not when Victory appearing evidently on the Adverſaries part, they preſented him with a Fleet horſe whereon to eſcape: the which hee would not do ſaying, That that day was to terminate either the Warre or his Life. Underſtanding afterwards that the Earle was not farre from him guarded but with a few *Gens de Armes*, hee ſpur'd on towards him and knowing him by ſome markes, hee ranne at him with his Lance in Reſt; the Earle was not diſpleſed with the encounter, judging it the true way to decide their controverſy: but he could not meet him hand to hand, being thwarted by ſome of his owne men. They gave againſt the Standard, ſlew Sir *William Brandon* the Standard bearer, and advancing forwards, Sir *John Cheiney* ſtopt his paſſage, whom hee bare to the ground,

ground, though hee were a Gentleman of much ſtrength and valour. The Earle with his Sword in hand ſtopped his fury, at the very inſtant when the Lord *Stanley* inveſting the Kings ſquadrons afforded occaſion to ſuch as had a minde thereunto to runaway: the which when *Richard* perceived, hee left the Earle, and thruſt himſelfe into the thickeſt of the fight, either to reunite his owne men, or die the ſooner: the later of which befell him; for fighting valiantly, he fell with his Sword in hand all beſmear'd with blood. All things made for victory on the Earles behalfe, to counterpoiſe the ſmalneſſe of his numbers: in himſelfe, Prudence, Diligence, and Valour; in thoſe that ſided with him, Deſpaire of ſafety if they ſhould loſe the day, and the Regaining of their Goods, Countrie, and Honours, if they ſhould Overcome. But all this was not likely to have ſufficed; for the Kings deſperate valour, who encouraging by his example, kept his men in their duties, had brought the enemy in the two houres ſpace which the battell endured to ſuch a paſſe, as being but few and out of breath, they began to give back: whereupon if the Lord *Stanley* (who kept himſelfe to decide the day) had not come in to ſuccour, they were likely, all of them, to be loſt. We have hitherto ſpoken ill of *Richard*, though not ſo ill as he deſerved: yet now wee muſt ſay, That though he lived ill, he dyed well, according to the eſteeme of humane generoſity. His end bore with it heroicall effects: Wiſdome and Fortitude were two lights which if they did not illuminate the actions of his paſt Life, they did illuſtrate his preſent Death. When he ſaw himſelfe abandoned by all; that thoſe who yet ſtayd by him, ſerved againſt their wills; but very few willingly; hee thought it would be baſe in him and prejudiciall for him to runne away, ſince thereby he ſhould loſe his reputation with the People, whereon his welfare did depend. He therefore reſolved to do his uttermoſt; for ſhould hee Overcome, all things were likely to ſucceed well unto him; and ſhould hee loſe the day, Death would be advantageous; hee having no hope at all of ſafety: Enemies on all ſides; *Scotland* (his onely refuge) was but a fading hope, notwithſtanding the new Peace, and lately contracted Marriage; well might he truſt thereto if his fortune ſhould prove Good, but not if otherwiſe: and ſay it ſhould Favour Him, He had but little hopes of getting thither untaken by the way, being ſo generally hated; and 'twas impoſſible for him to paſſe unknowne, for his features and ſhape of body were ſuch, by thoſe that had never ſeene him. There is to be diſcerned a confuſed mingle-mangle of vertues in this; wiſdome, in knowing his Danger to be ſuch as was unavoidable; and Fortitude, in reſolving to die ſince he could not eſchew danger: ſo as Writers have great reaſon to affirme that he wan more Honour in theſe two houres by his Death, then he had done all the time of his Life. For what concernes

cernes his Soules health; God is able of Stones to raiſe up children unto *Abraham*, but this is but when he pleaſeth: and although there be no differences to be made in Him of Eaſy or Uneaſy (ſince Hee framed the whole World by his bare Word; Hee ſpake and it was made; He commanded and it was Created) yet let it be permitted according to humane conjecture to ſay, That it is, I will not ſay more Eaſy, but more uſuall for him to ſave one who is naturally Good, then one who is naturally Bad: ſince naturall Goodneſſe may be ſaid to be the *Materia Prima* of Salvation, containing in her that Diſpoſition, which, that wee might be ſaved, was of His meere mercy beſtowed upon us gratis. So as though the rule of Chriſtianity teacheth us not to Judge any one to the Damned, yet it forbids us not to Doubt of a mans Salvation; as wee do of *Richards*: for as in the good Tree that beareth good Fruit, ſome may be Wormy and Rotten; ſo in Man-kinde, man created to the fruition of Heavenly Glory, may notwithſtanding be damned if he be wormeaten with wickedneſſes and rotten with the obſtinacy of ſin.

His Death afforded invitation to thoſe who yet fought to ſave themſelves; and the reſt that, like Spectatours, had not moved from their ſtation, came to give obedience to the Conquerour; by whom they were gratiouſly received, as likewiſe were thoſe who laying downe their Armes, ſubmitted themſelves unto him. Of the number of the Slaine it is diverſly written: ſome ſpeake of a Thouſand, ſome of foure Thouſand. Sir *Gilbert Talbot* in an account which hee giveth to his friends in writing, ſayes there died onely Tenne of the Earles ſide: *Hall* ſaies a Hundred. Of the Peeres on *Richards* ſide were ſlaine, the Duke of *Norfolke* and the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*: of Knights Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *Robert Brakenbury*, Lieutenant of the Tower: but few Gentlemen. The Duke of *Norfolke* was perſwaded by his friends to withdraw himſelfe from the Battell; the which hee denying to doe, two Verſes were faſtned to his Chamber doore the night before the Fight, wherein he was adviſed not to ingage himſelfe in the behalfe of a King that was Bought and Sold; but hee, having beene true to him in his Life, would be ſo likewiſe in his Death: and was praiſed for it. The Priſoners were many amongſt which was Sir *William Catesby* (hee who betrayed the Lord *Haſtings*) a man of great eſteeme among the Profeſſors of the Lawyers, and the chiefe of the Kings Counſell. He was with ſome Others beheaded two dayes after at *Leiceſter*. Of thoſe that fled away the moſt conſiderable were Viſcount *Lovell* and the two brothers *Humphrey*, and *Thomas Stafford*, who got into the Sanctuary of S^t *Johns* in *Glouceſter*. Of thoſe who would not fight, was the Earle of *Northumberland*; who comming to acknowledge the Conquerour, was therefore by him received to grace, and afterwards made

Privy

Privy Counſellour. *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey*, Sonne to the deceaſed Duke of *Norfolke*, was not received into favour, though hee layd down his Armes; but was put into the Tower, where he ſtay'd a good while; the inward friendſhip hee had had with *Richard* doing him no good; but being afterwards received to grace, he was created Treaſurer of *England*. The Earle after the Victory made *Te Deum* be Sung. Hee praiſed his Souldiers valour, and thanked them, promiſing to reward them according to their Loyalties. He gave order to bury the Dead, and to cure ſuch as were wounded. He Knighted ſuch as he thought did moſt deſerve that honour: the which being done out of his Owne meere motion, did ſo inanimate his Souldiers as they cryed him up King; wh-reupon *Stanley* tooke *Richards* Crowne which was found amongſt the Booty, and put it on his Head: ſo as he was choſen King by the Souldier, according to the ancient cuſtome of diverſe Kingdomes. The Lord *Strange*, who as wee have ſaid, was delivered over to the cuſtody of thoſe who guarded the Tents Royall, that when the Battell ſhould be ended he might be given in charge to the Hangman, at his guardians entreaties, interceded for them: the King granted him their Pardon, received him with much Honour, and his Father with much Joy. He went from thence to *Leiceſter* where he ſtayed two dayes to refreſh his men and take order for his going to *London*. The day before, *Richard* went from that City in great Pride and Pompe, waited on by ſo many Lords, Knights, and Souldiers as made the World to wonder: he returned thither whether the next day like a ſlaine Buck layd acroſſe upon the Croupe of a Horſe, his Head and Armes hanging on One ſide, his Legges on the other, Scorned and all Naked (ſave his Privy Members which were covered with a courſe piece of Cloth) beſmeared with Blood and dawb'd with Dirt, a Horrid ſight to behold. The Heralds name that carried him was White-Bore, and the White-Bore was *Richards Impreſa*, the which was torne and cut in pieces in as many places of the Kingdome as it was found. His Body lay naked two whole dayes upon the bare Earth in a Church of the Minorites in *Leiceſter*, whither it was carried: nor could the People be ſatisfyed with that ſight, which being Gaſtfull in any Other, was in Him Pleaſing and Delightfull, ſo much had his actions exaſperated them againſt him. Hee was buried in the ſaid Church without any manner of Solemnity or Funerall rites. King *Henry* ſhortly after made a Monument bee made for him with his Statue of Alablaſter which repreſented him to the Life: the which at the ſuppreſſion of that Monaſtery was broken in Pieces: the place where Hee was buried is ſince overgrowne with Weedes and Nettles, ſo as it cannot bee now ſaid *Here was Richard Buried.* The onely Memoriall that remaines thereof, is the Stone Coffin his Body vvas buried in,

which now ſerves for a Trough for Horſes to drinke in, in a Neighbouring Village. They ſay the Body being taken from thence, was with much deriſion buried againe at the foote of Bow-Bridge in *Leiceſter* : and many other things are ſaid of it, which I rather believe to bee the Peoples Invention, then that there is any thing of Truth in them. In *Richard* the Line maſculine of the Houſe of *Yorke* ceaſed : ſome except *Edward* Plantagenet, Earle of *Warwicke*, Sonne to the Duke of *Clarence*, whom I do not account upon, ſince fifteene Yeares after Hee likewiſe died without any Heires Male : As vvee ſhall ſee.

* *
*

The End of the Eighth Booke.

THE

The Ninth

BOOK

OF THE

CIVIL WARS

OF

ENGLAND,

In the LIFE of

Henry the Seventh.

OUr Diſcourſe leading us to treat of the Occurrences of a Kingdom, the Government whereof paſſed now from one Family to another; it will be neceſſary to know what pretences the preſent King had to lay claim to the kingdom, to the end there may remain no ſcruple touching the Juſtice or Injuſtice of the Alteration. *Henry* the Seventh was by his Genealogie ſo remote from laying any claim to the Crown by right of Blood, as the common opinion is he had no right at all thereunto. His father *Edmund* Earl of *Richmond*, was ſon to *Owen Teuder* and Queen *Katherine* the widow of *Henry* the fifth, whoſe Houſes had no affinity nor relation of Kinred to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. By his mothers ſide ſomewhat may be ſaid for him; ſince *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmond* (onely daughter to the firſt Duke of *Sommerſet*, and grand-childe to

John Duke of *Lancaſter*, the father of *Henry* the fourth, the firſt King of that Houſe) pretended that in caſe the then-preſent Succeſſion ſhou d fail, ſhe and her ſon were to ſucceed, as rightly deſcended from the ſaid *John*, the father as well of the houſe of *Sommerſet* as of that of *Lancaſter*. But this meets with two oppoſitions: The one, That the Houſe of *Lancaſter* had no right at all to the Crown: The other, That, ſay it had, the Houſe of *Sommerſet* did not partake therein, though ſprung from the ſame Head. The reaſons why the Houſe of *Lancaſter* had no pretence are theſe: *Henry* the fourth uſurped the Crown from *Edmund Mortimer* deſcended from *Philippa*, daughter and heir to *Lionel* Duke of *Lancaſter*, elder brother to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, upon whom (King *Richard* the ſecond dying without ſons, as he did) the Succeſſion fell: So as the uſurpation having continued from father to ſon in *Henry* the fourth, the fifth, and ſixth, 'twas impoſſible for them to tranſmit that right to Others, which they Themſelves had not. That the Houſe of *Sommerſet*, though the Other had had right, did not partake therein, is thus proved: The Duke of *Lancaſter* having had three wives, *Blanche*, *Conſtance*, and *Katharine*, the due claims of his children had by them, were not the ſame, foraſmuch as concern'd Inheritance, in reſpect of the ſeveral Dowries, and different Qualities of the three mothers. *Blanche* brought with her the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*; *Conſtance*, the pretences to the Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*; and *Katharine*, nothing at all, being but a meer Waiting-woman to the above-ſaid *Blanche*: So as if *Henry* the fourth and the daughters born of *Blanche*, could not pretend to the kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, in prejudice to *Katharine* daughter to *Conſtance*; nor *Katharine* to the Dukedom of *Lancaſter*, in prejudice of *Henry* the fourth and his ſiſters; much leſſe could the children of *Katherine* have any pretence at all, in prejudice of the children by the former two wives, unleſſe what you will allow them meerly in reſpect of their Fathers Inheritance; wherein muſt be conſidered their diſadvantage of being the laſt born, therefore not to enjoy the prerogative which the Laws give to the firſt-born: To this may be added, that they were born whilſt *Conſtance* yet lived; ſo as they were not onely Baſtards, but in ſuch a degree as doth aggravate the condition; they being on the Fathers ſide born in Adultery: And though after the death of *Conſtance*, he married *Katharine*; (which ſubſequent Marriage was made legitimate by the double legitimation both of Pope and Parliament) yet, they not being of the whole Blood, the Houſe of *Sommerſet* had nothing to do with the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, in what belonged to the Inheritance of the Crown, their legitimation making them only capable of their Inheritance by the Father: So as *Henry* the fourth being eſtabliſhed in the kingdom by the Authority of Parliament, and by the ſame Authority his ſons & ſuch as ſhould deſcend of them being declared his lawful Succeſſors therein; he (in caſe his ſucceſſion ſhould fail) made no mention at all of his Half-brothers, or ſuch as ſhould deſcend

from

from them. So as let it be granted that his Uſurpation was no longer an Uſurpation (it being allowed of by a Publike Act of Election) yet had not the Houſe of the *Sommerſet* (though deſcended from the ſame father) the ſame pretence: ſince not being able to pretend to the Dukedom of *Lancaſter*, much leſſe could it pretend to the Crown, the father having no pretence at all thereunto. And if *Henry*, his eldeſt ſon, obtained the Crown, it was by Purchaſe, and ſo as none ſhould enjoy after him but ſuch deſcending from him as he ſhould ſpecifically name: So as the Crown (according to the Laws of *England*) belonging to the Houſe of *York*, by the Marriage with *Anne*, ſiſter and heir to the aforeſaid *Edmund Mortimer*, there remains ſomewhat of doubt whether the Parliament could inveſt the Houſe of *Lancaſter* to the right of the Crown, in prejudice to the firſt *Mortimer*, and conſequently to the Houſe of *York*. If it could not Then juſtly do it, neither could it juſtly do it after *Henry* the Seventh's pretence unto the Crown: and if it could do it; in the ſame manner and by the ſame right as it did operate to the prejudice of *Mortimer* & the Houſe of *York*, by making *Henry* the fourth King; it might do the like to the prejudice of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, by making *Edward* the 4 King; So as *Henry* the Seventh (be it either by Election or by natural Deſcent) is totally excluded from any right unto the Crown: which excluſion notwithſtanding reſts onely in his Own Perſon, not in thoſe who have deſcended from him. For having married *Elizabeth* the true Heir of the Houſe of *York*, his ſons begotten upon her were true Heirs to the Crown. And if in this particular we deſire to be any thing favourable to him, let us ſay, that if the Houſe of *Lancaſter* had any ſuch pretence, it had it by the Mother, who was Heir to the Houſe of *Sommerſet*; and if the Houſe of *Sommerſet* be different from that of *Lancaſter*, ſo as he Thereby have no colour of Claim, yet may he have it Another way; being choſen King by the ſame power of Parliament as *Henry* the Fourth and *Edward* the 4 were: So as the legal Right being in *Elizabeth* according to Natural Deſcent, and in Him according to Election; and it being ſufficient according to the laws of Nature and of the Kingdom, that the right be in any one of them, it matters not in which; ſince either of them having it, there is none that ſuffers wrong thereby. 'Tis a wonder notwithſtanding that it could ſo much as fall into his imagination to pretend thereunto before this Marriage; and that *Edward* and *Richard* ſhould without any cauſe be afraid of him: but the reaſon is, becauſe, as Head of the Faction, he might be troubleſom to them. For though *Henry* the Sixth and the Prince his ſon were extinguiſhed (they being the laſt of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*) yet was not that Party or Faction extinguiſhed; which could not be revived again, ſave under his conduct who had the neereſt Relation thereunto. For this it was that the laſt Duke of *Buckingham* (not calling *Henry* to minde before his meeting with his mother) thought he himſelf had reaſon to pretend thereunto. In ſuch a caſe, the right & lawful title of King imports not ſo much as

the lawful Title to be Head of a Party : the firſt is communicable by Fortune, Force, or favour of Parliament ; the other onely by Deſcent : for upon ſuch occaſions, Law is not ſought after, but a Pretence : To Pretend, is that which is deſired, and which ſufficeth. And this it was that moved the two Brothers to ſollicite to get him into their Tuition from the Duke of *Britanny*: for as for any thing elſe, they had no reaſon to fear him. The *Lancaſtrian* Faction had never been likely to have been revived, had not *Richard* been a Tyrant ; for *Edward*, through his Affability, had grounded ſuch an affection of the People towards the Houſe of *York*, as neither would *Richard*'s wickedneſſe, nor *Henry*'s goodneſſe, have been able to have rooted it out : nay, *Henry* would have had none at all to have ſided with him (though againſt a man ſo much abhorred) had it not been for his promiſe to marry *Elizabeth*, the Heir of the Houſe and Kingdom. The troubles which afterwards befel him, ſprung from hence ; for he always ſhewed himſelf but luke-warm in his affections towards his wife, and an irreconcileable enemy to her Houſe ; inſomuch as having gotten the Victory and ſlain his Enemy, he grew obſtinate in his will not to be King but by his Own Title : he deferred his Marriage, and Her Coronation, till ſuch time as being crowned Himſelf, and eſtabliſhed by Parliament, he had onely accepted of the Title of *Lancaſter*, as the Firſt and Chiefeſt Fundamental ; and of the other two (Conqueſt and Marriage) but as Accidental, or as Adjuncts. Nor ought this to be imputed to him as a Fault ; ſince it was not cauſed by any Hatred he bare to the Houſe of *York*, but out of the Love he bare unto Himſelf, and through a cautelous Foreſight. For a noiſe being rumour'd that the Duke of *York* was alive (preſerved from death by thoſe who had the charge to kill him) his claim by his Wife would have failed him, if her Brother had been alive, who could not have been excluded but by the litigious Title of *Lancaſter*. And ſuppoſe this News were falſe, there remained yet Other doubts : for if ſhe ſhould die without children, the bare Title of Marriage would not make good the Crown unto Him, which was to fall upon her Siſters : And if ſhe ſhould die, leaving children by him behinde her, the Crown would fall upon Them: ſo as many inconveniences might have happened to him thereby. For, ſuppoſe that his Chrildren and the Parliament ſhould both of them have been contented he ſhould have continued in the Government, there is a great Difference betwixt reigning by vertue of Birth and Law, whereby he was not obliged to any ; and the doing of the like by vertue of Another's Conſent, which obliged him to Every one : In the firſt, he was Free and Independent ; in the ſecond, of Courteſie, and Dependent. To make uſe of his Title of Conqueſt, was Dangerous, and which might alienate even thoſe that ſided with him : for thereby he had authority to take what he would, from whom he would, to make what Conditions he pleaſed, to make Laws at his pleaſure, to diſannul Laws already made, when he liked:

liked; and to diſpoſe of men, not as a King of Subjects, but as a Lord of Slaves. And though the Title of *Lancaſter* were condemned by Parliament as Uſurped and Unjuſt; and that he himſelf was called unto the Crown, not by vertue of his Own Title, but that by marrying with the Princeſſe *Elizabeth*, the true Queen and Heir to the Houſe of *York*, all thoſe Diſputes might be ended; yet moved by the aboveſaid Conſiderations, and not valuing the inconveniences that might ariſe, he declared himſelf King by vertue of his Birth, not naming the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* in any thing; as willing to run whatſoever danger, rather then to be King by his Wives Courteſie, while ſhe ſhould Live; by the Good-will of his Children, if ſhe ſhould Die; and by the Permiſſion of Parliament, if he ſhould have no Iſſue by her.

He began his Reign the Two and twentieth day of *Auguſt*, 1485, at the ſame time that *Richard* ended his: from whom he did very much differ in Conditions. They were both Conſtant, the one in Wickedneſſe, the other in Worth: inſomuch as had he not had too great a deſire to encreaſe his Treaſure, he would hardly be out-done by whatſoever praiſe-deſerving Prince; he was deſervedly praiſed for his Wiſedom and Valour. The Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, who hath written his Life, calls him *England's Solomon*, not ſo much in that he brought Peace thereunto, as that being Wiſe like *Solomon*, he was, like Him, very Grievous and Burdenſome to his People, never wanting ſome invention or other to draw Moneys from them. 1485

The Princeſſe *Elizabeth*, and *Edward Plantaginet* Earl of *Warwick* ſon to the Duke of *Clarence*, were in *Sheriffhutton*-Caſtle in *York*-ſhire, where they were both kept by *Richard's* command. King *Henry* commanded that the Princeſſe ſhould be brought up to *London*, to the Queen her Mother; whither ſhe went attended on by Lords and Ladies: But the Earl of *Warwick*, he gave order that the keeper of the Caſtle ſhould deliver him unto the cuſtodie of Sir *Robert Willoughby*, to be by him brought priſoner to the Tower; for though he were very Young, yet was he not a perſon fit to enjoy his Liberty in ſuch litigious times. For if being a Priſoner, there wanted not ſome who feigned themſelves to be Him, taking his Perſonage upon them; what would have been done, had he had his Liberty? *Henry's* reſolution therefore in this point, did not proceed from a violence of Will, or weakneſſe of Judgement (as is the opinion of ſome Writers) but from exact Wiſdom; chuſing of two evils the Leſſer and leaſt Dangerous.

He went from *Leiceſter* towards *London*, without any oſtentation of Victory or Conqueſt: his Journey was peaceful; all Military inſolencies were forbidden, and forborn: he marched not like a New King, but like one who had been ſo Long; welcom'd wherever he paſſed with Shouts of Joy. His taking up the Olive-branch, and laying aſide the Palm, did enhearten the People; who did now promiſe themſelves that quiet which ſince *Henry* the

the Fourth's time till that preſent they had enjoyed but by Fits; being ſubject to ſo many Alterations, as had not thoſe Evils enſued which did enſue, the very Expectation and Apprehenſion of them was an intermitting Feaver for the ſpace of Fourſcore & ſix yeers. In like manner made he his entrance into *London*: for though he was met by the Maior, Magiſtrates, and Citizens (beſides the Nobility and Gentlemen which accompanied them) notwithſtanding, diſpenſing with the Pomp uſually obſerved at the firſt entrance of Kings into that City, he made his entry in a Coach undiſplayed; to the end it might not be thought that having reinveſted himſelf into his Countrey by the favour of Armes, and gotten the Crown by the Kings death, he had any intention to Triumph over the People. His entry was upon a Saturday, the day of his Victory; which day he ſolemnized all his life-time, as being always the happieſt day to him of all the days of the week. He alighted out of his Coach at *Pauls* Church; where he made *Te Deum* be ſung, and cauſed the Colours taken from the Enemy, to be there hung up. He pretended to no other Trophies; neither did he own this as the Effects of his Own Valour, or from Fortune, but as from God, the onely Fortune whereunto Sacrifices ought to be made. He lodged in the Biſhops Palace which joyns unto the Church, as not being far from the Tower, from whence he was to come to his Coronation. And becauſe it was ſaid he had given his word to marry *Anne* the daughter and heir to the Duke of *Britanny*, (which in reſpect of the favours he had received from that Duke, was believed to be true) he in an Aſſembly of the chiefeſt Lords of the Kingdom, which was called for that purpoſe, did ratifie his promiſe to marry the Princeſſe *Elizabeth*: by which he ſtopped the Whiſpers and Fears that were had of him: yet did he defer the Conſummating of it without any manner of ſcandal, till being Crowned, and in Poſſeſſion by his Own Title, he might avoid being call'd King in the right of his Wife. He made his entrance into the Tower on *Simon* and *Jude*'s eeve, and on the Feaſt-day made Twelve Knights Bannerets. He created his Uncle *Jaſper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Duke of *Bedford*; he who having brought him up of a Childe, ſaved him from *Edward* the Fourth, by carrying him into *Britanny*. He created his Father-in-law, the Lord *Stanley*, Earl of *Darby*; and *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*. He was Crowned in the Church at *Weſtminſter* on the Thirtieth day of *October* with the accuſtomed Solemnities, and joyful Acclamations both of the Nobility and People. Cardinal *Bourchier*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, executed that Office. He held a Parliament Seven days after, wherein he annulled all the Decrees for the Confiſcations of the Lives and Livelihood of ſuch as took part with him; and made the like Decree againſt the chiefeſt of the Other ſide: and to take away all ſuſpition from the reſt, he granted out a General Pardon, which
1483 freed ſuch of fear, who had cauſe to fear: for his having condemned thoſe whom he would not pardon, did ſecure Theſe, and

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was a ſure ſigne he would pardon the reſt; ſo as quitting the Sanctuaries, and places where they had hid themſelves, they ſwore Fealty to him, and did their Homage anſwerable to the tenure of the Declaration, and reentred into their Poſſeſſions. Afterwards as concerning his Title (which was the chiefeſt Concernment) he govern'd himſelf with ſuch cauteloufneſſe, as that the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* not being named therein, he would have the Act that was made to contain a Double ſenſe: that the inheritance of the Crown ſhould remain in Him and in his Children lawfully to be begotten, not declaring whether it were his by Nature, or by Conqueſt; it ſufficing him that whatſoever interpretation was made of it, it muſt make for his advantage. He would not preſcribe any Succeſſion in caſe he, and thoſe that ſhould lawfully deſcend from him, ſhould fail, becauſe it ſhould not be thought to be done of purpoſe to exclude the Houſe of *York*: he therefore left the deciſion thereof to the Laws. He, in the ſame Parliament, conferr'd more Honours: he created Monſieur *de Chandos* (a Gentleman of *Britanny*, who during his being there, had been his familiar friend, and would needs accompany him in his Expedition for *England*) Earl of *Bath*: he made Sir *Giles Aubeny* and Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Barons: he reſtored *Edward Stafford*, eldeſt ſon to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to his Blood, Dignity, and Goods: and though his Confiſcation were great, yet his Father having been the Firſt Promoter of his greatneſſe, and having thereupon loſt his Life, he reſtored all unto his Son: which won him the reputation of being Grateful. And though Kings do ſeldom call Parliaments, without demanding ſome Aids by Moneys, and doing ſome Acts of Grace unto the People, he thought it not fitting to make any ſuch demand at This time, as not having any Grace to confer, fitting to the time: for though the General Pardon was an Act of Grace, yet would not he pretend it to be ſuch, but rather a Correſpondency to the ſatisfaction they had given him, in receiving him to be King by his Own Title. Beſides, he not having War with any one, and having many great Confiſcations faln unto him (the which he ſo moderated as might become a favourable Confiſcator, and be expected in a good Government) he was willing to ſpare his Subjects purſes. And though his intention was to govern in ſuch ſort as his People ſhould have no reaſon to hate Him, nor He to fear Them; yet knowing he had Enemies, he inſtituted a Guard of Fifty Archers under the Command of a Captain; which was a New thing in *England*, where their Kings are onely guarded by the Laws and their Subjects affections. So as to take away all Jealouſie, he declared the Inſtitution to be Perpetual: moved thereunto by what he in the time of his Exile had obſerved others to do: and, for that the want of a Guard doth miſbecome the Majeſtie of a King; and is requiſite to be had, if not for Neceſſity, for Decency.

The Parliament being diſſolved, he forgot not that he had left

left the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* and Sir *John Bourchier* as pledges in *France* for the Moneys wherewith he payed the Forces he brought with him into *England*. Willing therefore upon this occaſion to try the inclination of the Citizens, he commanded the Lord Treaſurer to deſire the Lord Maior of *London* that the City might lend him Six thouſand Marks: and after ſundry conſultations, the buſineſſe was decided by the loan of Two thouſand pounds *ſterling*; the which though it came ſhort of the ſum that was deſired, he took in good part, ſupplying the Remainder (which was much) out of his Own moneys, to the end the Hoſtages might return for *England*, as they did. He forgot not the ſervices done to him by *John Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Exceter*, for which he made them both of his Privie-Councel, and gave unto *Morton* the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, which fell void by the death of Cardinal *Bourchier*: he made *Fox* Lord Privie-Sea; promoting him from the Biſhoprick of *Exceter* to that of *Bath* and *Wells*, from thence to *Durham*, and from thence to *Wincheſter*, the richeſt of All the reſt.

1486 Having now no impediment to hinder the performance of his promiſe, he married the Princeſſe *Elizabeth*, to the peoples ſo great joy, as he was not much therewithal pleaſed; for he never had any great inclination to the Match: his inveterate enmity to her Family prevailed more with him, then did the Goodneſſe, Fruitfulneſſe and Beauty of ſo worthy a Wife.

Soon after *Henry*'s coming to the Crown, *England* was afflicted with a diſeaſe not known in former times; ſo as the remedies not being known, many periſhed of it: of a Hundred ſcarcely One eſcaped, till experience taught the Way how to cure it. Men were taken with a deadly Sweat, with Pains in the Head, and Burnings in the Stomack, which rendred them dry and deſirous of Cold, they were by the one and the other of them diſpatcht in Four and twenty hours: for, caſting off their clothes, and drinking cold Beer as it came from the Cellar, they died irrecoverably. But ſome few relapſing twice or thrice into this Maladie, it was found that taking Cold and not drinking Warm drink, were the cauſes which made it mortal. The Cure then that was found for it, was, To endure the Heat Four and twenty hours, in ſuch manner as the Sweat was neither Irritated, nor kept Back; and to drink Warm drink a little at a time, rather to Allay then to Extinguiſh thirſt. This Sickneſſe began in the midſt of *September*, and continued all *October*: it hindred not the ſolemnity of the Coronation: it begot no Swelling nor Sores, and became curable if the remedies were Timely applied: neither was it Contagious: but the Fever which did accompany it was Peſtilential. It was judged to proceed from a Malignant vapour, which ſtuffing up the Vital ſpirits, was wreſtled with by nature, to drive it out by Sweat. An Author of good quality ſaith it could not be called Epidemical, though it ſo generally ſpred it ſelf: and that it ſprung from a certain malignity of the Air, occaſioned by the

Unſeaſonableneſſe of the weather. But *Cornelius*, who wrote of it at the intreaty of an Engliſh Ambaſſadour, calleth it Epidemical. Thoſe that eſteemed it a Prodigie, would have it to foreboad a Hard and Troubleſome Reign. But *Polydor Virgil*'s opinion is not to be rejected: That the King ſhould be troubled even till the Laſt day of his Life; ſince from the beginning to the end, he Never had any quiet. A Divination which was not likely to prove falſe, being made After the Event; nor did the Other which was made Before it.

All things having ſucceeded according to his wiſh, *Henry* thought now he ſhould meet with no more oppoſitions: He was King by his Own Title, in his Own Right: he had married the Princeſſe; and by his General Pardon and Reſtitution of Goods, he had reconciled ſuch as were his Profeſt Enemies: yet the Northern people, bearing ſtill a love to the Houſe of *York*, and to the late *Richard*, he thought it requiſite for him to go into thoſe parts; hoping by his Preſence to cure their infatuated imaginations. He kept his Eaſter at *Lincoln*; whither he was hardly come, when he underſtood how the Lord *Lovel* and the Two *Staffords* (brothers) *Humphrey*, and *Thomas*, had forſaken Sanctuary, it not being known whither they were gone: but aſſoon as he was come to *York*, he underſtood that the Lord *Lovel* was not far from thence, with good ſtore of men about him: and that the *Staffords*, having raiſed Forces in *Worceſter*-ſhire, were marched towards *York* to aſſault him. This ſecond information, though it did a little trouble him, yet he took it to be but the remainder of *Richard*'s yet-panting ſpirits: but he was more confuſed to think that he was amongſt a people that did not affect him, that ſided with the Houſe of *York*, and of whom, without danger, he could not make uſe. Amidſt theſe difficulties, he muſter'd out of thoſe that followed him, and ſuch as had relation to them, Three thouſand fighting men, on whom he might affie; which being ſufficiently ill armed, he gave in charge to the Duke of *Bedford*; giving him for his Vant-guard a General Pardon, which like Cannon-ſhot might ruine the Enemy; as it did. For the Duke being come in ſight of him, and the Heralds having publiſhed the Pardon, he was therewith ſo ſtricken, as doubting not onely to be Abandoned, but to be yeelded up Priſoner, he fled the ſame night towards *Lancaſter*; and from thence into *Flanders*, to the Dutcheſſe Dowager of *Burgundy*: whilſt the reſt, laying down their Arms, yeelded themſelves to the Duke. Whereupon they that were with the *Staffords*, their hopes being loſt, diſperſt themſelves into ſundry places; and the two brothers got into the Sanctuary at *Colnham* neer *Abington*, where they found not the ſafety they imagined: for the priviledge thereof not extending to ſave Traytors, they were taken from thence. *Humphrey* was executed; and *Thomas* was pardoned, for that, as the Younger brother, he was enforced to obey the Elder.

The King having quieted this Rebellion, and reduced theſe Northern people to his Obedience, returned to *London*. The Queen in

September brought him a Son; who lived, though born in the Eighth Month, contrary to the rule of Common Observation: it may be there was some Errour in the Calculation; for it is more likely that Women may be deceived in the time of their Conception, and in the Counting of their Months, then that *Hippocrates* should be deceived in his Principles. He named him *Arthur*, in memory of the ancient *Britons*, from whom he descended; *Wales* (as hath been said) not being any part of the *Angli-Saxones*, which possessed all the Rest of the Kingdom; but of the Original people of the Island, the residue of the *Britons*, which saved themselves by fleeing into those Provinces: and from thence came the First so famous *Arthur*, who really and without any manner of Fable or *Romance*, was a very valiant Prince: so as *Henry* to revive his memory, called his Son after His name.

There lived at this time in *Oxford* one *Richard Simond* a Priest, indifferently well educated, but of mean birth: and who (abounding with strange ambitious fancies) durst do that which another could never have dared to do. This man took upon him to bring up a yong Boy of so Sweet and Ingenuous a Countenance as one would not have thought him to be a Baker's Son, as he was: his name was *Lambert Symnel*. There were then Two rumours noised every where, and which were spread abroad by such as out of Faction or out of Envie could not endure that *Henry* should reign: the one, that the Duke of *York*, son to *Edward* the 4, was Alive; the other, that the King was resolved to put the Earl of *Warwick*, who was prisoner in the Tower, secretly to death. The First was divulged, to nurse up Hopes in such as were ill-affected; the Second, to encrease Hatred against the King, as if, equally cruel with *Richard*, he were about to treat the Earl of *Warwick*, as *Richard* had treated his Nephews. Whereupon *Simond* meeting with so fit an occasion, bethought himself to make *Lambert* personate the Duke of *York*; but presently altering his Opinion, he judged it fitter for his purpose to have him personate the prisoner, the Earl of *Warwick*: and that if his endeavours should succeed, and that *Lambert* should be made King, he himself should be recompensed with the Chief Miter of *England*, and the Government of King and Kingdom. Neither did he think to meet with any great Obstacle herein; since that the love to the House of *York* remaining yet in the hearts of Most of the Kingdom, they could not possibly endure that the King having married the Princesse *Elizabeth*, he should not suffer her to be Crowned as she ought to be. Resolving hereupon, he began to give such instruction to *Lambert* as such a businesse required; and met with an Aptnesse in him fit to receive whatsoever documents: but considering afterwards that his pupil was to represent the person of one that was known to many, and not known to him, he thought it was unpossible to be done without the Assistance of some-body who was conversant in the Court, who might be informed by those that had

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ſerved the Earl, of his childiſh converſation, and of all things that had befallen ſince King *Edward*'s death; at which time he was but Ten yeers old. None being fitter for ſuch an Office then the Queen Dowager, ſhe was imagined to be the Inſtructreſſe: for ſhe was but little ſatisfied to ſee her daughter ſo little beloved, and ſo coolly treated as a Wife, and as a Queen, wanting the uſual Marks of that dignity; (for *Henry* had neglected her Coronation, though he had lately born him a Son) not that her intention was to make *Lambert* King, but to make uſe of him, to Depoſe her Son-in-law; to ſubſtitute the infant-Prince, the lawful Succeſſor, in his place; and, in caſe ſhe ſhould meet with too great oppoſitions, *Lincoln*, or *Warwick*; which were Both of the Houſe of *York*. That which made people of this opinion, was, Her being ſhortly after confined to a Monaſtery, upon no weighty pretence; as we ſhall ſee. The King thought it expedient to puniſh her under the colour of a Petty known fault, for a heinous one which was not fitting to be known. Howſoever it was, *Lambert* took upon him the geſtures and behaviour of a great Perſonage, with ſo miraculous punctuality, as that theſe being joyned to his Natural Sweetneſſe, a True Prince could not be formed out with more true Perfections then were theſe falſe ones which appeared to be true in Him. The reaſons which made *Simond* change his firſt deſigne and chuſe rather to have his *Comedian* perſonate the ſon to the Duke of *Clarence*, then King *Edward*'s ſon (though he that was Dead might eaſilier be counterfeited then he that was Alive) was, That when a ſpeech went of his being eſcaped out of the Tower, he obſerved ſo Great Joy in the People, as he thought he ſhould have more to further him in his deſigne, and that it would be eaſier for him to inſinuate a falſhood in the Perſon of This man, falſly ſuppoſed to have made an eſcape, then in that Other whoſe eſcape would the hardlier be believed: for in it Two Impoſſibilities were to be ſuppoſed; Pity in the Varlets that were to murder him, which could not, without danger, enter into ſuch ſouls, eſpecially under ſuch a King as was *Richard*; and the Eſcape from the Tower, which augmenting the danger, took from the belief of any Compaſſion in Them, or Life in Him. But that which chiefly made him reſolve upon This, was, that whilſt he was doubtful what to do, 'twas ſaid for a truth that *Warwick* was Dead in the Tower. Now to act this Comedy well, he did not think *England* a fit Scene, a proportionable Diſtance being required in things which muſt be taken for what they are not: unavoidable difficulties were to be met withal upon the place, which might be avoided abroad; where no Witneſſes being, to convince; nor Acquaintance, to confound; boldneſſe becomes impudence: without which, Cheats of this nature can hardly be effected. He reſolved to go over into *Ireland*, a Kingdom affectionate to the Houſe of *York*, and wherein King *Henry* at his coming to the Crown had altered nothing; neither Deputy, Councellor, nor Officer; the ſame com-

commanded there, that were there placed by *Richard* : a negligence to be blamed in ſo Prudent a Prince as He was, who knew the inclination of that Kingdom and People, wherein if alterations chance to happen, remedies are hardly come by; none being to be had from within it Self, and all External helps (the Sea interpoſed between them and home) being Difficult, Dangerous and Slowe. All which made for *Symond*'s purpoſe; who coming before *Thomas Fitz-Gerald* Earl of *Kildare*, who was Deputy (a man ill-affected to *Henry*, as he was well-affected to the Houſe of *York*) preſented his pretended Prince unto him, uſing ſuch illuſions as *Lambert* not having any one part in him which did not gainſay his mean Extraction, the Deputy believed him to be what his Maſters ſpeeches, and his Studied Nobility made him appear to be : inſomuch that acquainting ſome of his truſtieſt friends with this Secret under the Seal of Confeſſion, he found them, and together with them, the People, prone to Rebellion. They received this fancied Prince with great honour; they gave the Caſtle of *Dublin* to him for his Lodging; and few days after proclaimed him King, by the name of *Edward* the Sixth. There was not any one Province that denied him obedience; and all of them joyned in declaring War againſt *Henry* : whilſt on the contrary ſide, there was not any one that ſpake a word, or drew a ſword in his behalf. But that Kingdom being but bare of Money and Arms, and but meanly furniſhed with Souldiers, they hoped that ſuch in *England* as were friends to the Houſe of *York*, and *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, would, in a buſineſſe of ſo great conſequence, aſſiſt them with their Supplies : whom they advertiſe that *Edward Plantagenet* is eſcaped out of the Tower and come into *Ireland*, where he was received and proclaimed King; that they were purpoſed to bring him into *England*, his hereditary Kingdom, if they would be ready with their aſſiſtance, to ſecure his Entry; and that his Aunt of *Burgundy* would aſſiſt him with Money, Souldiers, and Commanders. *Margaret*, by reaſon of her vertue (for ſhe had nothing in her blameable but her inveterate hate to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*) was in great eſteem amongſt the *Flemings* : ſhe was the third wife to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, who being ſlain before *Nanci*, left no Heir behinde him ſave *Mary* (born to him by *Elizabeth* of *Burbon*, his ſecond wife) who was married to *Maximilian* of *Auſtria* ſon to the Emperour *Frederick* the third, to whom ſhe bare *Philip* and *Margaret*, which (their mother being dead) were brought up with much charity and affection by this widow, ſhe doing for Them, as ſhe could have done had they been her Own children : which cauſed the Subjects, moved thereunto by her ſo great Charity, to honour and obey her, as if ſhe had been their Naturally-reigning Princeſſe. Her husband had left her a very great Dowry; ſo as ſhe having had no other occaſion of Expence, ſaving her frugal Domeſtick affairs, ſhe might by the Moneys ſhe had gathered in ſo many yeers, of her Self, unaſſiſted by any Other, undertake this

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buſineſſe. She therefore willingly liſtened to the Embaſſie: not that ſhe was Ignorant of the Falſhood of it (for ſhe knew her Nephew ſo ſtrictly kept, as he could not eſcape) but that ſhe might have an occaſion to trouble *Henry*. His marriage with her Neece, which ſhould have reconciled her to him, did the more Incenſe her againſt him, ſince it was the way to Eſtabliſh him in the Kingdom, and to take it from Her Houſe, without any Hope of ever Recovering it again: whereupon ſhe readily Promiſed Aſſiſtance; and, in it's due time, Sent it more Readily.

The King, when he heard of this Rebellion in *Ireland*, was very much troubled; being too-late aware he had done ill to leave that Nation under the Command of ſuch as depended upon his Predeceſſor. And though he could not have imagined ſuch an accident as This, yet was he not to be excuſed; for Wiſedom ought to foreſee not onely Evident, but Contingent dangers: neither was it Contingency, to truſt *Ireland* in the hands of ſuch as were Well-wiſhers to the Adverſe party; it was not to be believed, that together with their Prince they would change their Inclinations; for Hatred in inveterate Factions, is ſeldome changed. But having no ready remedie, nor being able to exerciſe his own Valour upon this occaſion, as he had done upon Others, by reaſon of the Sea's interpoſal, he called his Council together, to know their Opinions, and to reſolve upon what was to be done. They propounded and concluded upon Three expedients: Firſt, a General Pardon for All faults (Treaſon againſt the Kings Perſon not excepted) to all ſuch as within a Prefixt time ſhould Confeſſe themſelves guilty: a thing moſt Uſual upon Other occaſions, but neceſſary at This time; ſince Ordinary Treaſon, which is uſually pardonable, was not Now treated of; but treaſon grown to ſuch a Height as makes the partakers therein Deſperate, even to the Uttermoſt Hazard; their welfare being incompatible with the welfare of the Prince. This Article was reſolved on in conſideration of Sir *Thomas Broughton*, who had ſaved the Lord *Lovel*: for, being a powerful man in his Countrey, he might have aſſembled many men, who, joyned to the reſt, might have done much harm: and though there was no doubt of his Correſpondency with the Iriſh, yet it was Now no fitting time to proceed againſt him with Severity; it was thought fitteſt for the Preſent Danger, not to put him to Deſperation, not to Provoke him to Miſchief, and to ſhew him a way to ſave himſelf. Secondly, that *Edward Plantagenet* ſhould be taken out of the Tower, and ſhewn to the People, to the end they might know he was not dead; and that the ſuppoſed *Plantagenet* in *Ireland* was a meer *Chimæra*, framed onely to trouble the State. Thirdly, that the Queen-mother ſhould be confined to the Nunnery of *Bermondſey*, and that her goods ſhould be confiſcated; for that having promiſed the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* to the now-King, whilſt he was in *Britanny*, ſhe had, contrary to the Articles of Agreement, delivered Her, and the reſt of her ſiſters, up to *Richard*.

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The iſſue of theſe three Reſolutions, were ; *Broughton* bit not at this bait of Pardon : *Edward Plantagenet* was led in Proceſſion to *Pauls*, being by the way diſcourſed withal by divers of the chief of the Nobility that knew him, eſpecially by ſuch of whom the King had any Suſpition ; to the end they might be convinc't in their reaſon. The which though it availed in *England*, yet did it no good in *Ireland* : where the King was accuſed, That, out of an intent to rob *Edward* the Sixth of his Inheritance, which he had Tyrannouſly enjoy'd, he had ſhewed to the view of the People, a young boy who was ſomewhat like him, to the end they might believe a Falſhood, thereby cheating the World, and by an unparallel'd Impoſture profaning the Church, and ſacred Ceremonies. The reſolution concerning the Queen was that Alone which took Effect, though not without Scandal : for there being no other cauſe then what was alleadged, the puniſhment ſavoured too much of Avarice and Cruelty : of Avarice, becauſe the King got thereby her Confiſcation, which was very Great ; of Cruelty, becauſe the Weakneſſe and Vanity of a Woman (the Weakneſſe cauſed by the Threats, the Vanity by the Promiſes of a Tyrant) and the Irkſomneſſe of a Sanctuary (an End whereof ſhe was Never to expect) did not deſerve ſo Severe a puniſhment. Not but that her fault was very Great, ſince ſhe did what in Her lay to render the Kings return vain, and to make thoſe Lords for ever loſe their Countrey, and their Poſſeſſions, who upon her promiſes were gone into *Britanny* : but the Difficulty of ſo dangerous an enterpriſe under the conduct of a Young man, without Forces ; againſt a powerful King, a ſkilful Warriour ; together with the Example of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who firſt began it with ſo Unfortunate Succeſſe : were able to have made a Stronger minde then Hers to have Waver'd : the ſufferings of her Body and Minde, made her covet a Quiet ; which ſhe could not hope for from a few Exil'd People : and if This were her Onely fault, wherefore was ſhe not at firſt proceeded againſt, before her daughter's Marriage, and the Prince's birth ; in all which time the King ſhewed no diſtaſte againſt her, neither held her as a Delinquent ? But in my Opinion it is to be thought that the Kings nature, though Covetous, yet not Wicked, did not move him to deal ſo injurioufly with her : rather that he was induced to theſe proceedings out of ſome Hidden cauſe ; and that thoſe Forces above mention'd, which made her guilty in the higheſt degree, made him ſo exceeding Severe : elſe he would have puniſht her Before, as in Juſtice he might have done. But Princes Imaginations are not as manifeſt as their Actions. This Queen was one of Fortune's greateſt works ; whoſe Inconſtancy in the enterchanges of her Felicity and Miſery, proved Conſtant : from being a widow to a bare Knight, ſhe was made wife to a great King ; who being fled away, depoſed, and baniſhed, ſhe was enforced for the Safety of her Self and the Prince her ſon, which ſhe bare there, to take

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Sanctuary; her husband not many months after returning home Victorious, and Triumphing, she likewise returned with him, and during his life, lived in her former Greatnesse and Felicity: when he died, she fell upon the like necessity, as formerly, of taking Sanctuary; her Brother-in-law having usurped the Kingdom from her Sons, declared them to be Bastards, and cruelly put them to Death; for her yet greater grief, her Brother, and one of her sons, had by her Former husband, died under the Hangmans hands: in lesse then Three months space, she was wounded with the death of Three Sons and a Brother: her eldest Daughter being married to the new King, moved by her womanish anger to practise uneffectible *Chimera's*, she lost her Honour, Goods and Liberty; and shortly after died unhappie; not visited by any whilst she lived, abandoned by her friends. She was endued with Rare Qualities; but her ruine proceeded from her abuse in the Choice of them: Wisedom and Wylinesse being of the like Habit and Aspect, are easily mistaken One for Another; she took the Later for the Former; which she would not have done had she well considered them, for they are of Differing Liveries; the one's is border'd about with Vertue, the other's with Deceipt. Queens Colledge in *Cambridge* is her foundation, and so call'd from her at this hour.

The Earl of *Lincoln* fled at this same time into *Flanders*: he was son to *John de la Poole* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth*, Eldest sister to the Two Brothers *Edward* and *Richard*. *Richard* had declared him to be his Succeessor, in case he should die without Children; for having published King *Edward* and the Duke of *Clarence* to be born in Adultery, he could not (if he would maintain the pretended justice of his Own cause to the Crown) but reject their issue; especially having injured them so heinously. The Earl, upon these hopes, flew High in his conceipts: he was a man so well conditioned, as had his Title been Just, he deserved to have attain'd at what he aim'd. His designes, which were born to the ground by *Henry*, who by his Uncles death had gotten the Crown, began to renew again at this Irish news: for knowing the pretended *Plantagenet's* falshood, he thought the troubles that were thereupon like to arise, would bring him to what he desired; for *Henry* being once overcome, it would be easie for Him to bear down the Impostor. The King had oft-times had him in his thoughts; for being a Bird fit for the Cage, to let him fly loose Abroad, might prove pernicious to Himself and to the State: but the Earl of *Warwick's* imprisonment, at which the People were offended, was the cause why he imprisoned not Him; which should he do, they would take yet greater offence: and he hoped, though He were at Liberty, he could not hurt him so long as the Other was in Prison: *Warwick's* pretension was Just, and according to the Laws; *Lincoln's* was Illegal, obtained from one who had no Power to give it: and the more it was Questionable, the lesse was it to be Feared; for it was not likely that by the

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difference of Two disagreeing Pretendants, any One of the parties might by Concord be established. In which if he was deceived, it was not to his Prejudice. For *Lincoln* being fled (not without the knowledge and appointment of Sir *Thomas Broughton*) he went to his Aunt the Dutchesse, who after divers consultations, sent him into *Ireland*, accompanied by the Lord *Lovel* and other Fugitives, with a Regiment of Two thousand choice Dutchmen commanded by *Martin Swart*, a Valiant Captain. She thought this ready succour would produce many good effects; as the Confirming of the Rebels in their Obstinacy; the Securing the Counterfeit King in Possession, and the Encouraging of his Party in *England*, by making them Ready at their arrival to set upon *Henry*, to fight with him, and to put him to flight: for the Feigned *Edward* the Sixth was to be Held up, as long as need required, and not Yet to be cashiered, and the True *Edward*, which was in the Tower, put in his place. She had no thought at all of *Lincoln* in this businesse, knowing he had no Right of Pretence, unlesse she would have Seconded her brother *Richard* in his Declarations, to the Shame of her House, which she was very far from.

The King, when he understood of his flight, was much perplext; he saw, that, the Dutchesse having declared her self in the behalf of the Rebels, he must defend his Crown with the Sword. The first provisions he made, was to make the Sea-coasts on that side be well guarded, to the end that Others might not follow *Lincoln*'s example. He raised a Great Army, and divided it under Two Generals, the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Oxford*; believing to be set upon at one and the same time, both from *Ireland*, and *Flanders*. And though he expected not this before the Spring, yet forbore he not to make a journey almost in the midst of Winter into *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, to take order for necessary provisions. And understanding by the way, that Marquesse *Dorset* was coming to him, to clear himself of some imputation which was falsly laid upon him, he dispatched away the Earl of *Oxford* to meet him by the way, with order to carry him to the Tower, and to tell him, That this was not done for that he had Deserved it, or that the King had any Ill opinion of him, but to Free him from the Danger of being Perswaded to undertake any thing which might redound to his Prejudice; so as though he could not chuse but think such a provision very Hard, he wished him to take it Patiently, promising him he should have Honourable and Satisfactory reparation. The King kept his Christmasse at *Norwich*; and went from thence by way of Devotion to our Lady of *Walsingham*, and from thence returned by *Cambridge* to *London*.

1487 The Earl of *Lincoln*'s arrival in *Ireland*, with so many good men with him, added to the Rebels hopes: they were very proud to see themselves favoured by the Dutchesse, by her sending of such ready Helps, and Two so great Lords, as were *Lincoln* and *Lovel*. At their coming, King *Lambert* was Crowned, being formerly

formerly but Proclaimed King. Being in Council, they differ'd in Opinions, whether the war were to be made in *Ireland* or *England*: Thoſe who would have it made in *Ireland*, alleadged for their reaſons, That *Henry* being neceſſitated to paſſe over thither in Perſon, leſt he might loſe that Kingdom, he would meet with many diſadvantages; amongſt which the moſt Conſiderable would be, his giving way for the Faction of *York* to Spread it Self, the which being already Great, would Encreaſe and grow Greater in the Abſence of the King, and ſuch Forces as he muſt carry along with him; ſo as the Faction of *Lancaſter* conſequently growing Weaker, it would run danger of being Deſtroy'd, and divers would be encouraged to Abandon it, who Already were prettily well Enclined ſo to do: which if it ſhould fall out, he would be able to do but Little good in *Ireland*, ſince he would want Supplies, being likely to have None from *England*, which, peradventure, he might Loſe. They were but Few that were of this opinion: for they wanted there all the chief Ground-works of War, ſtrong Holds, Arms, Money and Souldiers; an Enemy could not be Stopped without ſtrong Holds, nor Themſelves Secured; without Money Souldiers were not to be had; nor could they encamp themſelves in Open field without Arms. Reaſon perſwaded to paſſe the Seas and make the war in *England*: *Henry* had done the ſame with Greater & Leſſer company, and yet had had Good ſucceſſe; it was to be believed, that not having any One that ſided with him in *Ireland*, he would have but Few in *England*; where, if the Greateſt part were affectionate to the Houſe of *York*, whilſt they had No Head to follow, what would they when they ſhould have a lawful King, attended on by a whole Kingdom? an agreement which would invite and encourage *England* to do the like. But all theſe arguments, though Sufficient, were not efficacious enough to make this reſolution be taken: the onely reaſon, which bare ſway to have the war in *England*, was the Want of Money wherewithal to pay the Dutchmen, and their no hopes of Enriching themſelves by fighting in *Ireland*. The needier ſort of people flockt to the beating of the Drum; thoſe who had nothing but their Lives to loſe, were contented to venture them upon hopes to better their fortunes in ſo Rich a Countrey. They embarqued themſelves better furniſhed with Hopes then with Weapons; and landed with *Lambert*, clad in kingly apparel, at the Pile of *Fowdray* in *Lancaſhire*; they were conducted by the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Kildare*, and Viſcount *Lovel*, followed by the Dutchmen under Colonel *Swart*. *Broughton* met them at their landing, with but a few men: they marched towards *York*, and paſſed peaceably where they went, to ſhew that Lawful Kings come to Eaſe, not to Oppreſſe their Subjects: but ſhortly after, their hopes began to grow cool, when they ſaw not any one come in to them in their Solitary March; eſpecially ſince they could not with more reaſon expect any to ſide with them in any Other Countrey then in that which was ſo much enclined to the Houſe of *York*, and to *Richard*. But Viſcount *Lovel* not having found any ſafety there

the yeer before, they might believe, They were not now likely to fare better. Some were of opinion, that the Alienation of those people proceeded from a Diſtaſte they took that Two Forreign Nations, the *Dutch* and *Iriſh*, ſhould pretend to preſent them with a King made by them: and though *Henry* the 4, and *Edward* the 4, and the Now-King had in the like manner been preſented by Strangers, yet the caſe differ'd: They (the firſt and laſt) were call'd in by a Part of the Kingdom, to free them from the two *Richards*, the 2 and the 3, the One for divers reaſons more hated then the Other; and *Edward* came of himſelf, building upon the People's Love: neither had *Henry* the 7 given any occaſion of Hatred whereby to be driven out; rather the opinion of his Worth, and his having Matcht with the Houſe of *York*, had eſtabliſhed him: moreover, the Proceſſion made to *Paul's*, wherein the True *Plantagenet* was ſeen, made them not minde the Falſe one.

Lincoln being brought to that paſſe as he could not retire without ruine, reſolved to periſh generouſly by hazarding a Battel. He marched towards *Newark*, minding to make himſelf maſter thereof: but *Henry*, who at the firſt news of their landing, was advanced to *Coventry*, ſent ſome Troops of Light-horſe abroad to take Priſoners, that he might learn News: a ſuperfluous diligence; for he had Spyes amongſt them, who advertis'd him of all their proceedings. Being come to *Nottingham*, a Counſel of War was held, wherein it was diſcuſt where 'twere better to protract time, or to Fight: the King was for giving Battel, being encouraged by the acceſſe of 6000 fighting men, moſt of them Voluntaries, under 70 Colours: the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and the Lord *Strange* were the chief Commanders; and that the enemy might not take the advantage of *Newark*, the King encamped himſelf between them and the Town. *Lincoln*, ſeeing himſelf ſo cloſely purſued, went to *Stoke*; planting himſelf upon the ſide of a little hill, from whence he deſcended aſſoon as the King preſented him Battel: the which was valiantly fought on Both ſides; but of the Manner how, there is but Small or very Obſcure knowledge. 'Tis held, that of the King's Three Battallions, the Vantguard onely fought, & the other Two moved not at all; which ſeems the Stranger, for that having fought even to the Laſt man (the one Half of the ſaid Vantguard being Slain) the King would purchaſe the Victory at ſo Dear a rate; which, if he would have ſuffer'd All his men to have fought, he might have had it better Cheap. All the Chief of the Enemy were ſlain; *Lincoln*, *Kildare*, *Lovel*, *Broughton*, and Colonel *Swart*: great ſlaughter was made of the unarmed *Iriſh*, who budged not one foot from the poſture they put themſelves in at the Beginning of the fight: the *Dutch*, who were well armed, and underſtood their work, died not unrevenged. The Conflict endured Three hours; not likely to have endured ſo Long, had the Main-battel and the Rere-ward fought. 'Tis ſaid the L. *Lovel* ſought to ſave himſelf; but finding the Banks of *Trent* too high for his horſe, they were both drowned, as not able to clammer up.

Others

Others will have it that he got over the River, and that he lived a long time in a Cave. The King was diſpleas'd at the Earl of *Lincoln*'s death, not that he Loved him, or out of deſire of further Revenge; but that thereby he was bereaved of the means of working out of him, what Correſpondency the Dutcheſſe *Margaret* had in *England*. There died, Four thouſand of the Enemy, the One Half of the Kings Vant-guard; and the Other half were work for the Chirurgions: So roundly were they dealt withal. Not any one of Quality was ſlain on the King's ſide. They took many Priſoners: amongſt which king *Lambert Symnel*, otherwiſe called *Edward* the Sixth, and *Simond* his Tutor and Seducer: 'twas thought he ſhould have been rigorouſly proceeded againſt; but his yeers (he not being full Sixteen yeers Old) freed him from the Higheſt of faults. He confeſt who he was and the Meanneſſe of his Birth; that the fault proceeded from his Governour, whom he was not wont to diſobey. His puniſhment was the Kitchin; where he was put to the vileſt employments; his Scepter and Crown were turned to Spits and Fire-forks: he continued in the office of a Scullion, till by what means I know not, he was preferred to be one of the King's Falconers, in which condition he died; not giving any further occaſion of Story. The King ſhewed herein his Wiſedom: for had he put him to Death being ſo Young, and for a fault not of his Own Chuſing; Severity might have had the face of Cruelty, and Juſtice of Injuſtice; and together with his Life, his Memory would have been Loſt: whereas, by Pardoning him, he gave life to a teſtimony of his Own Clemency, and Others Wickedneſſe; and inſtructed the People upon other occaſions. The being a Prieſt, ſaved *Simond*, though worthy of whatſoever puniſhment: the King was pleaſed to afford him Penitence and Penmance; by giving him leave, during his Life, to bewail his ſin in Priſon. There is a great difference between *Polydor Virgil*'s calculation of this Battel and that of Other Writers: he affirms it to have happened in the yeer 1489; the reſt, in the yeer 1487, on the Sixteenth of *June*, on a *Saturday*, the day which was obſerved to be happie and propitious to the King. I follow the Later. The King went not from the Camp till he had given humble thanks to God for the Victory; the which he did likewiſe three days together at *Lincoln*; with Proceſſions, and other religious duties; and he ſent his Standard to our Ladies Church in *Walſingham*, whither he had vowed it. He cauſed ſome of thoſe that were taken to be put to death; doing the like in *Yorkſhire*, where diligent ſearch was made after the Rebels: and ſince it would have been a kinde of Cruelty, to have puniſhed ſo Many for One fault; he was contented to commute the Blood of their Veins for the Blood of their Purſes, impoſing great Pecuniary puniſhments upon them, wherewith both He and They were ſatisfi'd.

He went to *Newcaſtle*; from whence he ſent Ambaſſadours to the King of *Scotland*, to invite him either to a Treaty of Peace, or to a longer Truce. His being but newly ſetled in his kingdom,

and the Inveterateneſſe of the Faction, counſelled him to be at quiet with his Neighbours, eſpecially with *Scotland*: for theſe two kingdoms being almoſt Naturally given to be Enemies, they did much harm one to another by fomenting Rebels, and nouriſhing of Seditions. Yet was this peace more requiſite for King *James* then for Him. For being a friend to men of Mean condition, and an enemy to the Nobility, he never wanted cauſe of Fear; ſo as it behoved him to have Peace with *England*, that he might puniſh the Contumacious, and revenge himſelf upon his enemies. He therefore courteouſly received the Ambaſſadours, letting them know there was nothing which he in his heart more deſired, then that which they came for; but that there would be great difficulty to make the Parliament condeſcend thereunto: for that there was an ancient Law which did inhibite Peace, leſt the people, growing careleſſe, through Idleneſſe, and loſing their natural vigour, which was conſervable by the Uſe of Arms, might become Lazie; to the prejudice of the State: that therefore they muſt content themſelves with a Truce for Six or Seven yeers; which being obtained, they might Renew from time to time, without much difficulty: for what concern'd Himſelf, King *Henry* might aſſure himſelf he would Always be his friend: he intreated them howſoever, to keep ſecret his free Communication with them; otherwiſe they would ruine the buſineſſe; for nothing would be granted which ſhould be known they had deſired of him. *Henry* was contented with a Truce of Seven yeers; which being obtained, he returned to *London*; where, being taught by the laſt events, that his hatred to the Houſe of *York* had been the cauſe of all the diſorders that had enſued, he prepared for the Coronation of his Wife; which was effected the Five and twentieth of *November*, which was in the Third yeer of his Reign, and almoſt Two yeers after he had married her. 'Twas generally believed this reſolution proceeded from Any thing elſe rather then from Good-will, the affections wherewith we are born being as hard to be concealed, as to be laid aſide. Neither is it to be marvelled at if *Henry* born during the time of Hatred and Civil wars, wherein he had loſt his eſtate, and been kept Priſoner till he was Ten yeers old; carried Exile into *Britanny*; demanded from thence by *Edward* and *Richard*; granted and ſold to the former; to the Second ſold, but not granted; and ſaved, as it were by miracle, from the hands of Both of them: it is no marvel, I ſay, if the Remembrance of theſe things did confirm him in the above-ſaid hatred, and that that Hatred was converted to his very Nature and Blood, againſt the Blood of thoſe who had laid traps to Enſnare and to Deſtroy him. But neither did his memory fail him in what concern'd Good Turns; for the cloud of Dangers and Suſpitions being blown over, he ſet the Marqueſſe *Dorſet* at liberty: and that he might know his impriſonment had proceeded from the Jealouſies of the Times, and not from any Evil he had Done him, he ſuffered not thoſe Ce-

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remonies to be uſed to Him, which uſually are to ſuch as are impriſon'd for any fault.

His affairs being thus quieted, he diſpatched away an Ambaſſadour to Pope *Innocent* the Eighth to give him advertiſement thereof, and to thank him for having honoured his Maariage with the aſſiſtance of his *Nuntio*, offering Himſe f and his Kingdom to be upon all occaſions at his Service: for which the Pope, by way of correſpondency, gratified him, by Moderating the Priviledges of Sanctuaries, and other Priviledg'd places; and by ſending him a Bull; which was welcome and advantageous to him; for thereby Traytors became leſſe bold. We have hitherto, ſpoken of the affairs Within the kingdom; we muſt now paſſe on to External buſineſſes, to the which the King could not Before attend, being buſied about Home-affairs which more concerned him.

The deſignes of *Lewis* the Eleventh King of *France*, father to *Charles* the Eighth who at this time reigned, were to eſtabliſh himſelf within the limits of his own Kingdom, and ſuch bounds as confin'd upon his kingdom, by readjoyning unto it whatſoever at ſundry times had been diſmembred from it, either by Appennages, or Otherwiſe; and to beat down the Authority of Princes and great Lords that hindered him in his deſigne, which was to become Abſolute: to bring this to effect, it was neceſſary for him to collogue with *England* (which was the onely place able to diſturb him) and prodigally to preſent it; whereby having laid it aſleep as he deſired, he reunited to the Crown the Dukedoms of *Burgundy* and *Anjou*, the Counties of *Bar*, and of *Provence*, together with all the beſt places of *Piccardy*. He intended to do the like to the Dukedom of *Britanny*; but not effecting it, he left the care thereof to his ſon *Charles*, who though very Young, did fully bring it to paſſe. For *Peter de Landois*, a proud and inſolent Officer of the Duke of *Britanny*, having incens'd the Nobility of the Dutchy, and called in *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*, to his aid, by making *Anne* (the Eldeſt daughter and Heir to that State) be promiſed to him in Marriage by her Father; the Barons had recourſe unto *Charles*, who being entred with Four ſeveral Armies, into Four ſeveral parts of their Countrey, made them too late perceive, that they had not call'd him in to Aſſiſt them, but to Deſtroy them. The Duke of *Britanny*, who knew his Forces too weak to withſtand the King's, had recourſe to *Henry*, to whom *Charles* had already ſent Ambaſſadours to ſhew him, That the chief Princes of the Blood and greateſt Lords of his Kingdom being retired into *Britanny* (under pretence of Refuge, but in effect that being joyned to that Duke, they might miſchief Him the more) he was forced to take up Arms, and neceſſitated to war for his Own Defence, and to Prevent him that ſought His ruine: that the war was Defenſive on His ſide; that he purſued Rebels in a Prince's Countrey, who owing Homage to Him, ought not to have received them, and much leſſe

to have Conſpired againſt him with them: wiſhing him to remember, that if the Duke of *Britanny* had done him any favour, he had marr'd the merit of it; ſince it failed on his part, that he might have been utterly ruined, by being deliver'd up to *Richard*: that he did not pretend to remember him of the Aſſiſtance and Favours he had received from Him, which were done out of meer Affection, and contrary to what Reaſon ſhould have perſwaded him to for his Own good; ſince it had been better for him, that a Tyrant, like *Richard*, ſhould have reigned in *England*, then ſo vertuous a King as was he: That if he would rightly weigh both their good turns, he ſhould finde His proceeded from true Friendſhip; the Duke's, from Self-intereſt: That he did not deſire a Requital of Aſſiſtance, knowing that he was but Newly poſſeſt of the Kingdom, which he had purchas'd with great Expence and Trouble; but onely that he would ſtand Neuter: That he would not, by aiding the Duke, hinder the juſt progreſſe of his Arms, juſtly to puniſh Rebels; and to give due correction to him that had, contrary to all Law, received them. He herewithal acquainted him with his having taken ſome certain Towns from the Archduke *Philip* in *Flanders*; affirming he had not done it out of any Ill-will, but for that it behoved him a little to Quell him: the difference between them, for any thing elſe, being Little or Nothing, they being Neighbours, and he to marry his ſiſter. He ſaid this to diſſwade *Henry* from believing that he made war in *Britanny* to Poſſeſſe himſelf thereof; and to honeſt the Uſurpation by Marrying the Heir, as he intended, and as he did: and to make him believe this the rather, he diſcover'd unto him (as a buſineſſe of great Truſt) his deſignes upon the Kingdom of *Naples*; as if the attempt upon *Naples*, which was but an imagination in Future, were not compatible with his Preſent Real attempt upon *Britanny*.

Henry was diſpleaſed at this Embaſſie, Two Princes being therein concern'd, of which he knew not whether to prefer, being obliged to them Both, and equally favoured by them Both. He knew *Charles* did but Diſſemble; that the injury he did the Duke was unjuſt, and hurtful for *England*: that *France* might peradventure have reaſon enough to be Offended with *Britanny*, but none to Subdue it: The danger was great: The Duke was Old, Sickly, and for the moſt part out of his Wits: He had no iſſue Male; Females, the weaker they are and Marriageable, the fitter are they to ſerve for an occaſion of Oppreſſing the Countrey: The Nobility was Miſtruſtful; the People, wavering: He objected to himſelf, that the Duke having preſerved Him ſo many yeers, againſt the Treacheries of ſo many Enemies, he was, in Honour, obliged to do the like for him; wherewithal it likewiſe became him to preſerve the freedom of Commerce unto his Kingdom; which would be Loſt, or much Leſſen'd, ſhould it fall into the hands of ſuch a King, who if by reaſon of what he already poſſeſſed, he were of ſo great might as he became formid-

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able to his neighbours, and thoſe that lived further from him, what would his greatneſſe become when it ſhould be Augmented by the Addition of a Dukedom equal to a Kingdom, rich in Nobility, People, Seas, and Ports ? But having been likewiſe Obliged to *Charles*, he could not (without the Badge of Ingratitude) treat him like an Enemy. To do then what he ought to do (which was not to Declare himſelf Againſt the One, nor Suffer the Other to be Undone) it behoved him to have Evident Reaſons (ſhould he do Otherwiſe) whereby it might Appear that he was Perforce induced thereunto. His Obligation being Equal, his duty of gratitude could not be Diſpenſed withal to Either of them: ſo as, deſirous to carry himſelf Indifferent where Circumſtances were Equal, as in his Obligations; it behoved him to do Otherwiſe, where Circumſtances Differ'd, as in Intereſt of State, and Juſtice; Two ponderous weights, Both of which were put into the Duke's Scale. Having then anſwer'd the Ambaſſadours in matters of Leſſer importance, as in the buſineſſe of *Flanders*, he told them, He found himſelf bound in a Like bond of obligation to the King and to the Duke: That the cauſe of his flight from *Britanny* into *France*, was not from the Duke, but through the wickedneſſe and malice of his Officer, *Landois*: He muſt confeſſe he Oft hath owed his Life unto him, having had divers treacherous plots contrived againſt him by the corruption of his Servants; that He never failed him, neither in Will, nor Deed: So as finding himſelf in this condition with them Both, he hoped that his Interpoſing himſelf as a Friend between them, might produce that Peace which was to be deſired; and to which end he would forthwith diſpatch away an Ambaſſadour to him. They being diſmiſs'd with this anſwer, he bent all his endeavours to work a Reconciliation between them, that he might not be Enforced to take up Arms; the which if againſt his will he Muſt do, he was reſolved to employ them to Preſerve *Britanny*: neither did he believe fortune would prove ſo favourable to *Charles*, but that He might have time to Negotiate this buſineſſe, grounding his Confidence upon the great Oppoſitions he had; on the one ſide, *Maximilian*; on the other, the Forces of *Britanny*; and the *Orleaniſts* in the Bowels of his Kingdom ready to raiſe a Civil war, which he was not likely Quickly to quit his hands of: together with the Inconſtancy of his Young yeers, able to make him Change his minde; eſpecially he being environ'd with men of Mean condition, who rather make their fortunes in Court-changes, then in Chances of War. Upon theſe ſuppoſals (which proved all falſe) he ſent his Chaplain *Chriſtopher Urſewick* into *France*: he gave him order that if he found *Charles* diſpoſed to Peace, he ſhould inſtantly go to *Britanny*, and conclude it in the beſt manner he could. *Urſewick* came to *France*, where *Charles* made him believe he did paſſionately deſire Peace, whilſt he was far from it; he therefore paſt on into *Britanny*, thinking he had done Half of his work; but he found he was deceived; for the

the young King handled the buſineſſe with ſo much Subtlety, as he that had been longeſt Experienced and Verſt in buſineſſe, could not have done it better. He ſeemed to be very deſirous of Peace, knowing that *Urſewick*'s pains would be to no purpoſe; for the Duke of *Britanny* was not in caſe to rely upon his Own Judgement (having indeed None at all) and the Duke of *Orleans* would not hear of it; for being injured by him, it was not likely he ſhould truſt him. He on the other ſide, ſhould by this means juſtifie himſelf to *Henry*; ſince the making of peace ſtuck not at Him; ſo as he ſhould not have any occaſion to enterpriſe ought againſt Him, the fault (in all appearance) not being His. *Urſewick* being come to *Britanny*, found the Duke ſo very ill, as it was impoſſible for him to treat with him, who had loſt almoſt all the faculties of judgement: it behoved him to treat with the Duke of *Orleans*, whom he acquainted with the King his Maſter's deſire, and with the good inclination he found in the King of *France* thereunto; ſo as there remained nothing to eſtabliſh a good Agreement, but to conclude upon the means, to every one's ſatisfaction. The Duke being far from any ſuch thought, knowing that *Charles* his intention was other then he made ſhew for, and he himſelf thirſting to make war with Another man's purſe, and with the hopes of getting the Dutchy of *Britanny*, anſwer'd, He wonder'd that ſo Wiſe a King as *Henry* would ſuffer himſelf to be over-reached by ſo very Young a King as *Charles*: and that thoſe reaſons, to which he was bound by Honour and Gratitude, bore no ſway with him: that he ſhould do well to remember the Duke of *Britanny* had been in lieu of a Father to him, from his Childhood, till his promotion to the Crown; to the which (though Nature, Birth, and the Kingdom had play'd their parts) he had Never attained, had he not uſed that charity towards him, which obliged *Henry* to do the like for Him: that the preſent Mediation did not correſpond with the buſineſſe: that it was Deſtructive; but Uſeful for *Charles*; who thereby would gain time to do that which otherwiſe he could not: that Aid was expected from *Henry* worthy of the Greatneſſe of his Minde, of his Tye of Friendſhip, and of the imminent Danger: the fair Appearances of *France* were nothing but Fraud and Cozenage; 'twould be too Late, Dangerous, and Diſhonourable, to know it by the Event: that if *Henry* would believe *Charles* to be of as Candid a minde as was He himſelf, he might do well to believe it with his Sword in Hand; ſo that if it ſhould prove Otherwiſe, he might be ready to Chaſtiſe him that had abuſed him: by doing this, he ſhould acquit himſelf on All hands, nor could any one have juſt cauſe to complain of him: And if the reaſons of Gratitude (which were the ſame with thoſe of Honour) were not of force enough to perſwade him, he ought to do it out of reaſon of State; and take upon him that defence in Time, without Offending Any One, which, ſhould he undertake Unſeaſonably, would be offenſive to All Three; to *France*, by oppoſing

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it in Open War; to *Britanny*, by giving it too Late ſuccour; and to *England*, by permitting a Great King to Increaſe in Power, State, and Situation, hurtful to that Kingdom; who was ſet upon on all ſides, ſubject to the diſcretion of *England*, upon whoſe pleaſure he depended, having Seas, Ports, Commerce, and all that could accommodate, or incommodate; ſecure, or endanger *England*. *Urſewick* was ready to anſwer, That Princes could not chuſe but in ſome ſort believe one another, eſpecially where an Obliged friendſhip plays the part of a Surety; not that Wiſedom may not have her Exceptions, but that ſhe ſhould too largely diſpoſe of her ſelf, if where there is Parity of Friendſhip, and Obligation, ſhe ſhould believe a friend to be what he ought not to be: that *Henry*'s obligations to *France* aroſe from *Britanny*'s failing him; which if it were not through any fault of the Duke, 'twas through the fault of *Landois*, Fortune, and Chance: 'Twas Chance, that when fleeing from *England*, he would have gone to *France*, brought him into *Britanny*: Fortune, when he would have ſtay'd in *Britanny*, brought him into *France*; whither he would not have gone, nor have had any obligation to the King thereof, had it not been for danger of being ſold to *Richard* by *Landois*: He did not accuſe the Duke of this; but neither ought the Duke to accuſe him, if Fortune bore him to Divide between Two, that obligation which was formerly due to Him alone: He could not but confeſſe this without the mark of Ingratitude; neither could he take One of them into his conſideration, and leave the Other neglected: More time was requir'd to arm by Sea and Land, then to ſend an Embaſſie; the One did not hinder the Other: That an Ambaſſadour ſerved for a Soul to ſuch buſineſſes as were to be brought to Life; no reſolutions of importance being taken between Prince and Prince, but by Mediation. But *Urſewick* not being ſuffer'd to ſay This, nor what more he would have ſaid (for the Duke aroſe from him and would not hear him) he returned to *Charles*; who told him, He had rightly foretold that the Duke of *Orleans* would not, un-enforced, yeeld to any Pacification: that he would endeavour to force him to it, as his obſtinacy required; in the mean time he deſired *Henry* not to deſiſt from doing good offices: for by continuation thereof that Peace would be effected which He deſired; to which he, for his part, would Never be Averſe: and that, under ſuch conditions as *Henry* ſhould preſcribe him. *Lewis*, the father of this Prince, would never ſuffer this his ſon to be taught more Latine then *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*; wherein he ſo well profited, as not having his brains troubled with any Other leſſon, and being thought by reaſon of his rough nature, to have but a blunt judgement, he deceived all men, eſpecially *Urſewick*; whereby the King, his Maſter, was likewiſe deceived. Some think that *Henry*'s credulity was but feigned, that he might have an Excuſe not to intricate himſelf in a War he Hated, and which would be of great Trouble to him. But if he were not Deceived, he

deceived Himſelf : for hoping it would be hard for *Charles* to make any Progreſſe in this buſineſſe (being unable at the ſame time to beat the Forces of *Britanny*, and *Orleans* his party) it proved clean Otherwiſe.

The French Army being entred *Britanny*, and brought in by the confederate Barons, made them ſoon repent it. The Articles greed upon between them were inſtantly broken; Cities beſieged, taken and Sacked; no difference being put between the grounds and territories of the Confederate, and Not confederate: whilſt the Duke, abandon'd by his Subjects, and not aſſiſted by his friends, eſcaped narrowly being taken at *Vannes*, from whence with much ado he got to *Nantes*; where being beſieged and deſtitute of hope, he ſent the Count of *Dunois* and Viſcount *Coteman*, to get aid from *England*: who having ridden by night thorow Foreſts and deſert places in great danger, the Countrey being wholly poſſeſt by the Enemy, got to *S. Malo*; where they unluckily put four times to Sea, and were as often driven back; ſo as they gave over their employment, believing the ſuccour they went for would come too Late, and that therefore they muſt look for ſome from Elſewhere; but it was more then needed : For the Frenchmen, deſpairing to win the Town, gave over the Siege.

1488 *Charles* whilſt he beſieged *Nantes*, had ſent *Bernard* of *Aubeny* into *England* to re-aſſure the King of his deſire of Peace : and he either believing it, or ſeeming ſo to do, named the Abbot of *Abington*, Sir *Richard Tunſdal*, and the former *Urſewick*, his Commiſſioners, to treat thereof; giving them full Authority, though the circumſtances afforded little hope. Which *Edward Woodvile*, Uncle to the Queen, a gallant Gentleman, perceiving, he deſired leave to go to aſſiſt the Duke with a Troop of Voluntiers, with which he would Privately ſteal over, ſo as the King of *France* ſhould have occaſion to complain of none but of Him. It is not known whether the King did Privately give way thereunto or no, but in Publike he denied his requeſt, charging him not to depart from Court : notwithſtanding he went to the Iſle of *Wight*, whereof he was Governour, and raiſed there Four hundred fighting men, with which he ſailed into *Britanny*; cauſing thereby ſuch an alteration among thoſe of the Court of *France*, as the Commiſſioners would have been evilly intreated, had not *Charles* (whoſe conſcience accuſed him) ſeemed to believe that *Woodvile* was come of his Own head, ſince the Reputation of *England*, and the Need of *Britanny* required Other manner of aid then Four hundred men. The Commiſſioners having diſcover'd his minde, return'd to *England*, and acquainted the King, that *Charles* his deſire of Peace was but counterfeit, the better to gain time, and to make him loſe the opportunity of hindering him from the Uſurpation of *Britanny*. Whereupon *Henry* reſolved to Call a Parliament; wherein ſuccour being reſolved upon, he raiſed Moneys and muſter'd Souldiers, ſending word to *Charles*, that his Kingdom liked not this war with *Britanny* made by him; there having always been an un-inter-

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rupted Friendſhip between that Dutchy and *England*; wherefore they could not now abandon it, ſince their Own commodity was concerned in the Loſſe thereof: that He therefore could not oppoſe his People, as *Charles* himſelf might judge: that he thought good to give him Notice hereof, as well to the end that his Moving or Marching might not be News unto him, as likewiſe to entreat him that he would take away the Cauſe of his ſo doing; which if he would not, he aſſured him that his ſuccour ſhould onely tend to the Defence of *Britanny*; from whence if the French would withdraw themſelves, they ſhould not be Purſued by his men, nor fought withal, Out of *Britanny*: ſo as their Friendſhip was not to go Leſſe in the ſaid War. The Ambaſſadours arrived when *Charles* had brought the buſineſſe to ſuch a paſſe, as he needed not greatly weigh the Late reſolutions of *England*; having received news of the ſurrender of *Ancenis*, *Fougeres*, Saint *Albine di Cormier*, and not long after, that the Armies had met, and that the *Britons* were diſcomfited. The Frenchmen thought that the Duke's Army would bend themſelves for the Recovery of Saint *Albine*; as they did: whereupon following them, and coming up to them not far from thence, they fought with them, and had the Victory: they ſlew the Four hundred Engliſh, with *Woodvile* their Commander; took the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Orange*, priſoners; who would not have purchaſed their Liberties at ſo Cheap a rate as they did, had it not been for their Wives; (*Orleans* his wife being the King's ſiſter, and *Orange*'s wife ſiſter to the Duke of *Burbon*) for after divers Removals from one priſon to another, they, by the Interceſſion of their Wives, obtained Liberty and Pardon. *Henry*, underſtanding of this defeat, ſent Eight thouſand fighting men into *Britanny* under the Conduct of the Lord *Brook*, which joyning themſelves with the Duke's Forces, marched towards the Enemy, who knowing they loved not to Encamp themſelves, but to come to Blowes, thought to cool their heat by Intrenching their Army, and ſallying out with their Light-horſe; which they did; but with more Loſſe then Gain.

This mean while *Francis* the Second, Duke of *Britanny*, died, leaving Two Daughters behinde him; the younger whereof died not many months after, and left the Inheritance wholly to *Anne*: but the ſubverſion of her State was cauſed by her father's death. A month before this, the Duke was conſtrain'd to Compound with *Charles*, and ſubſcribe to the Articles of Agreement, remitting the Difference to Arbitratours. *Charles* pretended to this Dukedom out of Two reaſons: by the pretences of *John de Broſſe* and *Nicholas* of *Britanny*, which were yeelded up to his father *Lewis* the Eleventh; and by the rights of the Viſcount of *Rohan*, deſcended from *Mary* of *Britanny*, ſiſter to *Margaret*, the firſt wife of *Francis* the Second, the which right or claim the ſaid Viſcount had ſurrendred up to this *Charles*: and theſe Two ſiſters, being Daughters to *Francis* the Firſt, would in

ſucceſſion have preceded *Peter* the Second, *Arthur*, and *Francis* the Second, had not Women been excluded from men of Name and Coat of *Britanny*, as were the Three above-named. The which being then brought into queſtion, made the diſpute more intricate; though it ſhould not ſo have done: for the Former Two's grant was annull'd in the Abbey *de Victoire*, by a Treaty made with *Lewis* himſelf: and the Viſcount *Rohan*'s relinquiſhment (made by him, not that he believed he had any Right thereunto, but to pleaſe *Charles*) was of no Validity, ſince he deſcended from Women, and the Nullification of ſuch pretences appeared in his Contract of Marriage, in the Wills of the Dukes, and in the Decrees of the State of *Britanny*. Reaſons which though they were all of force enough, yet were they not able to weigh againſt the force of the Weaker; for the weakeſt pretences are ſufficient, ſo they have power enough to prove their right by force. The King was Young, and every one about him pretended to get an Armful of Wood by the fall of this Tree; the Siſter, for her part had already, in her conceipt, devoured the City of *Nantes*: the *Britons*, who were Partakers, pretended to participate therein; whilſt the reſt that ſaw their fortunes and welfare depend upon the Weakneſſe of an abandoned Orphan Maiden, and under the Sword of a Powerful King, reſolved to Declare themſelves for him, before they were by force Conſtrained ſo to do. Whereupon the Engliſh, not able to Save what ran to ſo Headlong a Ruine, returned into *England*, after they had ſpent Eight months in *Britanny*, and done nothing.

The Parliament had given certain Subſidies for the payment of theſe men; which were readily paid by all the Shires ſave *York*-ſhire and the *Biſhoprick of Durham*; which Two Counties flatly denied to pay any. They alleadged that they had ſuffered great grievances the Laſt yeers paſt; and for the Preſent they had not backs to bear any More. This contempt proceeded from the Love they bore to the Houſe of *York*, and their Hatred to the preſent King. The Commiſſioners for the Aſſeſſing and Gathering of the Subſidies wanting means whereby to enforce them, knew not what to do; for all and every one of theſe Two Counties agreed in a joyn'd Negative to the Parliament's Decree. They went to adviſe about it with the Earl of *Northumberland*, who wrote thereof unto the King; and received anſwer, That the Subſidies were given by Parliament, and pay'd by all the reſt of the Kingdom; and that he would have them of Them, without the Abatement of one Peny. The Earl, calling together the prime Gentlemen of the Countrey, acquainted them with the King's anſwer; who believing he had framed it of his Own head, broke into his houſe, and ſlew him, together with many of his Servants. This being done, they choſe Sir *John Egremond* for their Head; and appointed *John à Chamber* to him for Counſellour; both which were Seditious men. Their conceit was to meet the King, and give him Battel in defence of their

Liberties.

Liberties; the which the King underſtanding, he commanded *Thomas*, Earl of *Surrey* (lately before taken out of the Tower) to compel them; which he did by Diſcomfiting them, and taking *à Chamber* priſoner. *Egremont* fled into *Flanders* to the Dutcheſſe *Margaret*; *à Chamber* was hanged upon a high Gallows at *York*; and ſome others of the Chiefeſt of them, were hanged round about him, but ſomewhat Lower. This was the end of this Rebellion.

James the Third, King of *Scotland*, and friend to *Henry*, died this yeer; who was brought to a miſerable Period, rather by evil Counſel, then evil Nature. He had naturally good inclinations, but they were poiſon'd by the practice of a kinde of people which hath always been Ominous and Peſtilential to Princes: an inconvenience which always hath been and will be whilſt the World laſts. His thirſt after Abſolute Sovereignty, was as great as is the thirſt of one ſick of a Burning Fever, not to be quenched by all the water of *Nilus*. He valued not Legal authority, but ſought for that which was not permitted by the Conſtitutions nor Laws of the Kingdom: His ruine aroſe from hating Liberty in ſuch as gave him Good Counſel: and in loving Flattery in thoſe who adviſed him Ill; the which they did, not to incur the danger of his Diſfavour: and ſo made him fall upon his Own Ruine. Amongſt the chiefeſt of his injuries to his Nobility, was his breach of Faith; ſo as they not believing any more in him, nor truſting him, there enſued a Rebellion; and wanting a Head for a buſineſſe of ſo great Conſequence, they thought to make uſe of the Prince, a Youth of about Fifteen yeers of Age; and under the ſhadow of the Son, to ſend the Father to eternal Darkneſſe: but the Prince being endued with much Worth, would not accept ſo deteſtable a Charge: whereupon they made him believe they would give themſelves up to *England*, deprive him of his Birth-right, and poſſibly of his Life: ſo as, thus threatned, he gave way to their Will. *James*, this mean while, having made means to Pope *Innocent* the Eighth, and to his Two Neighbour-Kings of *England* and *France*, might have been ſuccoured all in good time, had he had patience to expect them in the Caſtle of *Edenborough*, a ſafe place: but he judging *Strivelin* to be a more convenient place to receive thoſe in, whom he expected from the Northern parts of his Kingdom, was in going thither, fought withal, and beaten; whereupon retyring to a Water Mill, with intention to ſave himſelf in certain Ships, which were not far off, he was miſerably ſlain: and *James* the Fourth, his Son, by way of Pennance girt himſelf with a Chain of Iron, to which he added one Link every yeer as long as he lived. Pope *Innocent* had diſpatcht away *Adrian de Corneto*, upon this occaſion for *Scotland*, a man of noble conditions, who came to *London* Two days before the news of this unfortunate accident: he thought preſently to have returned; but was detained by the King enamoured of his good parts, which were by *Morton*, Arch-

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, commended unto him. Neither were they any whit deceived; for being a man greatly Experienced in the affairs of the world, to boot with his Learning (*Polydore* gives him the attribute of the Reſtorer of the Latine tongue, and the moſt Eloquent next *Cicero*) he came to the higheſt degrees of Preferment. The King gave him the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*; which he refuſing, he gave him that of *Bath* and *Wells*, and made uſe of him in all his buſineſſes depending at *Rome*: which made him (being promoted to be a Cardinal) acknowledge his favours, and give him continual Advertiſements of the affairs of *Italy*. This man afterwards through ambition of being Pope, ruined his Honour, his Fortune and Himſelf: it being verified in Him, that Learning is unprofitable if the End thereof be not how to lead a good life. The reaſon of his ruine was, that Cardinal *Alphonſo Petrucchio*, having together with certain other Cardinals, his Confederates, plotted the death of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, there were Three that were not Of this Confederacy, but Knew of it; *Riario*, *Soderini*, and this *Adrian*: who not medling in the buſineſſe, did notwithſtanding Wiſh it might take Effect; for each of them aſpired to be Pope. *Paulus Jovius* relating the cauſes which made *Riario* and *Soderini* hate the Pope, when he comes to ſpeak of *Adrian*, ſays: "But *Adrian*, not moved by Hatred, but by a vain Deſire of Rule, wiſht *Leo*'s death "becauſe he had conceived a hope to be Pope by reaſon of the "words of a Woman-Soothſayer; who having long before this "(being aſked by him) told him many things touching his Own "fortune, and the Publike affairs of the World; told him for a "truth, that if Pope *Leo* ſhould die an unnatural death, an old "man call'd *Adrian*, ſhould ſucceed him, famous for his Learning, "who building onely upon Vertue, had without any Help "from his Anceſtors, gotten the higheſt Eccleſiaſtical preferments: and it ſeemed all this was found in Him. For being "born at *Corneto* a poor Village in *Toſcany*, of mean mechanical "parentage, he by his Learning had arrived at all the preferment "of Holy Orders. Neither did the Old woman foretel a Falſehood: for one *Adrian* an old Dutch-man, ſon to a poor Artificer, famous for his Learning, was by much good fortune, made "Pope after *Leo*. And a while after he ſays; "*Soderini* by voluntary Exile withdrew himſelf to the Territories of *Fondi*; "but *Adrian* being fearful and ſuſpitious, not truſting to *Leo*'s "clemency, went from *Rome* in a Countrey-fellow's habit; and "not being purſued by any, changed from place to place, ſtill "ſeeking to hide himſelf, till he died. And *Guiechiardine* ſpeaking more clearly of him, ſays; "*Adrian* and *Volterra* were not any "ways troubled, ſave onely that they under-hand pay'd certain "ſums of money: but neither of them daring to truſt their "Safeties in *Rome*, as neither did it become their Dignities; *Volterra* with leave from the Pope went to *Fondi*, where he ſtaid "till the Pope's death, under the protection of *Proſpero Colonna*:

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"As for *Adrian*, he privately ſtole away, it never being known "what became of him. I was deſirous to relate the intire Hiſtory of this great man, for our inſtruction: for Two diſtinct ſpecies of ambition are therein comprehended; the one Praiſe-worthy, the other Not: which may be compared to Two Horſes; the Praiſe-worthy is like a ſtately well-managed horſe, which in due time doth all things by obeying the hand: the other like a hair-brain'd ill-ridden horſe. *Adrian* rid both theſe: the firſt brought him Safely and without Danger to his old age; the ſecond overthrew him, and loſt him to the world. A rare example, and unparallel'd in a man of ſo much Worth: for to periſh and die in Perſecution, is that which at all times befals Many; but I have not heard of Any man that periſhed and for Fear of death Died, whilſt Alive, ſave this alone.

The affairs of *Britanny* after Duke *Franciſco*'s death were ſo encumber'd, as no good was to be expected. The Dutcheſſe was Young, her governours Unfaithful, the greateſt part and beſt of the Barons Alienated, the Others upon deſignes reſpecting their Particular intereſts; and the State as it was by many pretended unto by Marriage, ſo was it by many Practis'd upon. The father had, at ſundry times, promiſed the now-Dutcheſſe his daughter to Three ſeveral men: firſt, to *Maximilian*, who loſt her through Negligence: after, to the Duke of *Orleans* (though he were married) who loſt her, by being taken Priſoner: laſtly, to *Albert*, who had her not becauſe She would not have Him. But *Charles*, a tacite pretender, got her; who ſeemed not, till long after her father's death, to have any intention toward her. Her firſt inclinations were to *Maximilian*, to whom ſhe was ſolemnly promiſed; her ſecond, to *Orleans*, ſhe being made believe that his Firſt marriage was Invalid. She abhorred *Charles* as an Enemy and Perturber of her quiet, and the Deſtroyer of her State: a natural Antipathy, or rather Ambition to be Queen of the Romanes, made her not regard *Albert*. Honour and Title are able to do much; and *Albert*, though he was very Noble and not a Subject, yet was he Vaſſal to the Crown of *France*. He was deſcended by the Mother's ſide from the Houſe of *Britanny*. *Margaret* daughter to *John* the Fifth, wife to *Alaine* the Ninth Viſcount of *Rohan*, had Three daughters, the Second whereof was Mother to this man, ſurnamed the Great *Alaine*: the Eldeſt was married into the Houſe of *Rieulx*; and the Youngeſt to *John* of *Orleans*, Count *d'Angouleſme*, who was father to *Francis* the firſt, King of *France*. Duke *Francis* had offer'd him his daughter upon hopes of great ſuccour; which proved but Small and Tardy: for he judging it neceſſary to intereſt *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* in this war, to the end they might not annoy his ſon the King of *Navar*, (they being offended that in the marriage of the Queen, he was prefer'd before the Prince of *Caſtile*, for whom they would have had her) he went to them to *Valencia*; and complaining that *Charles* had ſeized on his State for having brought the intereſt

of

of his ſon to the Crown of *Navar*, againſt the Viſcount of *Narbonne*, whom *Charles* favoured; he deſired them to take him into their protection, and together with Him the aforeſaid King; as likewiſe the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Britanny*, to defend them from the violence of ſuch as abuſed the Authority of the King of *France*: offering in their names to cauſe the Territories of *Roſſillion* and of *Cerdagna*, which *John* the King of *Arragon* had pawn'd to *Lewis* the Eleventh, to be reſtored to *Catalonia*. Having obtained what he demanded, and moreover certain Troops under the Command of *Gralla*, the Steward of their Houſe, he returned to *Guaſcoigne*; and joyning theſe Forces to his (which all together made about Four thouſand men) he would not paſſe the River *Garonne* till the promiſe of Marriage was confirm'd unto him: which if it had been done, the Reward had much exceeded the Service; the promiſe being made, with intent to have Forces able to Repulſe the enemy, which he had not. whereupon *Henry*, conſidering that the King of *France* was likely by this Marriage to make himſelf maſter of *Britanny*, unleſſe he ſhould meet with ſome great obſtacle, he counſelled *Maximilian* to purſue it again; ſince, *Orleans* being excluded, *Albert* refus'd, and *Charles* (who ſeemed not to pretend thereunto, being already married) not likely to get her, His hopes might be good. There was none that more moleſted the Orphan Princeſſe, then did her Governour the Marſhal of *Rieulx*; for quitting his Obedience, to Force her to marry *Albert*, he had put the remainder of her eſtate, not yet poſſeſt by the French, in confuſion. But ſhe (reſolved rather to take a Cloiſter then to marry Him) ſent into *Flanders* to *Maximilian*, and to *Ferdinand* of *Spain* for ſuccour: ſhe ſent at the ſame time to *Henry* of *England*, who ſent her the Eight thouſand men; whilſt *Maximilian* not able to purſue the Match, was leſſe able to Succour her. For the Dutch had ſo ſhut him up, as he was not able to help Himſelf, much leſſe to aſſiſt Her. His wife had left him Two children, *Philip* and *Margaret*: the inhabitants of *Gaunt* and *Bruges* had taken them from him; and had given Four Tutours of Their ordaining to *Philip*, and married *Margaret*, an Infant of Three yeers old, to *Charles*, during the life of his father *Lewis* the Eleventh: and contrary to all reaſon of good Government, they cut off *Artois* and the French County from the States of the Low-countreys, and gave them in Portion with her: they likewiſe kept him Priſoner a long time; and granted him not his Liberty till he had Sworn to Pardon all Offences, and Never to take Revenge for them. And though his father the Emperour (not liking ſo Unworthy agreements) came to his Succour; yet did he not at all help him: for he returned to *Germany*, not having done any thing but irritated the more thoſe people (of whom Monſieur *de Raveſtein* had made himſelf Head, backt by the Governour of *Picardy*, who went immediately to beſiege *Deſmunde*) and left him in caſe hardly able to Defend Himſelf, much leſſe to Aſſiſt Others. But *Henry* not willing to

Break

Break with *France*, nor yet to let *Flanders* be loſt; ſent the Lord *Morley* to Monſieur *Dawbeny*, Governour of *Callis* with One thouſand men, under pretence of a Supply for the Gariſon on that ſide the Sea; but with ſecret order to ſuccour *Deſmunde*; the which he ſo well obeyed, that to thoſe Thouſand another Thouſand being added, which he drew from the Gariſon of *Hammes* in *Guiſnes*, he paſſed over the water of *Graveling* by night, and got into *Newport*; where augmenting his Forces with Six hundred Germanes which he found there, and led by a truſty guide into *Deſmunde*, the Enemy (which lay on the other ſide) not perceiving it: he ſet upon them unawares, and was victorious; ſlew Eight thouſand, and got all their Artillery and Baggage. The cauſe of ſo great ſlaughter, was this; *Morley* being the onely man who amongſt ſo many fought on Horſe-back, was unhors'd and ſlain; whereat his men were ſo enraged, that they ſlew their Priſoners, and together with them, all thoſe that could not flee away: not above Two hundred of Them being ſlain. Monſieur *Daubeny* returned to *Callis*, having left his wounded men and the booty at *Newport*; affording thereby a thought of Recovering it to Monſieur *Cordes* who was at *Ypre*: he brought Twenty thouſand men with him thither; play'd upon the Town, and gave an Aſſault. The Defendants did their parts Manfully, and were helped by ſuch as were left Wounded there: after a long fight, they loſt one Tower upon which *Cordes* planted the French Colours; and was likely to have won all the Reſt, had not Fortune diſfavour'd him at that very Inſtant, by a Small Succour which entred the Town from *Callis*: for *Dawbeny* knowing the ſlenderneſſe of the Gariſon, had embarked Fourſcore choſen Souldiers to Abet them, till ſuch time as he might ſend Greater Forces to Free them Altogether. Theſe men arriving in the Heat of the fight, whilſt the Defendants fought out of Meer Courage (for New wounds being added to what they had Formerly received, they could ſcarcely ſtand upon their legs) they ran to the Walls, drave back the Beſiegers, regained the Tower, and this with ſuch Forward Valour, as *Cordes* believing them to be a much Greater number, raiſed the Siege: whereupon this Perſonal Diſgrace added to his former National Hatred, he ſwore, He would be content to be Seven yeers in Hell, ſo he might have the fortune to take *Callis* from the Engliſh.

Henry, not contented to have aſſiſted *Maximilian* with Arms, endeavoured to do the like with Counſel: he perſwaded him to re-aſſume the buſineſſe of the Marriage, and to Conclude it with the Dutcheſſe, as hath been ſaid. Which counſel he preſently embraced, and ſent Four Ambaſſadours to her, to whom he gave the Count *de Naſſau* for their Chief, with Commiſſion, that when all things were agreed upon, the Count ſhould marry her in His name, as he did; and uſed therein a Ceremony not accuſtomed in thoſe times for ought I know: The Dutcheſſe being lay'd in her Bed, the Count (in the preſence of many Lords and Ladies) put

put one of his Leggs between the Sheets in signe of Consummation of the Marriage, holding, all the while, *Maximilian*'s Proxie in his hand. *Belforest* denies this Marriage by Proxie; and to boot with the reasons he alleadges for his opinion, one chief one is, That if it had been so, the Annales of *Britanny* would have made some Mention of it: I confesse I have not read Them, nor do I know the Author's name: I have read *Argentres*, the last who hath written thereof, and he alleadges for his Testimony the Records of that Countrey: he says, That the Dutchesse after this Marriage assumed the title of Queen, and that the publike Acts and Proclamations were made in the Names of *Maximilian and Anne by the Grace of God, King and Queen of the Romanes, Duke and Dutchesse of Britanny.* But *Maximilian* did not pursue this his advantage with requisite effects; for believing he had so Consummated this Marriage as it could not be Broken, he neglected the sending of Aid into *Britanny*: so as leaving it to Fortune, which favours the Provident, it did frown upon Him, who Negligent in his affairs, did not almost ever do any thing, which, though it might Begin well, had a good End. He was endued with very Excellent qualities; but abounding with Bad ones likewise, by which his good parts being born down, all his undertakings proved, for the most part, unfortunate. His Valour, Knowledge in Military affairs, and his good Understanding in matters of Counsel, became un-useful to him through his ill Government. He never raised Moneys for making of a War, but that he had Spent them before the War was Begun: he was one of those that can tell how to Propound, but not how to put in Execution: wise in Discourse, foolish in Action: so as if it had been possible to have furnished him with one to have Executed his Projections, nothing had remained to have been desired in him. I have sometimes thought it impossible, that the understanding Conceiving aright, should work Evil Effects; and that it being our Director, it should not be of force enough to make our Actions conformable to those *Idea*'s upon which they depend: but daily practice shews me I was in an Errour.

1490 He then not having done what he ought to have done, *Charles* believed it behov'd him to do what became him: wherefore *Charles* betook himself to a double remedy: To the Dutchesse, in Countermining her Marriage with *Maximilian*, by endeavouring to marry her Himself; for so he was advised to do by those who bore the greatest sway with him: and to *Henry*, by sending Ambassadours to him, who were *Francis* Lord of *Luxenburgh*, *Charles de Marignan*, and *Roger Gaguine* the Writer of the French Story. Their Instructions were to treat a League or Peace with him; which was desired by him, not that he (*Charles*) might the more securely turn his Forces upon *Italy*, but out of an Affection that he bore unto him (*Henry*) from the first day he saw him, either out of Natural Sympathie, or Heavenly Constellation: He knew there was no Enmity between them, but that the casual encounters

of

of their Subjects in *Flanders*, and in *Britanny*, did require a Confirmation thereof : that he did not accuſe his actions in this behalf, it being a thing certain, that Frontire-wars draw Princes to them, as Wounds do Humours ; ſo as ſuch effects being Natural, they ought not to be eſteemed the motives of Ill-will : that for ſuch he eſteemed them, and ſo interpreted them ; wherefore he likewiſe deſired to be excuſed ; for if he had made war upon *Britanny*, 'twas for that his Honour, and the Preſervation of his due Prerogative, would not ſuffer him to do otherwiſe : and if upon *Flanders*, ſtill out of the ſame conſiderations ; becauſe thoſe of *Flanders*, being under the Soveraign Protection of *France*, oppreſſed by their Prince, and fleeing to Him for Succour, he could not chuſe but aſſiſt them : and though the caſual encounters of the French and Engliſh Nations, had not thereupon raiſed a Formal War, yet a Conſolidation of Friendſhip between thoſe Two Nations was requiſite, to the end that when he ſhould have turned his Arms elſewhere, the World might not reſt in doubt of it : that he would acquaint him with his more Secret deſignes, as an Earneſt of the Confidence he would always uſe with him ; that his intention was not to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, a Kingdom which of right belonged to him ; and that from thence (by God's aſſiſtance) he would paſſe into *Turkey* and wage war with thoſe Infidels ; a thought worthy to be favour'd by all Chriſtian Princes, much more by a Chriſtian King, and a Friend, as was *Henry* : and for that the war with *Britanny* might move ſome jealouſies in him, the true Reaſons whereof not being known, he gave him to underſtand, that, that Countrey being Feudatary to him, it became him in his reputation to preſerve his rights therein ; amongſt which one was, that the Heir could not marry without his Conſent : that the Dutcheſſe having done otherwiſe, in freely diſpoſing of her ſelf without the Conſent of Him her Soveraign, it behoved him (with his good leave) to match her ſo as might not be prejudicial to his Crown ; to the which he hoped He would give way, as to a thing becoming the reaſon of State and Juſtice. *Henry*, perceiving that the King of *France* would have him ſwallow up a bitter Pill wrapt up in Leaf-gold, cauſed anſwer to be made to the Ambaſſadours, That Peace ought not to be treated of thereby to make War upon one's Friends ; that to Demand it was Unjuſt, Moſt unjuſt to Grant it : He had too much of intereſt with *Britanny*, to abandon it : That the proceedings held by *Charles*, were not like thoſe of a Lord, who intends to keep his right of Fee-farm ; but like thoſe of an Enemy, which intends Uſurpation : That his Correction (ſay it were juſt and neceſſary) needed not to be impoſed by ſo Unjuſt means, and ſuch Unneceſſary Arms againſt a Maiden : That he did not diſpute whether it were *Charles* his Right to marry her as he pleaſed or no ; though he thought few Preſidents could be given thereof : That *Britanny*'s tenure in Fee was not ſubject to the Juſtice, Laws and Will of the Lord thereof ; as were Other

Common tenures: That *Gascoigne* and *Normandy*, in Former times, and *Flanders*, at the Present, were not under so Servile a Subjection: but say they were; Marriages ought to be Free, not made by Force, the parties not Constrain'd; otherwise they would be against the Laws, both Humane and Divine: and suppose his disposal of her did not contradict the Laws, it might yet be averse to the interest of Other Princes; who, peradventure, might be content he should marry her to some Other, and not unto Himself. As for *Flanders*; he wonder'd so Wise a King as *Charles*, should use such slight Arguments in so weighty a matter; that he should term the Oppression of the Prince, the People's Oppression; the Rebellion of the One, the Injustice of the Other: that after having so many months detained him prisoner, slain his servants, bereft him of his Son, and injuriously put him under their own Government, they should pretend by Injuring to be injured; being protected and confirmed in their Rebellion by *Charles* himself: A thing which had not formerly happened, and which now fell out opposite to the Interest and Dignity of All Princes; for in time that might happen to Each of them, which now befel This; so as all Princes were bound upon such like occasions reciprocally to Help one another; the which if it became Others, much more did it become *Charles*, who being Soveraign, ought to chastise Rebellion in the people; not to Authorize and Nourish it: He thanked him for his acquainting him with his Secret designes; which were So secret, as not onely *Italy*, but the whole World knew of them: For his ends of Passing into *Macedonia* to make war upon the *Turks*, they were not onely Christian, but Generous; so as if in stead of his demanding Peace, he would grant his request in accepting of Him for a Companion in so holy an Enterprise, he should think himself happie: but that his arguments were of too Repugnant a Construction; God did not command Evil to be done that Good might come thereof, nor that what is offer'd on His Altars should be taken from Another's flock: Yet if he thought he might with Justice, set upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, and that his pretended right thereunto was good, meerly by the Renunciation of the House of *Anjou*; what might He think of himself, that was bereft of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Gascoigne*, and All *France* (which falling upon his person by natural Inheritance; not by Anothers Renounsal, was his Legal Patrimony) if, being instructed by him, He should not do the like? He would therefore follow his example, and run the same carreer he had traced out to him: Therefore if he would have Peace, he might have it upon condition, either that he would Renounce that which by an unjust title he Possessed, or else pay such a Tribute as might be proportionable to what he should hold. The Ambassadours, not expecting such an Answer, said, They had no Commission to any such purpose; but that they were sure their King's Sword was able to defend his Crown from losing any the least of his Flower-de-Luces: that for what concern'd

cern'd his marriage with the Dutcheſſe, he never had any ſuch Thought, being already married to *Maximilian's* daughter. To which the King reply'd, He lookt for ſuch an Anſwer; and that he would ſend Ambaſſadours to him, the better to be ſatisfied therein: whereupon he diſmiſſed them; and *Gaguine* ſtayed in *England* till he had diſpatcht *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, and *Thomas Goldenſtone* Prior of Chriſts-Church in *Canterbury*, Ambaſſadours into *France* for that purpoſe.

Charles this mean while, labour'd to remove from the Dutcheſſe *Anns* all ſcruples and deteſtations which withheld her from taking him for her husband. He employed people of all conditions; Divines, Ladies, Lords, Counſellours, and all ſueh as had acceſſe unto her. The Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Orange*, newly freed from their impriſonment, pleaded for him; ſo did the Count *Dunois*, who after *Orleans* was tane priſoner, turn'd again to the King's party. The Marſhal *de Rieux*, Chancellour *Mountalban*, the Ladies and Gentlewomen that were familiar with her, and almoſt the whole Counſel were his inſtruments herein; Madame *de Laval* her Governeſſe and Lady of Honour took more pains herein then All the reſt. Much ado there was to perſwade the Dutcheſſe to forget how unworthily ſhe had been dealt withal for Three yeers together; how the Agreements made with the Duke her father, and after with her Self, had never been obſerved; that *Charles* had deſtroy'd and ſackt her Countrey; that he was married to the Daughter of the King of the Romanes, and the King of the Romanes married to Her: So that if the Divines were troubled to remove from her her Scruples of Conſcience, Madame *de Laval* was no leſſe troubled to rid her of the Hatred ſhe had conceived againſt his Perſon. She at the laſt yeelded thereunto upon the remonſtrance of Peace, the Neceſſity of embracing it, and that there was no other way to compoſe it then by this Marriage; *Maximilian* being Far off, and reduced to ſuch Poverty, as in a time of ſo great need, he could aſſiſt her with but Two thouſand men: *Charles* on the contrary was Neer at hand, Powerful, and not likely to give over, till he had bereft her of her Countrey, and brought her to Poverty and Miſery; the which if it ſhould ſo fall out, *Maximilian* would no longer care for her; whoſe end was to poſſeſſe himſelf of *Britanny*, and not barely of her Perſon: that Promiſes of Marriage, yea, Marriage it Self, were to be diſpens'd withal in caſes of Neceſſity: that the Pope would not be found difficult herein, ſince Blood, War, and Deſolation would otherwiſe enſue, which by Peace might be prevented; and Peace was to be had onely by this Marriage: that *Maximilian's* daughter was no impediment, ſince ſhe was not of Yeers either to Conſent or Diſſent: For her Marriage with *Maximilian's* Self, though Promiſed, yet was it not Conſummated; the Solemnities uſed therein were meer Ceremonies invented to dazzle the World; they not being valid by whatſoever Law either Canon or Civil: And if nothing elſe would

would prevail with her, the Preſervation of her State, her's and *Charles* his Proportionable Youth and Yeers, and her being to be the Chief Queen of the World, ought perſwade her. Weary at laſt with ſo many Onſets, ſhe gave way, though not yet freed of the Scruple of her Promiſe-breach to *Maximilian*; but he being accuſed of having failed in his Duty, and of not having kept any one whoſoever neer her (which he would not have done to the meaneſt Princeſſe alive) ſhe was likewiſe quitted of That.

The Ambaſſadours which were ſent to *Charles* being come to *Callis*, met with the Biſhop of *Concordia*, ſent from the Pope to reconcile the Two Kings; for through the moleſtation of their Wars, Chriſtendom was in great danger of the Turks, who made daily further progreſſe thereinto. The Biſhop having diſpatcht his affairs with *Charles* (who feigned a willingneſſe to Peace) came to *England*, where he did nothing; for the Marriage with *Britanny* being publiſhed, the Treaty was broken off, and each King ſent for his Ambaſſadours home. *Henry* not in honour able to ſuffer any longer diſſimulation, and being by *Maximilian* promiſed ſtrong ſuccours from the King of *Spain*, called a Parliament, and there propounded war with *France*; not to be made any more by Deputies, as was the war of *Britanny*, but by Himſelf in Perſon, to recover thoſe Provinces loſt under *Henry* the Sixth, againſt a Prince who for his Pride, and for his pretending over every one, was unworthy of All men's Friendſhip; ſince having poſſeſt himſelf of *Britanny* by Force and Fraud, and maintained the Rebels in *Flanders* againſt their Prince, he pretended now to bring *Italy* to his Subjection; that he might aftewards trouble all the Princes of Chriſtendom: honeſting his thirſt after Rule, and his conceived Uſurpation of the Kingdom of *Naples*, by ſaying he did it with an intent to carry his Arms againſt the Infidels on the other ſide of the *Adriatick* Sea: he told them it would be dangerous to let him advance ſo much; for that *England* being already girt about with *Piccardy*, *Normandy*, and this new purchaſe of *Britanny*, it would be eaſie for him to moleſt her; if ſuffering her ſelf to be Flatter'd as hitherto ſhe had done, ſhe ſhould be abuſed, as ſhe had been: that the French forces were not unknown to the Engliſh; as had been witneſſed by their Battels, Victories, and the Impriſonment of one of the French Kings: and if the Engliſh had at laſt had unhappie ſucceſſe, 'twas not be attributed to Their Valour, but to Civil Diſſention, which like tempeſtous Hail, had beaten down the Fruit, upon the very point of Ripening: that his claim to that Kingdom was manifeſt: that Fortune did ſecond Juſtice, and Valour accompany her: that Their generous reſolution would ſetve for an Invitation, and an Example unto Others; to *Flanders*, and *Spain*, for their Own Intereſts; and to *Britanny*, for that being won more by Corruption then by Arms, there wanted not ſuch as were evilly affected; the People were diſcontented, and the greateſt part of

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the Nobility not willing to ſubject themſelves to a Prince whom they abhorr'd: the Pope would joyn with them; for deteſting to have *Italy* moleſted, Diverſion was that which would free him from Danger: All which were thus preſented not as the Groundwork, but as the Adherences of an Enterpriſe which was not to be reſolv'd on, upon hopes of Aſſiſtance from Others: that *England* was of it Self ſufficient; neither did it ſtand in need of any other Forces then her Own; it being to be ſuppoſed that by the Death of thoſe Ancient warriers, the natural courage of thoſe which Deſcended from them was not extinct, but that they would make it appear to the world they did not degenerate from their Predeceſſours: and though Honour have no reward worthy of her ſelf but Her Self, yet it was to be conſider'd that this was a War to be made in a Countrey full of whatſoever Nature did afford; ſufficient to maintain the Publike expence; to adorn the Nobility with Lordſhips, Vertue with Employments, and to ſatisfie the Souldier with Booty and Riches: Riches which were to be ſhared out by ſundry ways (as is the Blood from Vein to Vein) to *England* in general: and that thoſe who for the preſent ſhould contribute towards it, were to enjoy in the future, aboundant Increaſe for what they ſhould Now part withal: that the war was to be made, not as at the Firſt, at the expence of the Kingdom, but at the coſt of ſuch Cities and Provinces as they ſhould Conquer; it had been done ſo Formerly, and ſhould be ſo Now: ſo as they that would contribute towards it, he wiſht they might do it Readily; for he was reſolved not to have any thing from the Poorer ſort, but from ſuch as without any incommodity might expect the Re-imburſing of their Moneys.

The War with *France* was with much cheerfulneſſe approved of in Parliament: They thought the Honour of the King and Kingdom had ſuffer'd ſomewhat in the Loſſe of *Britanny*. But the King's intentions were not ſuch as he made ſhew of: he knew *Maximilian*'s Forces were not to be built upon, nor yet thoſe of *Ferdinand*; for the Wars of *Granada* had exhauſted his Coffers; and the recouery of *Roſſillion* without Coſt (which he aſpired unto) was not to be effected by fighting with *Charles*, but with Seconding him. He knew moreover the conſtitution of *France* was not Now as it had been Formerly; when divided into Two Factions, it made way for the advancing of the Engliſh Forces: it was now United; the *Burgundian* Faction was faln to the ground, and the *Orleaniſts* depended upon the Regal authority; that ſhe hath now brought her ſelf to a cuſtom of encamping Leaſurely, and to fight no more with Violence, but upon Advice; ſo as he ſhould Weary his people, Weaken his Forces, and Impoveriſh his Kingdom. Feigning notwithſtanding the contrary, he ſeemed to Deſire, what he Deteſted: he ſo wiſely fitted himſelf for what might happen, as ſatisfying his Honour with the Appearances and Beginning of War, he was ſure to make Peace when he liſted: for *Charles* would be Deſirous of it, that he might

might bring to paſſe his intended Deſignes; and he Himſelf would Accept of it, as not being deceived in his opinion of *Maximilian's* Impotency, and the vain hopes from *Spain*. Yet he was ſure to make *Charles* buy peace Dear, who had his minde ſo fixt upon the Conqueſt of *Italy*, as he did not care to part with a Certainty for an Uncertainty: ſo as getting Moneys from Him, and Benevolences from his Own Kingdom, he was likely to be a good Gainer by the bargain. Beſides, his affairs were not ſo ſecure at Home, as to let him think on Forreign buſineſſe; for he had diſcover'd how the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy* was hatching another Plot to trouble him: ſo as though Profit (whereunto he was Naturally enclined) had not been concern'd, yet was he to have an eye to the Dangers wherewith he was threatened.

1491 Great ſtore of Moneys coming in by the means of Benevolences (for he took a great care none ſhould be exempted that were able to lend) he in a ſmall time raiſed a mighty Army: and knowing that *Charles* had renewed his ancient Confederacy with *James* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*, with a reciprocal obligation to be aſſiſtant one to another, he proclamed War againſt them Both; but not without fear that *Maximilian* would fail him at his greateſt need: for though his Weakneſſe and Wants were capable of remedy, if he ſhould be ſuccour'd againſt his Subjects which moleſted him, yet his Nature was incapable thereof. It was impoſſible for him to maintain Ten thouſand fighting men, for Two yeers together, upon his Own Purſe, according to his promiſe: though being Madded (as then he was) at the Double affront; of his Daughter's Repudiation, and the Uſurpation of his Own Wife, he hoped to do Somewhat out of Nothing. That which did yet more weaken this Prince, was the Rebellion of *Philip de Cleves* Lord of *Raveſtein*, who being upheld by *Charles*, had raiſed ſuch Combuſtions in *Flanders*, as having poſſeſt himſelf of *Gaunt* and *Bruges*, the chief Cities of that Countrey, he had forced ſuch as favour'd *Maximilian* to quit thoſe Towns: and reaching further, he had made himſelf maſter of *Sluce*, and of the Two Caſtles which were it's Security, ſeizing upon all Ships that went upon the Sea, hindering the Commerce of *Antwerp*, *Brabant*, *Zealand* and *Freezland*, and taking ſuch as came from *England* and the Northern Countreys; to the general prejudice of All Nations. *Albertus*, Duke of *Saxony*, Lantſgrave of *Miſnia*, governed *Flanders* at that time, under *Maximilian*; it being left unto him by the Emperour his father, when he went from thence. This man foreſeeing he could not force *Raveſtein* unleſſe he ſhould get *Sluce*, nor that he could win *Sluce*, without having the *Dam*, by which ſuccour came to it from *Bruges*, he feigned to make for *Bruges*, for matters concerning that Province; and not being to take ſuch a journey, unleſſe well followed, and in good Equipage (he being the man he was) he ſent ſome Troops before, which entring peaceably in, went to the gate

which

which looks towards *Dam*, as if they would quarter in the Neighbouring Villages, and not incommodate the Citie. *Dam* was not above a *Flanders*-mile from thence; the inhabitants whereof thinking these Troops had been sent from *Bruges*, let them in: and they making themselves Masters thereof, *Bruges* was in a manner besieged, and *Sluce* deprived of Succour. The Duke, for all this advantage, had no hopes to get *Sluce* without Forces by Sea; he sent news hereof to *England*; whereupon the King, who had had many complaints made him by the Merchants of the Insolencies of *Ravestein*, and desired to uphold *Maximilian*, sent unto him Twelve Ships well furnished with Men and Ammunition under the Command of Sir *Edward Poynings*; who having shut up the Haven of *Sluce*, besieged the Town by Sea, whilst the Duke did the like by Land; and play'd with his Cannon upon the Two Castles wherein the Losse or Preservation of the Town consisted. They were valiantly defended for the space of Twenty days: the Earl of *Oxford's* brother was slain in a Sally which they made: and longer would they have held out, had not the Besiegers (in the dark of night) burnt the Bridge which *Ravestein* had built between the Two Castles, which not being able to succour one another, he was enforced to surrender them, and together with them, *Sluce*. *Bruges* being reduced to it's obedience, was the occasion of many Other Towns doing the like.

Henry, this mean while, past the Summer in Ordering his men that were to go for *France*; and finding him self in a condition to passe over; he sent Sir *John Risley* and *Ursewick* to *Maximilian*, to agree upon the place where they were to meet: but they found him so Unprovided, as having no hope, they were ready to return; yet they did not so, judging it fitter to advertise the King, and expect his Commands. The King, who feared the same, praised their discretion, and commanded them not to return till they had received new Directions, and that they should conceal that Prince's weaknesse, for fear of Disheartening his men. His Army was compos'd of Twenty thousand Foot, and Sixteen hundred Horse: the best men flocked thither; some to purchase merit, and some as thinking it not fitting to stay Behinde when the King went in Person. He landed at *Callis* on the Sixth of *October*, the wiser sort marvelling that he would undertake so difficult a Warre in so unfitting a time; for the Fore-runners of Winter began already to be felt: but these difficulties served him to make men believe he desired that which indeed he did not: to wit, That being to begin a tedious Warre, the Season was of no importance, since he had *Callis*, from whence he might draw out his Army in the Spring without any manner of difficulty; and to transport 1492

port it then from *England*, would be a long buſineſſe, and, in reſpect of the Windes, uncertain. Aſſoon as he was Landed, he ſent for his Ambaſſadours back, and *Maximilian*'s weakneſſe was publikely made known, and that no Other help was to be expected from him then his Good-will; wherein he did as much abound, as he was defective in any other manner of aſſiſtance. At the hearing hereof, the Souldiers courage was ſomewhat Cooled, though not altogether taken Away; it ſerved to diſpoſe them beforehand, for *Henry*'s deſignes: to work the ſame effect, there came Letters from Seignieur *de Cordes*, wherein was made an overture for Peace on *Charles* his behalf; which containing in it Reaſonable conditions, it had been Unreaſonable not to liſten to it: From other parts it was confirm'd that *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* were Agreed with him, having received from him the County of *Roſſillion*, without repaying the Three hundred thouſand Crowns for which it was pawn'd to him: this made all men ſee a Neceſſity of Peace. *Henry* notwithſtanding, playing his game handſomly, deputed the Biſhop of *Exceter*, and the Lord *d'Aubeny* to give *Cordes* a hearing; whilſt he, without delay, on the 19 of *October*, planted his Camp before *Boloigne*; a Town well fortified, wherein was a great Gariſon, and good ſtore of Artillery; ſo as it was not to be taken but in a Long proceſſe of time, with the loſſe of many men, and much blood. He had hardly ſate down a Month before it, when a Breach being thought fitting to be made, and the Souldiers ready to give the Aſſault, News came that Peace was concluded, to the great Diſſike of the Army, and the Madding of ſuch who having ſold their poſſeſſions upon the hopes of this Warre, found themſelves deceived. One cauſe which made *Henry* willing to accept of Peace (to boot with what have been already alleadged) was for fear leſt *Charles* might foment a New Duke of *York*; who began then to ſhew himſelf. The ſubſtance of the Agreement was; That *Charles* ſhould pay Seven hundred fourty five thouſand Crowns for divers conſiderations; for ſatisfaction of the Fifty thouſand Crowns Yeerly, which ought to have been pay'd, but were not after the Death of *Edward* the Fourth; as alſo, for the Succours he had ſent into *Britanny*, which the Dutcheſſe *Anne* acknowledged her ſelf to ſtand indebted for; and for the Expences he had been at in this Preſent war. The French Hiſtorians agree upon the ſame ſum, but they do not ſpecifie the Cauſes why. *Polydore* affirming that the Peace was concluded by the payment of a great ſum of money, adds Five and twenty thouſand Crowns a yeer for Succouring of *Britanny*; which after *Charles* his death and *Henry*'s, were pay'd to *Henry* the Eighth by *Lewis* the Twelfth and *Francis* the Firſt, who durſt not deny the payment of it, for fear of being ſet upon by him, whilſt they made war in *Italy*. *Charles* did moreover, in imitation of his father, give Penſions and Preſents

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to the chief of *Henry*'s Court, that they might either favour him the more, or hinder him the leſſe: whereat *Henry* connived; for it behoved him to intereſſe the Greateſt of the Kingdom in the Peace, which was but badly conſtrued by the Reſt. He endeavour'd likewiſe to ſatisfie thoſe who for their own particular reſpects were diſcontented; by ſhewing them what Blood, and Loſſe of Lives, would have enſued in the aſſaulting of *Bullein*, together with the Small hopes they had to come off with Honour: and that if he had been Succeſſeful therein, yet had he deſerved Blame; ſince what was to be gotten did not anſwer to the Loſſe of the Valianteſt of his Army. He made uſe of the ſame arguments to make others perſwade Him to make Peace, that it might be thought to have enſued from the Motion of Others, not from Himſelf.

This Peace was good for Both the Kings: for *Charles*, by ſecuring to him *Britanny* (which by occaſion of this War was like to have Stagger'd) and opening a way unto him to agree with *Maximilian*, as he did: ſo as his Confines being ſecured on that ſide (they being formerly ſecured on all Other) he might with a quiet minde totally intend the getting of *Naples*: a reſolution which proceeded not from *Lodowick Sforza*, who firſt incited him thereunto, but from his natural Genius, which compell'd him to undertake it, (notwithſtanding the many Difficulties he was to meet withal, eſpecially the Want of Moneys) without any real foundation. Fortune, when ſhe pleaſes, is able to make impoſſibilities poſſible. 'Twas good for *Henry*; for he thereby filled his Coffers, and was freed from the danger which the new Fantaſm, repreſenting the Duke of *York*, might have brought unto him, had it been ſo ſtrongly backt by the King of *France*, as it was witneſſed by the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, and ſeconded by the King of *Scotland*. He feared ſome Inſurrection from thoſe which favour'd the White Roſe: for the love which the people had born him in regard of their Hatred to *Richard*, was grown leſſe, ſo as he was now to ſubſiſt onely by his Own worth: and his Wives faction failed him, he having failed Her in thoſe reſpects which his deſire of being King in his Own Right, would not permit him to uſe unto her. His Camp being raiſed from before *Bullein*, he returned by *Callis* for *England*: having written to the Lord Maior and Aldermen of *London*, before he took Shipping, his reaſons for Ending the War; not touching upon thoſe we have ſpoken of, but ſuch as he thought would Pleaſe; eſpecially that the enemy had purchas'd Peace at ſo High a rate: this notwithſtanding pleaſed not thoſe who had been liberal to him in their Benevolences; 'tis true, their diſtaſte was leſſened by his returning with his Purſe full; which made them believe he would not of a long time expect any thing from Them.

Alphonſo Duke of *Calabria*, eldeſt ſon to *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, had intreated *Henry* to admit him into the Order of the Garter, believing the War between the Two Kings to be Endleſſe. 1493

He thought that to have the Honour to be of the moſt famous Order of Chriſtendom, would make him be reſpected amongſt Princes, and reverenced by his Subjects; eſpecially at ſuch a time: he hoped that if *France* ſhould ſtir againſt his Father, the King of *England* with opportune aſſiſtance would diſcharge the duty of the Fraternity: but he was deceived; it doth not dilate it ſelf to ſo prejudicial an Obligation. Honours are the *Alchimy* of Princes, which like Gameſters *Tantoes*, are worth as much, as they are made to be worth; they are not burdenſom to the giver, enrich not the receiver: Mines are not digg'd up for them, treaſure is not exhauſted; neither have they any other Being then what Opinion gives them: he that hath not merit enough in himſelf to deſerve them, is like a Sumpter-horſe marked with the mark of a ſtately Courſer. The King being come to *London*, ſent him the Garter, and Robes belonging to the Order, by *Urſewick*. The Order was received by *Alphonſo*, with the greateſt Pomp that could be invented by any one who believes that Oſtentations dazzle mens eyes, and bring things to their deſigned Ends: which happening but Sometimes, did not befal Him: for neither did This, nor any Other induſtry preſerve him from ruine. But for that his ſucceſſe belongs not to Our Story, we refer the Reader to *Guicchiardine*'s Relation.

The King at his arrival in *England* heard that the Duke of *York* was not ſlain in the Tower, as he was believed to be; but that he was with his Aunt *Margaret* in *Flanders*: the which though *Henry* underſtood when he was in *France*, and, in his agreements, had made *Charles*, with whom he then was, ſend him away; yet he did not think the noiſe of this fiction was to be deſpiſed, ſince it might breed great troubles. We will relate the Beginning thereof, and the reſolution which he thereupon took. The Dutcheſſe *Margaret* had, together with her Milk ſuckt in hatred againſt the Red-Roſe-faction, enemy to the White, from whence She deſcended, inſomuch as ſhe ſpared not either for Injuſtice or Fraud, ſo ſhe might oppreſſe it; neither did Religion, or any other Scruple, withhold her from doing what in her lay to deſtroy it. She might have been contented that her Neece *Elizabeth* was Queen of *England* in default of her Two Nephews who ſhould have inherited the Crown; ſince they failed therein, not through the cruelty of the *Lancaſtrians*, but of her brother *Richard*: yet was ſhe not ſatisfied; but favoured *Lambert Symnel*, one unknown and Meanly born, by whoſe means ſhe endeavoured to bereave her Neece of the Kingdom, ſo to deprive *Henry* and her Nephews begotten by him, (by her rather reputed Enemies then Nephews) her innate Hatred was of more power with her, then her Love to her Neece, and thoſe that came of her: but failing in that deſigne plotted by a Prieſt, ſhe would contrive one Her Self; and make thereof ſo hard and intricate a knot as that neither *Henry*'s Wiſedom, nor Sword, ſhould be able to untie it or cut it in ſunder. There are ſome that term her his *Juno*: for

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as the ancient Fictions, one never ceased to persecute *Eneas*, till fatal destiny made her aware that she vexed him but in vain; so this New and True one never ceased to persecute *Henry*, not perceiving that she contended with divine providence, which intending him for the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, did in despite of her, defend him from her malice. This new Duke of *York* was a poor lad, by whom she thought to effect that mischief, which she could not bring to passe. His father (who dwelt in *Torney*) was a Jew turn'd Christian, named *John Osbeck*, who necessitated by some occasions, went together with his Wife, to *London*, where she bare him this son; who being Christened by King *Edward* in his Own person, 'twas thought he would not have done so great a favour to so mean a childe, had he not had some Secret interest in him; and (his mother being very fair) some were of opinion he had begotten him. He was named *Peter*, which according to the Custom and Diminutive of the Dutch Tongue, was converted to *Perkin*. Those who knew him not from his beginning, called him *Warbeck*, his true name of *Osbeck* not being known, till after enquiry had been made into it: so as the name of *Warbeck*, which was first given him out of Ignorance, by Custom continued to him. He was but very young when his father returned to *Flanders*; when he was somewhat Bigger, his father sent him to *Antwerp*, and from thence to Other parts: His travels and conversation with Divers Nations, had not onely made him skilful in many Languages (English being his Natural tongue) but apt to fit himself to other mens Humours and Customs. This lad being met withal by some of *Margaret*'s Officers, and by them judged very fit for what was to be done, they presented him to her: it cannot be said how much she was therewithal satisfied; for all conditions requisite for her purpose, were met together in him; Yeers, beauty, wit, comlinesse of feature; I should say Majesty, but that was a quality of her Addition: She took an affection to him for his being God-son to her Brother; and the rather for that (being very fair) she thought him a by-scape of his: an opinion which made her form and transform him with the greater care and diligence. She bethought her self of all that she was either to instil into his minde, or affix in his actions: she omitted not any thing whereby to make him personate to the life the deceased Duke of *York*; she decipher'd out unto him, as in so many well-drawn Pictures, the Delineaments, Semblances, and Behaviours of those of the Blood-royal: of the King, Queen, Prince, and Princesses; of the first he was to speak, as of his Father and Mother; of the rest, as of his Brother and Sisters: she bethought her self what Questions might be asked him; fitting him with Answers thereunto, such as might become his Youth: she did the like for what concern'd such past businesses as might have fallen within his knowledge: she forgat not the particulars of the Sanctuary; how the Queen fled thither with the Duke of *York*; how he was taken from thence; how much

much *Richard* made of him when he had gotten him; his reſorting to his brother in the Tower; the Manner of their living there; what Servants waited on them; their Fears; and the manner of his pretended Eſeape; the names of the Lords, with each particularity, which to ſuch a purpoſe had happened: ſhe chiefly taught him how to counterfeit innate Nobility; in which he was ſo tractable, as he thought himſelf the very Duke of *York* whom he perſonated. She fitted the places of his peregrination with the times, to the end that when he ſhould diſcourſe of what had there happened to him, they might be believed. And finding him generally of a miraculous capacity, and in judgement much beyond his yeers, ſhe took delight to inſtruct him, and was pleaſed in her Own work, happily invented, as ſhe thought. She kept him continually in her moſt private lodgings, not truſting him to the air; for the chiefeſt article of this myſtery was, to make the world believe ſhe had never ſeen him. When ſhe had brought her work to Perfection, ſhe laid before him as his object the purchaſing of the Crown of *England*; wherein if he ſhould not proſper, then the chief place in her Court; for that he was to be reputed, not what in truth he was, but what for her honour he was to be believed to be: ſhe being obliged to uphold him, to the end her favours might not be accounted the effects of Malice, but of Blood. When ſhe afterwards perceiv'd that *Henry* proceeded on in the affairs of *Britanny* (ſo as he muſt of neceſſity break with *France*) ſhe would not keep him any longer with her. She ſent him into *Portugal*, under the conduct of an Engliſh Lady, where he tarried for almoſt the ſpace of a Yeer: and this ſhe did, to the end that when he was to appear, it might be from a Third place: he had then directions ſent him to paſſe into *Ireland*; for *Henry* having now declared War againſt *France*, 'twas a fit time to moleſt him: and the White-Roſe faction being great in *Ireland*, he might get Aſſiſtants, and give a beginning to his Metamorphoſis.

He obey'd; he paſs'd into *Ireland*: he made his abode in *Cork*; where at firſt ſight, he was eſteemed a man of great conſequence: for his comely demeanure, and his plenty in all things (the Dutcheſſe having furniſht him in great abundance for his better appearing) were ſufficient to make the people take one thing for another. Having a while held them in ſuſpence, he acknowledged himſelf (but as if he were enforced thereunto) to be the Duke of *York*, who having eſcaped out of the Tower, and run divers fortunes, was come to that Kingdom, hoping that the affection it had always born to his Houſe, would now continue firm to him. *Henry* was not at this time paſs'd into *France*, being retarded by the difficulties of ſo important an Expedition; ſo as *Charles* hearing of this apparition in *Ireland*, he thought it might make for his advantage to have him with him; that ſo he might trouble *England* if *Henry* ſhould continue in Hoſtility; and if he ſhould not continue therein, he might make his Peace upon better

better terms. One *Steven Frion* was Secretary to *Henry* for the French tongue, who being diſcontented, and holding Correſpondence with the Dutcheſſe *Margaret*, fled into *France*, aſſoon as the War was proclamed: this man gave *Charles* the firſt advertiſement of *Perkin*: *Charles* ſent Him together with another, as Ambaſſadours, to *Perkin*, inviting him to come into *France*, and offering to aſſiſt him in the regaining of *England*. An Invitation which augmented the hair-brain'd vanity of this Impoſtor: for being choſen by the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, a wiſe Princeſſe, to a buſineſſe of this weight, received by the Iriſh (undoubted enemies to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*) and ſent for by a King whoſe intereſts were concern'd in His, he believed, That Fortune never undertook any great buſineſſe without finiſhing it; not minding that Beginnings and Endings conform but Seldom; and that Princes preſerving themſelves by their Own ſtrengths, 'tis uſual with Fortune to ruine ſuch with the more certain præcipice, whom ſhe hath by unuſual ſteps raiſed to the Higheſt point of her Wheel. When he had acquainted thoſe whom he moſt truſted in *Ireland* with this Invitation, and thereby won more credit with them, he went to *France*, where he was by the King received with all honour due to the Duke of *York*: he called him by that Title; and according to that degree, fitted him with Houſe, Servants, and Expences; and with a Guard of Souldiers under the Command of the Lord *Congreſhal*, to make him the more reſpected: Sir *George Nevil* and Sir *John Taylor*, with above a Hundred other Engliſh-men, waited continually upon him; and the Court it ſelf, which follows the Prince's example, ſhew'd him the like reſpect, not but that the greateſt part of the Courtiers, and eſpecially the King, knew who he was; but becauſe it was expedient for them not to know him. The Impoſture was apparent, not by his ill governing himſelf, or through any default of his Perſon (for he abounded in Decency and Majeſtie) but by the true ſtory of the true Duke of *York*; by the Unlikelyhood and Impoſſibility that he ſhould eſcape the hands of a Crafty, Malicious, Dreaded Uncle: Yet did he not Long enjoy this glory: for the differences being ended between the Two Kings, it behoved him to be gone. *Henry* would have had him delivered into His hands; but *Charles* eſteeming it an unworthy action, would not do it. He commanded him to depart his Kingdom; which he forthwith did: for he very much apprehended the being made the Offering in the Sacrifice of this Peace. He withdrew himſelf into *Flanders*, where the Dutcheſſe and he counterfeited their parts Strangely well: he ſeemed as if he had never been in thoſe parts before; and ſhe, as if ſhe had never before ſeen him: He feigned to be fled thither as to a Sanctuary under the protection of an Aunt, who for the Neerneſſe of Blood that was between them, ought to profeſſe her ſelf his Mother; She counterfeited Fears of being Deceived, being made cautelous by the example of *Lambert Symnel*; and this might be a counterfeit as well

well as He: She ſent oftentimes for him, feigning to make an Exact ſcrutiny: at firſt, ſhe ſeemed to be Doubtful; afterwards not Clearly ſatisfied; then more Inclining to Believe well: at Laſt, ſhe broke forth into an Admiration, and Thankſgiving, praiſing the Divine Providence which had had commiſeration on that innocent Blood, and had vouchſafed to preſerve him ſo miraculouſly, ſhewing the wonderfulneſſe of his bleſſings to him: She then, with much ſeeming Paſſion, called him Nephew; the Bud of the White-roſe; the Hope of the Houſe of *York*; and the Reſtorer of the Honour and Juſtice of *England*: She aſſigned unto him a Guard of Thirty Halberdiers for his ſafety. Now every one began to think him Really to be what he perſonated, not imagining that a Woman could be capable of ſo much Cunning: inſomuch as if he were reſpected in *France* as a forreign Prince, he was little leſſe then Worſhipped in *Flanders*, as Nephew to the Dutcheſſe, and almoſt as much as if he had been her Son. This news being brought into *England*, it was there greedily liſtened after; for men do naturally love to believe things unlooked for and incredible: Paſſions augmented this belief in ſuch as were of that Faction, in thoſe who deſired Novelties, in the Diſcontented: as alſo in thoſe who loved Equity: for the Crown had neither belonged to *Henry*, nor yet to his Wife, if her Brother had been alive. Hereupon aroſe Whiſperings, liberty of Diſcourſe and Complaints: the preſent ill Government was in every man's mouth; the endleſſe Impoſitions, the King's inſatiable Avarice, which was the cauſe of a Shameful Peace, after *Britanny* had More ſhamefully been ſuffered to be loſt: The Nobility were no leſſe diſtaſted; they were grieved at the ſmall account the King made of them; ſo that All mens conceipts fell upon the ſame point, That God being a juſt Judge, had preſerved the True Heir to ſeat him again in his Throne, which had been Twice uſurped from him: for *Henry* had no right thereunto of Himſelf, and had Waved his Wives right that he might reign Alone; that therefore it was not to be wondred at, if after ſo much injuſtice, God had raiſed up his Brother-in-law to puniſh him. Nor did this buſineſſe end onely in Diſcourſe: for there were ſome perſonages of Great quality, who would ſound the Bottom of it; amongſt which were the Lord Chamberlain, *William Stanley*, brother to *Henry*'s father-in-law (he who had aſſiſted him in the battel againſt *Richard*, and may be ſaid to have made him King) the Lord *Fitz-water*, Sir *Simon Montefort*, and Sir *Thomas Thwaites*: theſe made choice of ſome people of quality to ſend into *Flanders*, that upon their relation, they might ground their reſolutions: but of many there were onely Two that would hazard themſelves to undertake the buſineſſe which was ſhunn'd by all the reſt; for if the buſineſſe ſhould prove fictitious, they were likely to loſe their Goods and Countrey. *Robert Clifford* and *William Barley*, were the Two; both of them of good Families, eſpecially the firſt. When they came to *Flanders*, the Dutcheſſe

Margaret received them with much honour, and having diſcourſed long with *Clifford*, that ſhe might the better inform her ſelf of their intentions that ſent them, ſhe brought him to the ſight of *Perkin* : with whom after he had diſcourſed many days, he wrote back into *England*, that he was the Duke of *York* ; and that he knew him as well as he knew Himſelf.

The King was troubled at theſe mens going, ſince it could not 1494
but produce dangerous conſequences : but the greatneſſe of his ſpirit being averſe to fear, he forbare to make any extraordinaty proviſion againſt it, ſo not to augment the credit thereof, which his ſeeming neglect might leſſen. Yet he forbare not to ſhut up the Ports, and to place ſuch guards there, as he might know who came in and out ; endeavouring to diſcover what correſpondency the fugitives had. He feared not the Impoſture, being certainly informed how the Duke of *York* was, together with his brother, put to death ; but it behoved him that Others ſhould likewiſe be certain thereof : wherefore he put, as priſoners, into the Tower, Sir *James Tirrel*, and his ſervant *John Dighton*, who were the onely Two that remained alive of the Four which were conſcious of this cruelty ; for *Miles Forreſt* (the Second rogue that ſlew them) and the Prieſt that buried them, were dead : they depoſed, That *Tirrel* ſaw them Dead after they were Smother'd ; that he made them be buried underneath a ſtair, and cover'd them with a Stone ; from whence, by order from *Richard*, they were afterwards tane, and reburied by the Miniſter of the Tower ; but in what place they knew not, the Miniſter being Dead. But the King, not ſatisfied with theſe teſtimonies, that he might divert the danger, and ſatisfie the World, he bethought himſelf of ſome other means whereby he might diſcover the Impoſtors condition and deſcent. He made choice of ſome, and ſcatter'd them thorowout all *Flanders*, directing them what they were to do : Thoſe who were not to ſtay in any ſetled place, were ordered diligently to enquire after his Birth, and to give Him daily advertiſement of what they ſhould learn: which makes men believe he had ſome glimpſe of it before : the other, who were to make their abode where He was, were (by his direction) to ſeem as if they were fled away, ſo to ſhun the danger they ſhould incur, if they were diſcover'd to be well-wiſhers to his party ; and to profeſſe they were come to run the like fortune with Him: they were, as the Other, to make Diſcovery, but more particularly to finde out the Deſignes and Correſpondencies ; they were to grow familiar with thoſe whom *Perkin* moſt confided in, and to ſhew them the Vanity of the Undertaking, they having to do with a wiſe King ; not eaſily to be beaten without extraordinary Forces ; that the Dutcheſſe's favours were not anſwerable to their need ; that they wanted aſſiſtance, and were not certain of what they preſumed to be Secure; which was the aſſiſtance of the party, and the peoples inclination, both which were un-

uſeful : for that ſuch accurate and diligent proviſion was made, that all men would forbear to declare themſelves, unleſſe they might be encouraged by the ſight of a Great army, which the Duke of *York* was not likely to ſhew them ; no not if all *Flanders* were to declare it Self for him. But their chief care was to ſound *Clifford* by taſting him with fair promiſes ; for if they could win Him over, the deed was done, he being the Cabinet of ſecret Correſpondencies between *Flanders* and *England* : neither were they much troubled to effect it ; for, being come to the knowledge of this impoſture, he was wrought upon by them ; with promiſe of Forgiveneſſe, and of Rewards, proper baits for ſuch a fiſh. *Henry*, this mean while, had made all thoſe whom he had ſent, to be excommunicated in *Pauls*, and their Names to be regiſtred in the Book of the King's enemies (according to the cuſtom of thoſe times) to the end that no man might ſuſpect them : neither did he forbear to ſollicite the Confeſſors of the greateſt men, that he might learn how they were enclined ; not weighing the Profanation of Religion and holy things, ſince his particular intereſt was concern'd, though in all Other things he was reputed a Pious Prince. At laſt they came to the perfect knowledge of *Perkin*'s Birth, Name, Surname, Countrey, Employments, and Voyages, till coming to the Dutcheſſe, he was metamorphis'd into the Duke of *York* : they likewiſe won over *Clifford*, who gave them ſuch proofs of his repentance, as the King was therewithal ſatisfied. *Perkin*'s Genealogie was publiſhed in the Court, and thorowout the Kingdom : and *Henry* not eſteeming it fitting that a Mechanick ſhould with ſuch oſtentation be protected in *Flanders*, under a falſe name, and which redounded to His injury, he ſent Ambaſſadours to the Archduke *Philip* (*Maximilian* being gone into *Germany*) who were Sir *Edward Poynings*, and Sir *William Warham* Doctor of the Civil Law. The Council gave them audience, the Archduke being yet a Childe : their Embaſſie was, That *Flanders* being confederate, and in friendſhip with *England*, the King could not but reſent that ſhe ſhould nouriſh an Impoſtour who durſt call himſelf Duke of *York*, and pretended unto his Kingdom : that ſuch a Belief muſt needs admit of ſome Malignity, ſince the Duke of *York*'s death was too manifeſt to the world ; which were it not ſo, very Conjecture were ſufficient to put it out of doubt : the Nature and Craft of *Richard* the Third was not ſuch as would encourage the Executors of his cruelty to ſave One brother, and murder the Other : Mercy was not to be ſuppos'd in ſuch Raſcals ; and if it were, not without Reward, and freedom from Puniſhment : Reward was not to be expected from a Childe deſtitute of Hopes, and who getting out of priſon, had not wherewithal to feed himſelf : but ſay that meer Compaſſion had moved them to ſave him ; ſuch compaſſion muſt be either in One or in All of them : it was impoſſible

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it ſhould be in One of them, and the Reſt not know of it; and it was incredible it ſhould be in All of them, for that three ſuch wicked ones could not ſo far truſt one another, as not to live in perpetual Jealouſie: And give this likewiſe granted, how could a childe, ignorant of the ways, wanting direction and counſel, paſſe undiſcover'd, that the Night-guards which are uſual in all the ſtreets of *London*, ſhould not ſtop him, ſhould not take him? or that ſome other difficulty ſhould not hinder him? 'twas impoſſible a tender childe of Nine yeers old, alone, in Lord-like looks, and apparel, could paſſe on, unknown by any: Certainly this could not have befallen the True Duke of *York*, much leſſe could it have happened unto the Counterfeit, whoſe true name was *Perkin*: that the King knew him well; knew his Countrey and his Extraction, that the Nurſe or rather Mother of this, the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, knew it well enough, who emulating the ancient Fables, had brought him forth (as *Jove* did *Mercury*) out of her Brain, feigned him to be her Nephew, given him inſtructions and taught him how to lye: that ſhe could not tolerate that her Neece ſhould reign, being joyned to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; her hatred being thereunto ſuch, as rather then to ſuffer her to be a Queen with ſuch a Huſband, ſhe would bereave Her and her Children of a Kingdom, and give it to *Perkin*, begotten by a Jew turned Chriſtian: They deſired, that after the example of the King of *France*, they would chaſe him out of their Countrey; and that if the uſeful friendſhip which was between the two Nations, ſhould perſwade them (as well it might) to do More, they ſhould do like true friends indeed, if they would deliver him up into Their Hands. The Anſwer was, That they deſired to preſerve friendſhip with the King; that they would not aſſiſt the pretended Duke of *York*: but that they could not hinder the Dutcheſſe (who was abſolute in her Countrey) from doing what ſhe liſted. *Henry* was not pleaſed with this anſwer; knowing that Princeſſes Dowagers have not the like Prerogative over the Countreys where they govern as had their Husbands: for if they were endowed with Abſolute Soveraignty and Dominion, they might wage War, put the State into Combuſtion, and utterly loſe it: but having learn'd that ſhe had great power in the Council, and that the Archduke could do no otherwiſe; whilſt the world would believe that *Perkin* was protected in Deſpite of Him; he recalled the Engliſh Merchants from *Flanders*, and baniſht the *Flanders*-Merchants out of *England*, and tranſported the Staple of Cloth and Wooll from *Antwerp* to *Calis*: the which though it were to the great loſſe of the People, and that *Philip* knew they would exclaim againſt it; yet did not he forbear doing the like, by driving the Engliſh out of his Dominions. The King moreover upon advertiſements from *Clifford*, impriſoned the Lord *Fitz-water*, Sir *Simon Montfort*, and Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William d'Aubeny*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Creſſenor*, *Thomas Aſtwood*, *William Worſeley* Dean of *Pauls*, and certain Friers, amongſt which

two Dominicans: he would have ſhut up More, but the ſcandal would have been too great. *Montfort*, *Ratcliff*, and *d'Aubeny*, were convinc'd of High Treaſon, and beheaded; the Lord *Fitz-water* being ſent priſoner to *Calis*, not in deſpair of Life, by his endeavouring to eſcape, loſt both his hopes and life: the reſt were pardoned.

1495 The King had created his ſecond ſon, *Henry*, Duke of *York*, in *Weſtminſter*, where, as is uſual at ſuch Solemnities, divers Knights of the *Bath* were made: but when he heard that *Clifford* was landed in *England*, he withdrew himſelf to the Tower, that he might hear him There; to the end that if he ſhould accuſe any of extraordinary quality, they might be impriſoned without any great noiſe. *Clifford* being admitted to his preſence, threw himſelf at his feet, and begg'd his pardon; the which being formerly granted, he again confirmed unto him: and being commanded to ſpeak, if he had any more to ſay concerning the Conſpiracy, he named the Lord Chamberlain Sir *William Stanley*: at whoſe name all the ſtanders by were ſtartled; it not being likely that a man of his quality, rich, the Favorite, neereſt to the King, and the chief inſtrument of his Aſſumption to the Crown, ſhould be a Traitour: whereupon being adviſed to think Better what he ſaid; he without Hæſitation or Altering his Colour, accuſed him as Before. *Stanley* was ſhut up in his Chamber, and was the next day examined by the Council: he denied ſome few Circumſtances, but confeſs'd the Fault; affying his Former actions, for which he preſumed the King would pardon him: but he was deceived. Deſerts and Miſ-deſerts weigh not alike, when they are of a like Exceſſe: though he had Put the Crown upon his head; by negotiating how to take it Away again, he nullified his Former deſerts: his Repenting for the Service done, cancell'd the Obligation; the which though it were very great, was in ſome ſort rewarded: Recompence cannot be given for a Kingdom, by conferring Another Kingdom to the Donour; or by reſigning over to him the Same: the Inequality of the Perſons, equals the Diſparity of the good turn: the Riches, and Honour he received from *Henry*, were equivalent to the Crown which *Henry* received from Him: (if it may be Formally ſaid that he did receive it from him) the one was Born for It, the other for Meaner things. Yet was *Henry* in great doubt with himſelf, whether he ſhould put him to death, or no: the love and reverence which he bare to his Father in-law, pleaded for Clemency; Example, and the Condition of the Times, put in for Severity; but if it be true which ſome Authors write, his Riches bore down the balance: he being eſteemed one of the greateſt money'd men in *England*. Neither were men deceived in this their opinion; for in his Caſtle of *Holt* were found Fourty thouſand Marks in ready money (his Jewels and Moveables not therein comprehended) and in Revenues and Penſions he had Three thouſand pounds a yeer; a conſiderable ſum in thoſe days. Whereupon after having deferr'd

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this buſineſſe ſome Six weeks, to the end that his Brother and the People might have time to Examine it, he was condemn'd to die, and loſt his head. His execution afforded matter of diverſity of diſcourſe: thoſe that were not of the Court, who were ignorant of the Secrets of Government, and made their conjectures upon Circumſtances, and doubtful Relations, eſteemed the caſe, if not wholly void of Fault, at leaſt not worthy of the Higheſt puniſhment: a belief which was occaſioned by reaſon of a Rumour that was ſpread abroad, That in his diſcourſe with *Clifford* concerning *Perkin*, he ſhould ſay unto him, That if he ſhould for certain know he were the Duke of *York*, ſon to *Edward* the Fourth, he would not take up Arms againſt him: A manner of Speech which though it did not Openly declare any ill-will to the King's Perſon, yet ſuch was it as did not ſound well in His mouth; his Example being ſufficient to alter the whole Kingdom; and the words not admitting of any other interpretation, then his Opinion of *Henry*'s unjuſt title to the Crown; which derogated from the Pretences of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and from the Authority of Parliament. The reaſon which alienated him from the King, is ſaid to be, That he deſiring the King to make him Earl of *Cheſter* (a Title, and County which the Kings of *England* do for the moſt part give to the Princes of *Wales*, their firſt-born Sons) the King did not onely Deny his requeſt, but was Offended with him for it; thinking him now arrived to thoſe pretences which did exceed the condition of a Subject, after he had rewarded his ſervices with equivalent rewards: having made him Privy Counſellour, Lord Chamberlain, given him daily whatſoever he demanded, aſſigned Penſions to him, and in the day of Battel wherein *Richard* was ſlain, ſeemed not to take notice that he appropriated unto Himſelf the Prey and Booty of the whole Camp, of which He himſelf ſtood in Need, being but a New King: permitting all things to him, to the end that when he was grown Rich, he might ſatisfie his own thirſt of having. This man's death put all the Court in a Quandary; one man durſt not truſt another; each one feared leſt all his friends might prove *Cliffords*: Yet ſuch was the ſpirit of Back-biting, that they made uſe of pen and paper, to utter what for fear of danger they durſt not do with their tongues; Libels were written againſt ſome of the Council, and againſt the King himſelf, the authors whereof could not ſo well conceal themſelves, but that Five of them miſcarried, paying for their Errour with the loſſe of life. *Perkin*'s party this mean while decreaſed; no man durſt ſo much as think any more of him, and they were but very few that tarried with him in *Flanders*. amongſt which, *Barley*, *Clifford*'s companion, was the chiefeſt, who notwithſtanding, afterwards, alter'd his opinion, and together with his Pardon, got leave to return home.

But the death of the Conſpirators, and the diſſipation of the Complices, were not ſufficient to make *Henry* reſt in quiet, unleſſe he ſhould deſtroy the Neſt which was in *Ireland*; ſeeing that

Lambert

Lambert firſt, and then *Perkin*, had been ſo affectionately received there. It behoved him to ſettle his authority there in ſuch manner as it ſhould be undoubted: he made choice of Two to ſerve him in Two ſeveral Offices; the Prior of *Langton* with title of Commiſſioner, that he might look to the Civil Government of the Kingdom, making him Chancellor; and *Edward Poynings*, who was to have charge of the *Militia*, giving him a great many Souldiers, with Commiſſion to be Marſhal, and Lieutenant, to which the Deputy, which was the Earl of *Kildare*, was ſubordinate. The Prior met with no difficulty; the Laws being his Arms, and the peaceful people the matter of his juriſdiction: but *Poynings*, who was to deal with Stubborn men and Rebels, had not the like fortune: for *Ireland* being full of Woods, Boggs, and Deſert places (the happineſſe of the poor people conſiſting in Idleneſſe, inſomuch as the ground is there for the moſt part unbroken up) he was to make War, juſt as men do Hunt; for thoſe whoſe conſciences and courages miſ-gave them, retiring themſelves into places inacceſſible for ſtrangers, and unknown unto them, he ſpent much time there to ſmall purpoſe; killing ſome few, and taking ſome few priſoners, which made not much for the main enterpriſe; ſo as being angry with thoſe, who having no intention to withſtand him, had no cauſe to fear him; he lay'd the fault upon the Earl of *Kildare*, as if he had ſuccour'd them underhand. He ſent him priſoner into *England*, without any other Proof againſt him, ſave his Own Suſpition: and the Earl did ſo fully juſtifie himſelf, as that he was declared Innocent, and re-eſtabliſhed in his former Government. But if *Poynings* had no ſucceſſe with thoſe which ſtood out againſt him, yet was his fortune ſuch with the reſt, as he perſwaded them to accept of all Ordinances made in *England* till that day, which in former times were not of power in that Kingdom. This Declaration was and is called *Poynings his Law*. *Ireland* therefore is governed by the ſame Laws as is *England*; for ſo many as were made till the Tenth yeer of *Henry*: but ſuch as have been made ſince are not admitted of, there.

The Conſpiracy thus unſucceſſefully ended, did not ſo quell *Perkin*'s ſpirit, but that he thought the affections of thoſe of his Party, were rather Oppreſſed, then quite Dead; and that a new ſpirit would ſo revive them, as *Henry* ſhould not be ſo fortunate in ſuppreſſing them, as he had been. Thus flattering himſelf, he aſſembled together certain Troops of men of deſperate fortunes, who either for Debts, or other miſdemeanours, durſt not ſhew their heads; and embarking them, he came to Anchor before *Sandwitch*, landing ſome of his men to learn news, and to diſcover how the people in thoſe parts were affected, giving out that he had great Forces which were coming in a Fleet after him. The King at this time was gone his Progreſſe, and was now with his Mother in her houſe at *Latham*, whom he went to viſit; and that by his coming thither, the world might know, that the death

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of Sir *William Stanley* had not made his father-in-law think the worſe of him : here he heard of *Perkin*'s arrival ; whereby he received this advantage, that he having ſo behaved himſelf as his People eſteemed him to be a politick Prince, they thought nothing befel him which he did not foreſee : and that his retiring himſelf into the Northern parts, was one of his cunning fetches ; for knowing he had left the South-parts free from danger, he intended to allure *Perkin* to land, that ſo he might be ſure not to eſcape. But whatever the matter was, at the firſt news he reſolved to return ; and was not well pleaſed at the Second, which informed him that he was gone again ; for he perceived this trouble would continue longer then he imagined. The cauſe of *Perkin*'s departure was this ; the Kentiſh-men had well obſerved the condition of thoſe whom he had landed ; and that there were but few Engliſh amongſt them, and thoſe few of no worth nor conſideration ; wherefore they took counſel with the Chief of the Shire, concerning their taking Arms ; the which being agreed upon, they ſhewed a part of their men upon the Sea ſhore, to invite him to land ; and ſcatter'd the reſt abroad, ſome here, ſome there, as if they were ready to run away : but *Perkin* perceiving their drift, budged not a foot ; wherefore the Kentiſh-men gave upon them that were on the ſhore : ſlew ſome of them, took other ſome, very few of them getting back to their Ships.

At this time died *Cecilie Nevil*, Dutcheſſe of *York* ; who, born to be unfortunate, outdid the miſeries of her daughter-in-law Queen *Elizabeth*, who was very unhappie : ſhe bare to her huſband *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, Eight ſons, and Four daughters : all her Sons died during her life ; Four of them died natural deaths, while they were Young ; of whom we make no mention in our Genealogie, becauſe our Hiſtory ſpeaks not of them : of the Other Four, the Three Laſt came to a violent end, and the Firſt died not well ; for King *Edward* died in the ſtrength of youth conſumed by diſorder ; *Edmund*, Earl of *Richmond*, was, together with his Father, ſlain at the Battel at *Wakefield* ; *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, was put to death in the Tower by his brother ; and *Richard* the Third was ſlain at *Boſworth*-field : She had been the leſſe to be pitied, had the Funerals of her family ended in her Huſband and Sons ; but they extended themſelves to her Grand-children male ; all which ſhe out-lived, ſave *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, ſon to the Duke of *Clarence*, who being ſhut up in the Tower, was not to expect any other death then Violent, but to ſhare therein with the reſt, as he did : ſo as being made unhappie by ſo many miſeries (any One of which had been able to have made her ſo) fortune would yet render her fuller of calamity, by making her loſe her Honour, her own Son declaring her to be an Adultreſſe, thereby to make himſelf King : and though there were no true colour for it, yet was the ſtain true, wherewithal ſhe was aſperſt, by a Baſiliſk that iſſued out of her own bowels ; which was a miſery above all other miſeries, and of all wounds the moſt ſenſible.

Perkin,

1496 *Perkin*, being retired to *Flanders*, if he ſhould tarry there, he muſt needs be diſcover'd for an Impoſtour; and the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, ſhould ſhe detain him there, muſt be known to be fomentreſſe of the Forgery: ſo as it behoved him to be gone from thence, and her to ſend him away, to go on with the work which they had both ſo unluckily begun. This reſolution was befriended by the diſtaſte which *Maximilian*, and his ſon *Philip* took at *Henry*, for taking the Commerce of *England* from their States; and by the like diſtaſte taken by *Charles*, King of *France*, for his having entred into league againſt him, concerning his affairs in *Italy*. But *Perkin*'s miſſing of entertainment in *Ireland*, which he expected (for *Poynings* had an eye to the actions of the Rebels there) he met with it in *Scotland*; whither he went, grounding his hopes upon the natural enmity of thoſe Two Kingdoms, and upon the recommendation of the Three above-written Princes: he had ſolemn audience given him by the King, in the preſence of all the Lords that were then at Court. His Lordlike looks, which (together with his being thought the true Duke of *York*) were augmented by Art, and by the gifts of Nature, captivated the good-will of the ſtanders by. Having in a grave manner done his Obeiſance to the King, he told him, That he was the unhappie *Richard Plantagenet*, ſon to *Edward* the Fourth, who drawn by fraudulent promiſes from his mother's boſom (ſhe having taken Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*) was brought to the Tower of *London*, there to be ſmother'd with his brother *Edward*; but that charity ariſing in the breſt of thoſe who executed that cruel office, they were contented with the death of his Elder brother, and ſaved Him, giving him life, liberty, and means how to ſcape away: he deſired to be pardoned if he did not tell the Manner how, for that the intereſts of thoſe that had ſaved him, who were yet alive, would not ſuffer him ſo to do: that Fortune had poſted him into divers places, and God had given him the grace to conceal his condition, leſt being known, the evil might have befaln him which the vigilancy of a wicked Uncle threatned, who having uſurped his Kingdom from him, knew he could not enjoy it but by his death, which he thought had already happened: but that his Uncle being by divine juſtice rewarded according to his deſerts, and he grown in yeers after many circumvolutions he had withdrawn himſelf from *France*, to his Aunt, the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, who being a widow, and on the Other ſide of the Sea, could not give him ſuch aſſiſtance as was requiſite for the recovery of his Kingdom; which being faln from One Tyrant to Another; from an unnatural Uncle, to a Kinſman who was naturally his Enemy, he ſtood in need of ſome to aſſiſt him; Arms being the onely Tribunal whereat pretences to Kingdoms are diſputed: that *England* knew very well his claim, and his being; which ſome of the chiefeſt there had witneſſed with their bloods, betrayed by their falſe, corrupt friends: that Corruption was eaſily effected, where Jealouſie and Suſpition made men, who

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were naturally covetous and ſparing, (as was *Henry*) liberall and profuſe: that *Ireland* was not ignorant of this, but that being grievouſly oppreſt, her weakneſſe was ſuch, as ſhe could not ſhew her fidelity, and obedience to the Houſe of *Yorke*, and to Him the true heir thereof, as ſhee formerly had done, and would again doe; neither was it to be doubted, but that if he could find a place to take footing in, and any one that would protect him, he ſhould, both from the one Kingdom, and the other, receive ſuch aſſiſtance; as might make the regainment of his owne an eaſie buſines: that the Dutcheſſe, Emperour, Arch-duke, King of *France*, and Himſelfe, finding there was no other wheron for him to take footing, then *Scotland*, nor other Protector for him, then the magnanimous King thereof; they had adviſed him to preſent himſelfe before his Majeſtie, they being afterwards ready to joyne with him in ſo juſt a cauſe, in defence of an Orphan, and to the aſſiſtance of a Prince betraid, uſurp'd upon, and driven out of this Countrey as was Hee. Here enlarging himſelfe upon *Henrye's* illegall pretences, upon his baſe, ignoble deſcent, vilifying his Grand-father *Tewder* as deſcended from the Scum of the pooreſt ſort in Wales; he ſaid that his title was in no ſort good unto the Crowne, nor yet his Wifes title as long as He the Duke of *Yorke* (and of right King) lived: that *Henry* had endeavour'd to have him given up into his hands by *Charles*, when he was in *France*; but that being by *Charles* denied, hee had not ſpared for Treachery, Arms nor poyſon to bereave him of his life, by the means of divers of his Miniſters, more particularly by *Robert Clifford* the wickedſt of them all; ſo as when all his diabolicall deſignes failed him, his laſt refuge was to ſlanders, and to new inventions drawn from hell, thereby to obſcure the ſplendour of his Birth; to the end that, being believed to be what he would have him to be, his tyrannie and uſurpation might not be withſtood: that if he were ſuch a one, King *Charles*, nor his aunt the Dutcheſſe would not have counſell'd him to have had recourſe to the powerfull tuition of the King of *Scotland*, with hopes that he would ſuccour him, as his generous Predeceſſours had formerly done the afflicted Kings of *England*; whoſe name, worth, and Kingdome ſince he inherited, he hope hee ſhould inherit the like benefits as they had done; that hee might ſhew himſelfe (having recovered his Kingdome) to be the moſt uſefull and trueſt friend, that ever did or ſhall deſerve to be celebrated for gratitude.

Perkins expreſſions, the compaſſion of his caſe, the recommendation of ſo many Princes, and their promiſes; or rather the Occaſion to wage war with *Henry* (whereunto he had a great deſire) moved the King to promiſe him his aſſiſtance: the which hee readily effected, though many, who knew the Impoſture, diſſwaded him from him; & moreover he did not only appoint unto him an Attendance and Entertainment every way befitting a Duke of *Yorke*, but that it might be beleeved he tooke him to be ſo, he gave unto him for wife his neereſt kinſwoman, *Katherin Gordan*, daughter

1496 to the Earl of *Huntley*, a Lady of excellent beauty. Such provisions being made as the enterprise required, he with a good Army entred *Northumberland*, where *Perkin*, under the name of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, the true and lawfull heir to the Crown of *England*, published a Declaration, the Contents whereof were;

That being by the Grace of God, and Favour of *Iames* the fourth King of *Scotland*, entred into his Kingdom of *England*, he declared his coming was not to make war upon his subjects, but to free them from the tyrannie wherewith they were oppressed: that it was known the Crown belonged to the Regall house of *Yorke*, of which since after the death of *Edward* the fourth, there remained no other pretender then Himself, his Son; He and no other was the lawfull heir thereof: that *Henry Tudor* had usurped the Crown from him, and by inhumane ways sought to betray him, and bereave him of his life: that he had vaunted himself to have eased the subject of a Tyrant, but by excluding the Duke of *Yorke*, their rightfull King, he had made himself their Tyrant: that *Richards* tyranny was so much the more excusable, in that his Nephews being supposed to be dead, he had some Pretences to colour it with: the difference between them two was, that *Richard*, a true Plantagenet, had for his aim the Honour of the Nation, and the Subjects Tranquillity; *Henry*, meanly born, (not regarding the Honour of the Nation, nor the Peoples Tranquillity) had sold the Kingdoms best friends for ready money, made dishonourable peace, and not only oppressed the subject, but unjustly put to death the Lord Chamberlain *Stanley*, and divers others, who were likely to have withstood his oppressions. Ambition had moved *Richard* to tyrannie, *Henry*, Avarice; Ambition had made use of cruell means; Avarice not only of Cruell, but Base, extortive means: his Cruelty was witnessed by the death of so many, and by the imprisonment of the Earl of Warwick, Son to the Duke of *Clarence*; his Baseness and Extortion, by such extraordinary grievances, Tenths, Subsidies, Taxes, and Impositions, under the name of Benevolences; and by the wars and peace hee made, only that he might heap up treasure: and because his unjust possession of the Crowne made him live in perpetuall fear and suspicion, not only of Men, but even of Women, hee had married Ladies of the blood Royall to people of mean condition, amongst which a sister of Him the Duke of *Yorke*, and a sister of his Cosin the above-mentioned Earl of Warwick, that hee might have the lesse reason to fear: so that, as hee now came to free them from violence by such forces as God should assist him withall, so by his plenary Regall authority, hee did at that present free them from all Grievances, by Revoking and abolishing in perpetuity, All that had hetherto been imposed upon them, contrary to all Law and Custom; and to the end that the good will of his subjects might not be prejudiced by the Law, for having illegally obeyed the Tyrant

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he granted to them a Generall Pardon for all their tranſgreſſions, upon condition they would ſubmit themſelves to Him, and acknowledge him for their King; the which they that ſhould be the Forwardeſt to do, ſhould be the Firſt that ſhould enjoy the Maidenhead of his Regall favours: that he would maintain all that his Anceſtors, more particularly his Father *Edward* of glorious memory, had ſworn unto; which was the Preſervation of their Priviledges, and Liberty, the Franchiſe of the Clergy, Nobility and People: He promiſed a Thouſand pound in ready money, and Five Marks a yeare of Inheritance for ever, whoſoever ſhould take or kill *Henry*: he declared that the King of *Scotlands* aſſiſting of him was not done out of any Bargain or Promiſe made Prejudiciall to the Kingdom of *England*, but out of the near love to Juſtice, a vertue wherein he excelled; and that when he ſhould have put him in a condition or poſture that he might be able to defend himſelf by the forces of his own Engliſh ſubjects, he would return to *Scotland*, pretending to nothing elſe but the Honour of having Raiſed Him up.

This Declaration proved like ſeed ſown on the ſands: whereupon King *James*, after he had long in vain expected ſome Commotion, betook himſelf to plunder, and deſtroy with as little mercy as the *Scots* had wont to doe in former times; and *Perkin*, who till now had plaid his part extreamly well, failed in This, ſhewing too much Affection therein. For having deſired the King not to ſuffer his men, contrary to the Laws of Arms to commit ſuch out-rages, for that no purchaſe whatſoever could be acceptable to him, which was got with the Blood and Ruin of his own ſubjects: the King, who either had before informed himſelf of his being; or elſe began to ſuſpect it by this his ſo Affected and Impertinent requeſt, anſwered him, ſmiling; That he took too much care of what did not at all belong unto him; and that to endeavour the preſervation of an Enemies countrey, was the moſt that could be done by a Perfect Chriſtian. Having enriched his ſouldiers, he returned back, knowing that great forces were coming down upon him, and that it would be dangerous for him to ſtay till they came, finding himſelf encumbred by that great booty he took along with him.

Merchants were much troubled at the breach of Commerce between *England* and *Flanders*; inſomuch as, meeting with a fit occaſion, they began to treate thereof with their ſeverall Princes; ſince that the reducing it to the former condition, would make for the advantage of Both ſides, and therefore was to be deſired by Both: by the Arch-duke; for being informed that *Perkin* (the cauſe of the diſorder) was a Cheater, he ſhould have wronged his Reputation in favouring him any longer; and have much injured his Subjects and Himſelf, by the evill that might there hence have reſulted, by *Henry*; for not valuing now *Perkin* any more, the breach of correſpondence with *Burgundy* was not only prejudiciall to Private men, but even

to Himſelfe; ſince that thereby his Cuſtomes (a principall arrow in the quiver of Princes) were diminiſhed: notwithſtanding though he did deſire it, he would not ſeem to doe ſo, but appeare to be drawn by the inſtance of others. Commiſſioners were ſent from both ſides, who renewed their friendſhip, and reeſtabliſhed the commerce in a better way then formerly: and to the articles touching this buſines, and the Freedom of Fiſhing, was added an Inhibition of either ſide to entertain the Rebels of one another; in which article the Lands belonging to the Dutcheſſe *Margaret* were by Name inſerted, to the end that ſuch as did adhere to *Perkin* might not be ſhelter'd there.

The affront offered by the King of *Scotland*, ſtuck yet in *Henrie's* ſtomack, which was not to be revenged but by war, war was not to be made without money, nor was money to be had without a Parliament: wherefore he called a Parliament, and therein acquainted them with the Loſſes he had ſuffer'd by the King of *Scots* in *Northumberland*; who having no cauſe of enmity with Him, had taken upon him for a Pretence, to protect *Perkin*, though he knew him to be an Impoſtour; how the injury was aggravated by the Affront; for finding that countrey unarmed and void of defence, after having ruin'd and burnt up the countrey, he had ſafely retired himſelfe, laden with booty, into *Scotland*. This buſines was judged worthy of the Kings conſideration; (ſuch injuries not being without ſhame to be put up) wherefore the Parliament decreed unto him good ſtore of money, to be raiſed according to the uſuall wont; which being paid in all parts elſe, was only deny'd to be paid in *Cornewall*; the Inhabitants thereof thought this an unjuſt exaction; and that the *Scotiſh* Commotion was ſo farre from Them, as they were not thereby to be obliged as were the countries thereby detrimented; as if when the Head akes, the Legs and Feet be not concern'd, but may put over the execution of their duties to the Arms and Neck, as neerer thereunto. To make good this mutiny two mutinous heads appeared; the one a Farrier by his trade, the other an Atturney, each of which had their ends; *Michael Ioſeph* the Black-ſmith was moved by Ambition, beleeving ſuch a ſeditious action would adde luſter unto him, and that his clowniſh loquacity would procure him the firſt place amongſt the Countrey people: *Thomas Flammock*, the Atturney, having gotten credit by his profeſſion, had ſo far won upon their opinions, as they beleeved the denying of this Subſidy, and their mutiny thereupon to be Legall, and meritorious: his opinion was of authority ſufficient to interpret the Power of King or Parliament: he had inſtructed them that they were not bound to the payment of any Subſidies for war with *Scotland*; that the Law had provided for it by other means, ſo as this Subſidy was invented to fleece the People: he therefore adviſed them to preſent a Petition to the King, who for the example of other men could not chuſe but puniſh the Inventors of it: they both offer'd themſelves to lead them on, till they ſhould find ſome man

of

of Quality, under whom, they, with the hazard of their lives, would continue to ſerve them; but that for matter of Life, there was no Hazard at all, their demand being ſo Juſt, as it would be approved of by all the other ſhires; ſince the publick good was treated of, from which the Kings particular intereſt could not be ſeparated. Hereby encouraged, they took up arms; and becauſe they were not all provided of Bows and Arrows, they arm'd themſelvs with ſuch Tools as belonged to their ſeverall Trades. They entered by *Somerſet*-ſhire, and paſſed through *Devon*ſhire, not offering any manner of Out-rage: when they came to *Taunton*, they ſlew one of the Commiſſioners for the Subſidy, who had ſhew'd himſelfe more buſie therein then the reſt: at *Wels* they met with the Lord *Audley*, who having had former intelligence with their two Leaders, was choſen their Generall. They would go into *Kent*, out of an opinion that that countrey (which never having been conquer'd, was according to *Flammock*, the Freeſt part of *England*) was likely to joyne with them: but finding the contrary, ſome wondred at it, and other ſome were mad thereat: the former handſomly drawing their neck out of the Yoke, returned home; the others, paſſing forwards, thought, that ſince they had met with no oppoſition in ſo long a march, the King and the Citie would ſuffer them to make their Own Conditions: and with this fooliſh imagination they encamped themſelves within ſight of *London*, between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*.

The King was troubled at the firſt news of this mutiny, fearing leſt he ſhould have Three Irons in the fire at once: the people of *Cornewall*, *Perkins* ſecret Intelligence, and the war with *Scotland*. He took up arms as ſoon as the Parliament was ended, thinking to go towards *Scotland*; but croſt by the other occaſion, he ſuſpended that reſolution: and becauſe he had ſent the Lord *d'Awbeny* (whom he had made Lord Chamberlain in lieu of *Stanley*) with ſome forces to the confines of *Scotland*; he ſent for him back, to take ſuch counſell as neceſſity required, and ſent in his ſtead the Earle of *Surrey* with order to defend the countrey, in caſe the *Scots* ſhould fall in upon it: he moved not at the very Firſt (as was his wont) againſt the Rebels; for the Countrey, not being by them endammaged, did not require it; and he was confident that wanting Money and Ammunition, they would, of themſelvs, Disband as they had already begun to doe, when they failed in their hopes of the Kentiſh men: but when he ſaw them encampt, he reſolved to fight with them; moved thereunto, by his apparant Advantages, by which fore-ſeeing what might be effected, he freed himſelfe from all the hazards of Fortune: He divided his forces, which far exceeded Theirs, into three great Battalions: he aſſigned the Firſt over to the Earles of *Oxford*, *Eſſex* and *Suffolke*; the Second, to the Chamberlain; and he commanded the Third, Himſelfe: he appointed the Firſt to place themſelves behind the Hill where They were encamped, and to ſecure all the Paſſages ſave that towards *London*, that being incloſed like wild beaſts

beasts in a toyl, they might not know how to escape: he ordered the Chamberlain to give them battell in the Front, having given unto him the Best and most Experienc'd Souldiers in all the Army, being it was on Them that the greatest burthen lay; he Himself stayed with the Third between *London* and Them, to supply them, if it should be needfull, and to fight with them that should dare march towards the Citie, as the citizens apprehended: The fear hereof had caused much confusion in *London*; citizens were seen to run armed through the streets, some to the Wals, some to the River, minding what they had to doe: for they could not think they were come from *Cornewall*, the uttermost bounds of *England*, with other intention then to enrich themselves by the sacking of that opulent Citie; and they did not hold that their having past quietly through all other parts, ought to be taken for an argument to make them beleeve the like upon This occasion: but understanding the good order which the King had taken, how that he had interessed his own Person in the danger; that the enemy was to win Three battels, before they could come to the Citty; and that the Commanders were not only Faithfull and valiant, but such as they confided in, they laid aside their fears. The King had caused it to be noysed abroad (to the end that he might take them the more unprovided) that he would not fight with them till the Munday following; but towards the Saturday Evening, the Lord *d'Awbeny* set upon some troops, which (not looking to be fought withall till Munday) were upon the side of the Hill, who though they resisted valiantly, yet being but Few in number, they could not make good their Station; so as quitting it, it was easie for the Kings Forces to clime the Hill, make themselves Masters of the Plain, and give on upon them: they (though taken thus at unawares with their troops out of order) received the assault so handsomly, as the Lord *d'Awbeny*, fighting in the Head of his men, and playing the part rather of a Common Souldier, then a Commander, was taken Prisoner; but was presently rescued: for the Rebels being ill armed without Commanders, Artillery, or Horse, they could not so far resist, but that in a short time, two Thousand of them were slain, and a great many taken Prisoners. The Generall *Audley*, and the two Seducers, (the Atturney, and the Black-smith) suffered themselves basely to be taken alive. Three hundred of the Kings side were slain, all of them almost by Arrows; for the Cornish had strong Bows, and very long Arrows. The King came thither to make many Knights Bannerets; and others he made in St. *Georges* fields where he was encamped: he gave the goods of such as were taken, to those that took them, to be disposed of as they listed. *Audley* was beheaded upon Tower-hill, having on him a Coat of paper torn, with his Arms painted thereon, the wrong side upwards. The Atturney and the Black-smith were brought to Tibourn, where they were Hang'd, Drawn, and Quarter'd; the Black-smith not

ceasing

ceasing to shew his vanity and vain-glory at the very last; beleeving in future times his name would be big in story.

The King would not have their quarters be sent into *Cornewall*, as he had appointed; for, hearing that they were not totally appeased, he thought it was not good to incite them any further. To all the rest he gave a Generall Pardon; so as in so scandalous a rebellion, there were but Three that suffer'd: those not being cast into the number which were slain in the Battell, who perished rather by Fortune, then by way of Punishment.

The King of *Scotland*, hearing of this rebellion, made use of it: he went to besiege *Norham* Castle, plundering the countrey. This Castle belonged to *Fox*, the Bishop of *Durham*; who fore-seeing it would be besieged, had doubly furnished it with all sorts of Munition, causing the herds of Cattle, & what else might be helpful to the Enemy, to be withdrawn into the greatest strengths. The Earl of *Surrey*, who was ready, upon all occasions, in *Yorke*-shire, not far from thence, hasted thither, accompanied with good store of Souldiers: the which when King *Iames* understood, he with-drew himself, and was pursued by the Earl; who not able to over-take him, sate down before *Hayton* Castle, one of the strongest Castles between *Barwick* and *Edenborough*; the which he quickly took: and not meeting with any opposition, he returned to *Yorke*-shire, not doing any more; these two actions having produced no matter of Note, but the Preservation of One Castle, and the winning of Another.

At this time came *Pedro d'Aiala*, a man of praise-worthy conditions, to *Henry*; being sent Embassadour from *Ferdinand*, and *Isabel*, King, and Queen of *Castile*. The pretence of his Embassie was, to compound the differences between *Henry*, and the King of *Scotland*: but the true cause was to negotiate a marriage between *Katharine*, their second daughter, and Prince *Arthur*. My opinion is; that these two wise Princes were cautious of entring into a busines of this nature, till by this peace they might see *Henries* state setled: for considering him to be a New King, they did not a little weigh the machinations of an Impostour, which being grounded upon the appearances, though but of a False name, were upheld by the King of *Scotland*; who if he should forsake him, they would soon vanish. *Henry* willingly embraced the Offer, being no way inclined to the unprofitable wars with *Scotland*; by the cessation whereof, two great advantages were to redound to him: the one; he would unkennell *Perkin* from out the Kingdom, with hopes to get him into his power; or else, that, wanting that leaning stock, he might easily end the busines Himself: the other; his desire to reign in Peace, being weary of so many molestations, which rising one in the neck of another, had always troubled him. So as agreeing to whatsoever *d'Aiala* should treate of (his Honour, and all wherein it might be concern'd, always preserved) he suffer'd him to go into *Scotland*: where having rough-cast the busines, and perswaded the King

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to liſten to Peace, (for his endeavours were ſeconded by the Counſel, who favoured *England*) he writ to *Henry* to ſend ſome diſcreat man, who, together with Him, might end the buſines with the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*. The King gave his Commiſſion to *Fox*, Biſhop of *Durham*, who was then at *Norham*, and ſent him. When they met together in *Iedworth* they could not agree, by reaſon of many difficulties that aroſe: *Henry* demanded to have *Perkin* delivered up unto him; and *Iames* could not doe it, without a great aſperſition to his Honour: for, though he knew he was but a Iuggler, yet having called him the Duke of *Yorke*, made war in his name, and married him to a neer kinſwoman of his own, the doing of it would injure his own Faith and Reputation. On *Henries* behalfe, was likewiſe demanded ſatisfaction for the Loſſe he had ſuffer'd, and the Reſtitution of ſuch Booty as had been taken from *England*; which was impoſſible to be had: the booty was diſperſt amongſt the Souldiers; and the King had not of his Own wherwith to give ſatisfaction for the Loſſes ſuffer'd: it was more poſſible for the one to ſuffer the Loſſe, then for the other to Repay it. But all of them being met together with a Deſire of Peace, 'twas eaſie to find a way to accommodation; wherefore leaving off the Treaty til another time, they agreed on a Truce, upon condition that *Perkin* ſhould be diſmiſt *Scotland*. The Kings were here withall contented: Truce working the ſame effect. King *Iames*, calling *Perkin* to him, ſhewed him; that, according to his promiſe, he had done what lay in His power for him; which He had not correſpondently done, in any thing he promiſed: for having made him beleeve, hee had a Party in *England*, not ſo much as one man had appeared to ſide with him after Two attempts made: that he (the King) had together with his perſon hazarded his Kingdom to a perpetual war: The *Scots* would none of it; neither would his Occaſions permit it: that he had reaſon to complain of none but of Himſelf, who in a buſines of ſo great importance, had not caſt up his accounts aright: that the Emperour, Arch-duke, Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, and the King of *France*, had been faulty both to Himſelf, and Him, that he could not doe all of Himſelf, whileſt they, far from Danger, looked on from ſafe places, without either dammage or expence: though this were a ſufficient cauſe, yet ſhould it not have been of force enough to have made him change his former reſolution, had there been any one that would have acknowledged him for the Duke of *Yorke*, as there was none that would acknowledge him for ſo much as an Engliſh man: Hee would no farther examine his Genealogy, nor make himſelfe Judge of anothers pretences whileſt there is not any one that dreams, much leſſe beleeves him to be Sonne to *Edward* the fourth: that hee had given him for wife a Noble Lady, his neer kinſwoman, to the end the *Scocs* might be moved to favour him, and the Engliſh might take courage to own him; and if the ſecond deſigne which depended on Him, (*Perkin*) did not ſucceed

ceed well; the first which depended on Him (the King) failed not: that his Kingdom would have Peace; which they could not have so long as He stayed in it: that therefore it behooved him to be gone; for having denied to Deliver him up to the King of *England*, as was by the said King Demanded, he could not deny to send him out of *Scotland*; which should he not doe, it would be contrary to the interests of One of them, and repugnant to the affairs of the Other: Hee told him; Times did alter; so as if hee were the man hee gave himself out to be, it was impossible but the Time would bring the Truth to light: that though Fortune were Powerfull, yet was she not able to prevaile against a certain Truth; if therefore his Pretence were such, he could not want Friends, and Furtherers; if otherwise, it behooved him to look to himself, and to put on apparell fitting his condition. *Perkin*, though convinced, seemed not to be so; casting all his bad successe upon the Aversenesse of Fortune. And assuring the King, hee would never be unmindfull of the favour he had received from him, he embarked himself together with his Wife, and such whose desperate condition necessitated them to follow him, in three ships which the King gave him, and made for *Ireland*, for he had no hopes in *Flanders*, by reason of the new friendship between the Arch-duke and *Henry*.

The Cornish men understanding that he was come into *Ireland*, intreated him to come over to them; professing their obedience, their Lives, and Lively-hoods, for the advancing of his pretences to the Crown. They who were taken Prisoners in the last Battaile, were returned home; having ransomed themselves at small rates from such as had taken them: and the Kings clemency had wrought contrary effects in them, making them more enraged; for they did not interpret it as proceeding from Kindnesse, but Feare: so as falling upon new conceits, beleeving that all the other shires would follow them, they received *Perkin* with great applause; who Landed there with four little Barks, in *September*, having with him not above a Hundred and Forty men. Three Thousand of the Cornish presented themselves before Him in *Bodmin* all armed: from whence he sent forth a Declaration under the name of *Richard* the fourth, King of *England*, promising great matters for the ease of the present Tyrannical government. Hee had with him Three chiefe Counsellours come with him; a broken Mercer, a Taylor, and a Scrivener: Secretary *Frion* had left him, when he saw none appeare for him in *England*: these three, seconded by the rest, were of opinion, the first thing which was to be done, was to winne some good Town, which might make for his Safety and Reputation, and might encourage the rest. They pitched before *Exeter*, which being a great and rich Citie, the hope of Booty invited other to come unto *Perkin*. They made faire promises to the Citizens; amongst which, That King *Richard* would make their Citie a new *London*, in recompence of their Fidelity, and for their being the

Firſt that did acknowledge him for their King: but wanting Artillery to force them, bare words were not ſufficient to perſwade them. The Citie ſent newes of the ſiege to the Court, and demanded ſuccour; the which *Perkin* feared, and therefore did all he might to make himſelfe Maſter of it before the ſuccour could come: He aſſaulted it by Scaling Ladders, and ſet fire on one of the Gates, endeavouring to enter by one way or other; but the wals being well defended, the fire quenched, and many of the Aſſaillants ſlain, the danger paſt over. The King, when he heard of *Perkins* arrivall, and that he had beſieged *Exeter*, was exceeding glad, hoping to free himſelfe from rather a Troubleſome then Dangerous moleſtation. He ſuddenly diſpatcht away forces to releeve it uuder the Conduct of the Lord Chamberlain, accompanied by the Lord *Brooke*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*; with directions that they ſhould make it be given out that he was following himſelf in Perſon. But the Lords that lived in thoſe parts, knowing they ſhould doe an acceptable ſervice, if they ſhould come into the field unrequeſted, aſſembled many troops. The Earl of Devonſhire, with his Son, and the chief Gentlemen of the Countie on the one ſide; and the Earl of *Buckingham* on the other; ſo as being joyned together before the *Chamberlaine* began to march, they advertiſed the King of what they had done, deſiring to receive his commands. *Perkin*, underſtanding theſe preparations, raiſed his ſiege and went to *Taunton*, though the Corniſh did much encourage him, promiſing not to leave him whileſt they had a drop of blood in their bodies. But, were it either through feare, or that Warineſſe had taught him not to truſt to ſuch promiſes, he would be gone; having about ſeven Thouſand men with him, and ſeeming howſoever to be couragious: But forſaking all theſe the next night he fled, with Three-ſcore and Ten horſe, to *Beaulieu*; where with ſome of them he tooke Sanctuary. The King, hearing of his flight, ſent five hundred Horſe after him, fearing leſt he might eſcape away by Sea; but finding he had taken Sanctuary, they uſed no other violence, but to keepe a good Guard over him till they ſhould receive new Commands. The troops which remained in *Taunton*, yeelded themſelves to the Kings mercy; who pardoned them all, ſave ſome Few, which being the moſt ſeditious amongſt them, were put to death. And becauſe the Lady *Gordon*, wife to *Perkin*, was left by him in *Cornewall*, at Saint *Michaels* Mount, as in a ſafe place, the King ſent to take her from thence; not ſo much out of Civility to ſo Noble a Lady, as fearing leſt ſhee might be with Child; which ſhould ſhee have prov'd, it might have beene a new occaſion of farther trouble: but it was Gods goodneſſe to them both that ſhee was not. Shee was with all poſſible Honour receiv'd in *Exeter*; the King did much compaſſionate her excellent Beauty, which, deſerving a true Prince, was falne into the hands of a cheating Impoſtour,

whom

whom ſhee notwithſtanding loved, as not beleeving him to be ſo. Hee ſent her to the Queene, and aſſigned her a good Penſion, the which ſhee enjoyed during his life, and many yeares after.

He made a ſolemn entry into *Exeter*, where having thanked the Citizens for their Loyaltie, he took off his ſword he wore, and gave it to the Major, with power to have it carried before him. He ſent expreſſe Meſſengers to the Sanctuary, to *Perkin*, with promiſe of Pardon, who ſeeing himſelf deſtitute of all hopes of ſafety, yeelded himſelf; and coming forth of Sanctuary, put himſelf into their hands; and was brought to the Court, but not to the Kings Preſence, though oft-times, for Curioſities ſake, he would ſee him out of the Gallery window. Divers Commiſſioners were nam'd to proceed againſt ſuch as had ſided with *Perkin*; who were Puniſhed with Pecuniary mulcts: the world not being deceived in their opinion, that he was better ſatisfied to let the Purſes blood, then the Veins. The Scorn and Mockery which *Perkin* received from the Courtiers, and from ſuch as ran to ſee him, as if he had been a Monſter, would have been a greater puniſhment to a man of Honour then a Thouſand Deaths. When he came to *London*, he was led on Horſe-back through all the Citie, to the Tower, and from thence brought back again to *Weſtminſter*; ſuffering by the way a world of opprobrious and injurious Language. For his greater ignominy, they led another bound neer unto him, who was Farrier to the Kings ſtables, and who, next to the three above-named, having been one of his chief Counſellours, had in his running away put on the habit of an Hermit, hoping to eſcape better thereby, then by Sanctuary: but being known, taken, and brought to *London*, he was hanged, after he had accompanied his New Maſter in this Proceſſion. *Perkin*, upon examination, declared at full his whole Genealogy; his Father, Mother, Grandfathers, Vncles, Cozins, their Occupations, & Countrey; his voyages, together with many other ſuperfluous things: concealing, or not ſetting down in writing, what was moſt Eſſentiall; as, that his Father was a Jew; that he himſelf was born in *London*, held at the Font by King *Edward*; and the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy* her practiſes. He confeſſed his going to *Portugall*; but not, that he was ſent by Her: In like manner he confeſt his journey to *Ireland*. Whereupon the Confeſſion, being firſt written with his own hand, and afterwards Printed, did not ſatisfie the Peoples curioſity; ſince they ſaw the name of the afore-ſaid Dutcheſſe (the chief Actor in this Comedy) purpoſely concealed. But the King would not irritate her any farther, thinking it ſufficient puniſhment for her to be ſo diverſly ſpoken of as ſhee was; together with her own vexation, that her inventions not ſucceeding ſhould be made evident to the world.

The Civill wars whereof I write, ought to end with the death of *Richard* the 3. without any further progreſs: but the fire therof

though quenched, having left hot aſhes, and cauſed the alterations of thoſe two Impoſtours, *Symnell* and *Warbeck*; it was requiſite for me to write This life likewiſe, though with intention to end it (according to the Object, and Title propounded to my ſelf) with the Impriſonment of the Later of the two; the laſt exhalation of all theſe Heats: But it would have miſ-become me to have left it abruptly off (there remaining ſo Little of it) without diſcovering the fountains head from whence the Kings of *Scotland* derive their lawfull ſucceſſion to the Crown of *England*; and without ſetting down the puniſhment of *Warbeck*, and of the Earl of *Warwick*, the laſt Male of *Plantagenets* race, whoſe death freed the Kingdom from Pretenders. I wil then proceed, with the greateſt Brevitie that may be.

The truce between *England* and *Scotland* was no ſooner made, but that an unexpected accident hapned, which had wel nigh broke it, and turn'd all things to their former troubleſom condition. The Caſtle of *Norham* is parted from the confines of *Scotland* by the river *Tweed*: ſo as neighbour-hood having cauſed converſation and friendſhip between ſome young men of *Scotland*, and of *England*, the young men of *Scotland* had wont to paſſe over the River, and come to drinke and ſport with thoſe of *Norham*: the Souldiers of the Garriſon growing miſtruſtful of this cuſtom, (their grudges not being totally extinguiſhed by the Truce) did not thinke their coming proceeded from Friendſhip, but out of a deſire to pry into the Fortifications; whereupon falling firſt to Words, and then to Blows, the Scotch-men by the diſadvantage of place, and ods in number, were hardly treated; and ſome of them were ſlain. King *James*, taking this as done purpoſely to injure Him, diſpatcht away an expreſſe Herauld to complain thereof; and, in caſe the King ſhould not give good ſatisfaction, to denounce War. *Henry*, who minded nothing but his quiet, anſwer'd; That he was ſorry for the Accident, which hee neither knew of, nor did allow of: that hee would inquire into the Actors of it, and give them ſuch puniſhment as there ſhould be no occaſion to breake the Truce. But, time paſſing on, and nothing done, *James*, thinking this was but his Diſſembling, with intention that Delay working Forgetfulneſſe, might exempt the faulty from Puniſhment; was more offended then formerly: and certainly, ſomewhat of miſchiefe would have hapned, had not the Biſhop of *Durham*, who was Lord of *Norham*, wiſely taken order in it. For, knowing that the injury was done by His men, he wrote in ſo civill a manner to *Iames* about it, as that he reſted ſatisfied, and deſired the Biſhop to come unto him, that they might treate upon the preſent occaſion, and upon certaine other things that concern'd both the Kingdoms. The Biſhop acquainted *Henry* with this, who gave him leave to goe: hee therefore went to the Abbey of *Melroſſe* where the King then was; who at their firſt meeting complained of the injury done. The Biſhop anſwer'd; that could not be call'd an injury, where there was no

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intention of Offending: He confeſt the too much Raſhneſſe of his men occaſioned by misfortune; not out of any intention to offend Him: the offence, (if any there were) muſt needs proceed, either from the King, or the Garriſon; not from the King; for he was not of ſuch a nature; which if he were, it was not likely he would make a Truce, to Breake it immediatly, without any Advantage or Occaſion: nor did it proceed from the Souldiers, who were ſure to be Puniſhed for it: a chanee, unthought of, cauſed by ſuſpition, could not be termed an Injury; not, that hee did not confeſſe the Authors Guilty of it; but with the Diſtinction allow'd of by the Lawes, between Accidentall, and Premeditated faults: that, as the Later were worthy of ſevere Puniſhment, ſo were the Other of Clemency and Pardon; obtainable upon requeſt from ſo generous a Prince as was His Majeſtie. The King being pacified, ſaid; He pardon'd the offence, in reſpect of the Friendſhip contracted, the Continuance whereof he deſired. And then, drawing him aſide, purſued to ſay; His deſire was to have a Long and Good peace: the which if *Henry* likewiſe deſired, the true way to effect it would be, by *Henrie's* giving him for wife his Eldeſt daughter *Margaret*; for that thereby, the friendſhip between the two nations would be perpetuall: that this was the reaſon why he had deſired him, to come into *Scotland*, hoping that by his wiſdom he might bring the buſines to a good end. The Biſhop, after having modeſtly anſwer'd for what concern'd Himſelfe, promiſed him all the Furtherance his ſervice could doe him, in effecting his deſire. Being returned to *England*, he acquainted *Henry* with the King of *Scotlands* deſire, wherewith King *Henry* was much pleaſed. The buſines being long debated in Counſell, the match was agreed upon, ſo as Peace might precede it; which was done; Peace being concluded during the lives of the two Kings, and for one Year after: and the Marriage was to be celebrated, but not Yet; the Bride, who was born the 29. of *November*, 1689. being too young.

Charles the eighth King of *France*, died this yeare, on the 7. of *Aprill*; whoſe Funerals were with great pomp celebrated in *London*; the King being very ſorrowfull for his death, as calling to mind the Favours he had received from him.

Perkin was this mean while in Priſon, but ſo careleſly looked unto, as, coſening his Keepers, he made an Eſcape. Not knowing whether to fly for ſafety, being followed, and diligently ſought for, he returned to *London*, & preſented himſelf before the Prior of the Monaſtery of *Bedlam*, a man of great eſteem, deſiring hee might be received into that Sanctuary; the Prior acquainted the King with it, deſiring him to pardon his life: the Counſell were, for the moſt part of a contrary opinion; deſirous that he ſhould be taken from the Sanctuary and executed, ſo to end their fears; but the King, at the Priors interceſſion, pardoned him his life; being contented that he ſhould ſtand in the Pillory, from whence hee was brought with Irons upon his feet to *Weſtminſter* 1498.

minſter yard, where hee again read his former Confeſſion, the which he likewiſe did at *Cheapſide*. Hee was againe put into the Tower to be better looked unto, but hee could not forbeare relapſing into his former errour. For, growing great with foure of his Keepers, who were ſervants to Sir *Iohn Digby*, Lieutenant of the Tower, and making them beleeve he was the true Duke of *Yorke*, he ſo far prevailed with them, as that they perſwaded the Earl of *Warwick* to eſcape away with *Perkin*; which by their means hee eaſily might doe, when they ſhould have kill'd the Lieutenant, and taken from him his Keyes, Monies, and beſt Moveables. But the plot was diſcover'd, and he againe put over to Commiſſioners.

1499 At this time an other Earl of *Warwick* appeared in Kent, in imitation of *Lambert Symnell*. *Lambert* tooke upon him the perſon of the Earl of *Warwick*, by the direction of a Prieſt; and *Ralph Wilford* (for ſo was this ſecond ſuppoſititious Earl called) by the direction of an *Auguſtine* Frier named *Patrick*: but this was ſoon ended; for the Frier puft up with a fooliſh confidence, and beleeving that buſineſſes of this nature ought to be fomented in the Pulpit, he by inciting the People deſtroyed the building before the Ground-worke was lay'd; ſo as they were both taken; *Wilford* was executed, and the Frier, in reſpect of his Habit, was condemn'd to perpetuall impriſonment. This accident gave the King occaſion, to rid the true Earl of *Warwick* out of the world: whereupon it was thought that *Perkins* firſt flight, and this his ſecond endeavour to doe the like, were wrought by His cunning; he giving way to the Firſt, that hee might put *Perkin* to death; and ſtirring up means to plot the Second, ſo to rid his hands of the Earl, and *Perkin*, both at once. But, howſoever it was, *Perkin* being convinc'd of this ſecond buſines, and judged to die, was hanged at Tybourn; where, by word of mouth, hee confeſt his Impoſture. The reſt, who were involved in the ſame fault, ſuffered likewiſe with him. And *Warwick*, being accuſed before the Earl of *Oxford* (who, for this occaſion was made High Conſtable of *England*) to have conſpired together with *Perkin*, againſt the State and Perſon of the King, being proved guilty by his owne Confeſſion, was beheaded upon Tower-hill. And thus in him ended the Male Line of the *Plantagenets*. This cauſed the King to be blamed, and hardly thought of, as having no reaſon to condemne him: for, having been Priſoner from the Ninth yeare of his age till the Twenty-fourth, and always in fear of Death, he was kept in ſo great Ignorance, that hee did not know a Duck from a Capon; and therefore ſo little capable of the fault, that he was altogether incapable to Dream of it: and his Confeſſing it, was out of a beleefe he was perſwaded to, that by ſo doing he ſhould be pardoned. *Henry* endevoured to lay the cauſe of this death upon the King of *Spaine*, ſhewing his Letters, wherein he ſaid; He could not reſolve to marry his Daughter to Prince *Arthur*: ſince as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived, he was not cer-

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taine of the Kingdoms ſucceſſion : which might be a reaſon of State, but not of Juſtice; in ſo much as God would not give a Bleſſing to that match; the which that vertuous Princeſſe, *Katharine*, Knew very well; for Prince *Arthur* dying ſhortly after, and ſhee being repudiated by King *Henry* the Eight after Twenty yeares marriage, ſhe ſaid, It was no wonder if God had made her Vnfortunate in her Marriages, ſince, they were ſealed with Blood: meaning thereby, the Death of this Earle.

The King, though hee were no longer ſubject to the Apparitions which the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy* had raiſed up by her Inchantments in the Transformation of People, yet was he not free from Influences common to other men; the Plague raged ſo terribly in *London*, that it forced him to quit the Town; and afterwards by reaſon of its Vniverſall diſperſing of it ſelfe over the whole Land, to goe over to *Callice*; together with the Queene. The Arch-duke *Philip*, hearing of his being there, ſent Embaſſadours to him, to congratulate his Arrivall, and to know if hee would be pleaſed that he Himſelf ſhould come to viſit him: upon condition notwithſtanding that he might be received in ſome Open place; not for that hee durſt not Truſt himſelf in *Callice*, or in what ever other Towne; but for that having refuſed to ſpeake with the King of *France*, within any Walled place, hee would not by this Difference give him any occaſion of Offence; nor that the example might prove prejudiciall to him in the future for any thing that might happen either with the ſame King, or with any other. The Ambaſſadours were graciouſly received, and the Condition fairly interpreted, and St. *Peters* Church, not far from *Callice*, was appointed for the place. Hee likewiſe ſent Embaſſadours to the Arch-duke, who appeared at Maſſe in the midſt between them, all of them kneeling upon the ſame cuſhion. As he was comming towards *Callis*, the King went out to meet him; and he alighted ſuddenly from Horſe-back, as if hee would have held his ſtirrop: the King likewiſe alighted, and, having imbraced him, led him to the Church which was appointed for their parley. The cauſes which brought this Prince thither, were two; his own Good nature, for that he had offended him by Protecting an Impoſtour; which fault though it was not His (he being then a Child) yet was it the fault of his Counſell, depending upon the Dutcheſſe *Margarets* paſſion: ſo as he omitted nothing whereby to give the King ſatisfaction: the other; the Adviſe of his Father, and father in Law, who counſelled him to make firm friendſhip with *Henry*, for the advantage of the Low-countries, and for his own Safety againſt the Violences of *France*; but moſt for that they both hating that King (which was *Lewis* the Twelfth, who ſucceeded *Charles* the Eighth) they hoped for many Advantages by his Friendſhip. The Arch-duke failed not to uſe all the art he could, though by nature he was not given to Diſſembling: terming him his Father, his Protector, his Leaning-ſtock. The things agreed on between them were; the Confirmation

mation of the former Treaties, and two reciprocall Marriages; the one, of the Duke of *Yorke*, the Kings Second Son, with the Arch-dukes Daughter; the other, of *Charles*, the Arch dukes Eldeſt Son, with *Mary*, the Kings Second Daughter: but all of them being either Children, or Infants, theſe marriages enſued not, but did evaporate through Time and Intereſt. The Arch-duke was hardly gone, when the King of *France* ſent the Governour of *Picardy*, and the Baylife of *Amiens* to viſit *Henry*, acquainting him with his Victories, together with his getting of the Dutchy of *Milaine*, and his impriſonment of *Lodwick Sforza*, the Duke thereof. The Plague being, by this time ceaſed, *Henry* return'd to *London*, wel ſatisfied with the Teſtimony he had received, of how good eſteem he was held by the confining Princes.

At the ſame time *Iaſper Pons*, a Spaniard born, a learned, and well bred man, came into *England*, being ſent by Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, upon the occaſion of the year of Jubile; for ſince they only received the benefit thereof, who went to *Rome*, he thought it fit that it ſhould be commuted for by Remote countries, the inhabitants whereof could not make ſo Long a journey: in ſo much as they ſtaying at Home, might receive the ſame indulgences which thoſe did that went on Pilgrimage to *Rome*, if they would give a certain ſumme of money to be imployed in the war againſt the Turks, whoſe advancing *Hungary*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, did much apprehend. This man did ſo wiſely negotiate this affair, as he thereby got a great ſumme of money, without any manner of grudging or murmuring, ſave againſt the Kings Perſon; who being naturally given to Extort from his People, it was thought hee would not have ſuffered theſe monies to have beene gathered, had not he Himſelfe had a ſhare therein. An opinion which was known to be falſe in the time of *Iulius* the Second; who making it a difficult buſines to grant Prince *Henry* a Diſpenſation to marry *Katharine*, who had been wife to his brother *Arthur*, Cardinall *Adrian de Corneto*, who endeavoured the obtayning of it, alleadged amongſt the reſt of the merits of King *Henry*, his Father, that he had not pretented to ſhare in the monies rayſed by *Pons* in that kingdom. Neither was there any diſſimulation uſed in this, by *Alexander*, at leaſt there Appeared none: for he propounded this war in the *Publick Conſiſtory*, in the preſence of as many Emſſadours as were then reſident in that Court; with deſigne to ſet upon the Turkiſh territories in Three ſeverall places: in *Thracia*; by the Hungarians, Bohemians, and Polanders: in *Greece*, by the French and Spaniards; and at *Conſtantinople* by him Himſelfe, accompanied by the King of *England*, and the State of *Venice*: and he ſent Nuntioes to All Princes, that they would joyne their Forces and Monies according to their Abilities, in ſo pious a worke. The Anſwer which the King gave to *Pons*, was; That he was ready to Accompany his Holineſſe, but that it was impoſſible for him to doe it in that manner; the remote Diſtance of his countrey would put him to Double the

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charge of any of the reſt: that the Kings of *France*, and *Spaine*, were firſt to be made Friends; which if it ſhould not be effected, all other deſignes would prove but vain: that when they ſhould be made friends, 'twas they that beſt might accompany him, as being Neereſt him; which if they ſhould Refuſe to doe, He would wait upon him, Himſelfe, not conſidering either Expence, or other incommodity: upon Condition he might have ſome Cities upon the Sea-ſide in *Italy*, delivered into his poſſeſſion, to make uſe of what ever chance might happen. This anſwer, and, it may be, the Like of other Princes, made this undertaking vaniſh away to Nothing; when the Propoſition was ſuch as might very well have beene effected.

Cardinall *Morton*, who was likewiſe Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellour of *England*, died this year. We have ſpoken of him formerly. He was a man of great Integrity, yet ſomewhat given to Grippleneſſe, which made him be ill thought of, for it was beleev'd he had nouriſhed in the King his humour of Impoſitions. But, time proved the Contrary; and had he left no other laudable memory behind him, his being the Firſt agent in the uniting of the two Roſes, is a merit whereby to render him Glorious to all Poſterity.

John, Earl of *Lincolne*, (he who was ſlain at the battle of *Stoke*) left his brother *Edmund*, Earl of *Suffolke*, heir to his Humour, and his Misfortune: in ſo much as calling to mind that he was Son to *Elizabeth*, who was ſiſter both to *Edward* and *Richard*, hee thought he might be as bold under This King, as he had been under the Other two his Vncles. He had ſlain a man; in ſuch a manner notwithſtanding, as the Circumſtances did not Aggravate the fault. *Henry* gave him his Pardon: but ſo, as he was to paſſe all the courſe of Law, and Juſtice, and to appear before the Iudges, and receive Sentence of Condemnation. This manner of proceeding againſt him did ſo touch him to the quick, as reputing the Favour that was ſhew'd him, Ignominy, he ſodainly left the Land, and went into *Flanders*, to his Ant *Margaret*: at which though the King was offended, yet was he reſolved to apply Lenitive ſalves, giving order to his Agents in thoſe parts to offer him his Pardon at the very Firſt; ſo as he would return; knowing that Deſpair in baniſht men begets thoughts in them of Little ſervice to Themſelves, and of much Trouble to Others. It ſucceeded according to his imagination; for accepting the Pardon, he returned to *England*; the Dutcheſſe not oppoſing him therein, either for that ſhe thought his Genius inferior to the Kings; or elſe that ſhe was ſatisfied that in *Perkins* publick Confeſſion, her name was conceal'd. But arrogant and proud natures (ſuch as was that of this Earl) leading men into Dangers, brought this man at Laſt to his Ruin, under *Henry* the Eighth.

The match between Prince *Arthur*, and the Infanta *Katherine* of *Spaine*, which had been treated on for the ſpace of ſeven years; received this year its maturity; the King her Father ſending her, 1501

nobly attended into *England*. The tediousneſſe of this negotiation proceeded from Both parties: for the two Kings being endued with equall wiſedome, before the eſtabliſhing of the Affinity, would ſee each others fortune eſtabliſhed, the Infanta had for her Portion 200000 Duckets, without any covenant of Reſtitution either to Her ſelfe, or her Family; and in lieu thereof ſhe had let out for Ioynture, the third part of the Principality of *Wales*, of the Dutchy of *Cornewall*, and of the County of *Cheſter*: and if ſhe ſhould come to be Queene, ſhe was to have as much as any other Queene before her had had. The marriage was ſolemnized in *Pauls*: the Bridegroome was Fifteene yeers of age; the Bride, Eighteene. The Feſtivals being ended, they returned to keepe their Court at *Ludlow* in *Wales*; but their abode there, was but for while: for the young Prince died there, on the ſecond day of *Aprill* in the yeare 1502. five moneths after he was married; having lived 15. Years, 6. moneths, and 13. Dayes. Nothing more is to be ſaid of him: Authors write nothing of him; ſince hee lived not long enough to be knowne. All that is related of him, is: That being naturally given to ſtudy, he was learned beyond his Age, and the Condition of a Prince. This his death did much moleſt the King: the Infanta *Katharine* was left upon his hands; and if Prince *Henry* were to marry Another wife; he was to find out a ſecond Joynture; a thing repugnant to the merit of State, and to his Frugall honour: whereupon, reſolving to marry him to the ſame *Katharine*, he wrote concerning it, to *Spaine* and *Rome*. *Ferdinand* was contented; but he met with Difficulties, in procuring a Diſpenſation from the Pope, and in getting his Sonnes Good-will; who, though he was then but Twelve years old, had courage enough to oppoſe his Father therein a Good while. It proved an unfortunate marriage: miſerable Changes, and Troubles aroſe from the Divorce which thereupon enſued.

1503 The marriage of the King of *Scots* with Princeſſe *Margaret*, which was treated of ſome years paſt by the meanes of Biſhop *Fox*, was celebrated this year; which together with the preceding yeare, was remarkeable for two Marriages, and two Deaths: for the marriage of Prince *Arthur*, and his Death, the Preceding year; and for the marriage of the King of *Scotland*, and the Death of Queene *Elizabeth*, this Preſent year: the Queene dying in Childbed; and the Child dying likewiſe, not long after. This marriage was publiſhed in *London*, in *Ianuary*, for which *Te Deum* was ſung in *Pauls*, and great Joy was had in the Citie. The cauſe of this long Delay was by reaſon of the Princeſſe her tender age; who at the Conſummation thereof, which was in *Auguſt*, was not above Fourteen yeares old, Beſides; many of the Counſell had oppoſed it; for if the Second Prince ſhould dye as did the Firſt, *England* was to fall under *Scotland*; which they much abhorr'd: but the King cleared this opinion; for if it ſhould fall out as was propoſed the cleane Contrary was like

to

to happen: the King of *Scotland* would live in *England*; the Leſſer being to give way to the Greater: which would not have hapned, if this Princeſſe ſhould have beene married to *France*, and the ſucceſſion ſhould have fallen to her Children. Every one being ſatisfied with this reaſon, there was not any that oppoſed it. And this is the match which hath given the lawfull ſucceſſion of *England* to the Kings of *Scotland*, which hath hapned without any oppoſition, in theſe our dayes.

The King now finding himſelf at quiet on all ſides, his Neighbours being his Friends, and having extinguiſht all Inteſtine broyls, hee fell to be exceeding avaricious: ſo as thoſe vertues, which placed before in a Benigne aſpect, gave forth happy beams, were by the Interpoſition of this vice found to be in the ſhadow of a prodigious Eccliplſe. Princes meet eaſilier with fitting Miniſters for what is Bad, then for what is Good. *Henry* met with two pernicious inſtruments who Nouriſhing Covetouſneſſe in him, did Increaſe it in him by unjuſt means, and by drawing blood from the Purſe-veins of Thouſands of Innocent people. Theſe were *Edmund Dudley*, and Richard *Empſon*; the firſt being borne a Gentleman, did by his wickedneſſe obſcure the ſplendour of his Blood: the other, being the Son of a Shoo-maker, made good, that from Filth and Mire, nothing but Pollution and Stinch can be expected. They were admitted to the Court, being both of the ſame profeſſion, Lawyers; and they by alike means got alike Preferment, being Both made Privy Counſellours: ſo as their Ambition being ſatisfied, their Avarice remained to be ſo likewiſe; which is the drift of Ambition, in Baſely-minded men: but becauſe Ingenuity and Juſtice, though they may nouriſh the moderate, cannot ſatisfie the Inſatiate, they would not make uſe of Them, but of their Contraries; that from the Rivers of Gold which ſprung up in the Kings Coffers, they might derive ſome Channels of the ſame metall, which might run into Their Purſes, at the charge of King and Subject. The Laws, at that time, either by reaſon of the Civill Warres, or through the Negligence of the Iudges, were either Forgotten, or growne out of Uſe; and the Patrimony of the Crowne, enjoyed by many, by vertue of Long-Leaſes, being become almoſt as good as Feeſimple to the Enjoyers, moved the King to look into them; and theſe two, who were thought the moſt Learned, and beſt Practiſed in the Law, were by him choſen to this purpoſe, and had full Authority given them. But ther was never any ſo Good or Wholſom Law, which hath not been profan'd by Malice and Corruption. They raiſed up many Accuſers; and the Accuſed being put in Priſon, and there kept (the time appointed for their juſtification, being maliciouſly Prorogued) they were enforced to Purchaſe their Liberties, with Great ſummes of Money: Others, being cited by Them, or their Delegates, the uſuall courſe of Law not being obſerved, were Condemned; they abounded in Falſe Witneſſes, and Falſe Pretences,

whereby they impoveriſhed the wealthy: Wards was not ſuffered to enter upon their Lands without vaſt disburſements: Such Judges, as, ſwayed by Integrity, reſiſted Their wils, were either better Taught by Impriſonment, or Ruin'd by Amercements: Laws which had at ſundry times been enacted by Parliament, more for Terrour then Puniſhment, (a great part whereof were Repealed too) were without any manner of remiſſion, rigorouſly put in Execution: in ſo much that the King himſelfe, being a little before his Death told by conſcionable men; what Injuſtice had been done; he left it in his Will, that ſuch as had unjuſtly ſuffered ſhould have Ample Satisfaction made them; Which he Himſelf ought to have done in his Life time; but did not: for when Covetouſneſſe hath once taken poſſeſſion of a mans heart, the Offices of Conſcience have no Power; the Law of the Fleſh which oppoſeth the Law of the Mind, doth captivate us under the Law of Sin; where withall being enſnared we cannot get looſe againe. I recount not All that is written to this effect; I will only relate One paſſage, which may ſerve for all the Reſt. The King as hee came to *Henningham*, a Caſtle belonging to the Earl of *Oxford* (one whom he was wont to make uſe of, both in War and Peace) he was there received and feaſted with much Splendour, and Magnificence: all that, by whatſoever title, held any Land of the Earl, came at that time to give their Attendance on him; of the which many were Gentlemen, many Yeomen: theſe and the Gentlemen likewiſe, wore, all of them, the Earles Blew-coats, and Feathers in their hats, of the Earles colours: for the reſt of their apparell, they were all richly clad, every man according to his Condition: when the King came forth, they placed themſelves in two Rows, making a gallant ſhew in the Great Hall: He, looking wiſtly upon them, asked the Earl, if they were All his Servants? who ſmiling, anſwered; No; for then he ſhould be thought an Ill husband; but that they were all his Tenants, who were come, upon this occaſion, to wait upon His Majeſtie: the King having thanked him for his Good Entertainment, ſaid unto him; that the Report of hoſpitality came ſhort of the Truth; but that he could not ſuffer his Lawes to be broken in his Preſence, without reſenting it: and that his Atturney generall ſhould talke with him about it. The Lords were then to give but a Certain number of Liveries, or Blew coats; which Law whether it ſtand ſtill in Force, or no, I know not. This buſines coſt the Earle Ten Thouſand Pounds (for for ſo much was he compounded with the Kings Officers) beſides the Charge he had been at, in his Entertainment, which was very Great; and which might have Freed him from the Puniſhment he was run into, had the Kings Gratitude been anſwerable to his Covetouſneſſe, in emptying the purſe of one of the Nobleſt and Beſt-deſerving ſubjects he had.

We related a little before, how the Earl of *Suffolke* returned to *England*, where he tarried all this time, the King treating him

Well, and he not having any occaſion of Diſcontent: but, were it his own Miſ-fortune which would be his Overthrow, or the Expences he had been at, at Prince *Arthurs* marriage which had dipt him deep in Debt, or the Hatred he bare unto the King, which could not ſuffer him to ſee him reign in Peace; he fled away into *Flanders* with his brother *Richard*; to the Peoples great Diſcontent, who thought that certainly ſome great Diſorder muſt enſue thereupon: many of the Nobility being ill affected, and which already began to propoſe New hopes unto themſelves, and to plot Inſurrections. The King being accuſtomed to ſuch like paſſions, and ſeeming as if he minded it not, wrote to Sir *Robert Curſon*, Captain of *Hammes* Caſtle, that, feigning to Rebell, he ſhould paſſe over into *Flanders*, to the Earl of *Suffolke*. Hee, forſaking his Command, ſeemed to ſteale away; he went unto the Earl, who with much joy welcom'd him; diſcovering unto him all his Deſigns, and who they were that ſided with him in *England*. *Curſon* advertiſed the King hereof; who impriſoned them, putting the Chiefeſt of them in the Tower: amongſt which, *William Courtney*, Eldeſt Sonne to the Earl of *Devonſhire*, (who, having married *Katharine*, Daughter to *Edward* the fourth, was become his Brother in Law) *William de la Poole*, brother to the Earl of *Suffolke*; the Lord *George Abergavenny*, Sir *Iames Tirrell*, Sir *Iohn Windham*, and Sir *Thomas Green*. The iſſue was; *William Courtney* was detained Priſoner during the Kings Life: not for that he was Guilty, but, for that, having Relation to the houſe of *Yorke*, he might ſerve as an Inſtrument, if there ſhould be any deſigne of Troubling the State. *William de la Poole* was likewiſe kept Priſoner though not ſo ſtrictly: *Abergavenny* and *Greene* were ſet at Liberty: *Tirrell* and *Windham* were Beheaded: the reſt of inferior quality were Hang'd. This was that *Tirrell*, who had his hand in the Death of the two Princes that were ſmother'd in the Tower, by commiſſion from *Richard* the Third. He came to too good an end; Fire and Torture was not ſufficient for him: but he died not for That, 'twas for this Laſt fault that he ſuffer'd death. The Earl was grieved at the puniſhments his Complices under went; and at the Impriſonment of his Friends and Kindred, who were faln into this captivity, not for any Fault of His, or of Themſelves: but meerly out of Suſpition; for otherwiſe they ſhould have walked the Same way as did the Reſt. The King, that *Curſon* might be the better beleeved, and that he might the better purſue His Directions, made him, together with the Earl and Others to be proclamed Traytor at *Pauls* Croſſe; but he having no more to doe in *Flanders*, returned almoſt preſently into *England*; where he was well liked of by the King, but not by the People. Such offices though of Truſt, for what concerns the King, are in reſpect of Others, Deteſtable. His departure much abated the Earles courage, who now ſaw he was Betrayed: he therefore endeavour'd to procure helpe from Forraign Princes; he went into *Germany*; from thence into

France

France: but his Labours proving Vain, he return'd to *Flanders*, under the protection of the Arch-duke *Philip:* which was the Laſt of his Misfortunes.

1504 Many Laws were made in the Parliament, which was this yeer called; and an Entire Subſidy was given unto the King, who had no Need of it: he being Rich, Frugall, without War; having no cauſe to Demand it, nor to have it Granted him. Not herewithall contented, he required a General Benevolence, which brought in Much money unto him; as did alſo the Alteration of the Mint; for certain coyns: the Citie payed him 5000. Marks for the Confirmation of their Liberties; and *Ferdinand* paid him Laſt payment of the Portion: ſo as all other Caſualties, too long to number up, being comprehended, his Extraordinaries did much ſurmount his Ordinary Revenue; wherewithall his Coffers being fill'd, he might have been contented: whileſt his ſubjects, who wiſht him of Another humour, could not alter the Conſtitution of his Nature.

1505 He was much troubled at the Death of *Iſabell*, Queen of *Caſtile*, which hapned in the moneth of *November*, the year Before; by reaſon of the Reſemblance that was in the Government of their kingdoms, between *Ferdinand* and Him; both of them reigning in the right of their Wives. And though he never admitted of his Wives Right (having obtain'd the kingdom under the title of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, having won it by the Sword, and having it Confirm'd unto him by Act of Parliament) yet he could not but feare, that *Ferdinands* yeelding up the Crowne to his Daughter, might by way of Example prejudice Him, and make for his Sonne Prince *Henry:* the caſe was the ſame, and the formerly alleadged reaſons were of no weight, in compariſon of Naturall Extraction; which is to be preferred before all other claimes. *Iſabell* left the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom to *Ferdinand* during his life; though *Jane* were the immediat Heire which diſtaſted the Arch-duke *Philip*, for being become King of *Caſtile* in right of his Wife, he thought hee was injur'd, as being reputed unfit to governe without his Father in Laws Aſſiſtance, and Superintendencie: hee pretended the Mother could not diſpoſe thereof to the Prejudice of the Daughter; that the Authority of Predeceſſors ended with their Deaths; elſe ſeldome or very Late, would their Heirs come to Reigne: that the Reverence and Reſpect to Parents, did not amongſt Private men, bereave their Children of enjoying their Private Inheritances; much leſſe ought it to doe ſo with Kings, for what concernes Kingdomes: that the government of Wives, and all that belonged unto Them, belonged to their Husbands, when they were of Yeers, as Hee was; the intereſt of Children that are Heirs, belonging to their Fathers, who are neerer in degree unto them then are their Grand-fathers. He tooke offence at his being Forbidden to come into *Spaine*, without his Wife, as knowing the cauſe thereof: for he kept her from the ſight of All men, the more to conceale her Infirmity,

(which

(which was a ſpice of Lunacy) ſo as it was beleeved he would not Bring her along with him, leſt her weakneſſe being made Knowne, might not give force to the Will: wherefore he reſolved to carry her thither the ſooner, pretending to take Poſſeſſion of what Nature, and the Lawes, had given him: for having married upon hopes of that Kingdome, it would be imputed to Rechleſneſſe in him, if it now being Falne to him, he ſhould not obtain it. But, *Ferdinand*, having call'd together the States of *Caſtile*, and cauſed the Will to be read, *Ioane* was ſworn Queen, and Heire to her Mother; *Philip* was ſworne King as her Huſband; and *Ferdinando* as Adminiſtrator. The Queens diſabilities ſufficiently appearing, they intreated *Ferdinand*, that Hee would Govern them as he had done Before; in which reſpect All the Kingdom concurr'd, except ſome of the Nobility, who had greater hopes under a New Young King then undet an Old and Ancient one; who being ſufficiently informed of their Humours, knew they were given rather to Tyrannize, then to be contented with Reſpect from their Inferiours. Theſe Diſputes cauſed great jealouſies on all ſides; ſpecially in *Ferdinand:* for, *Philip* following the adviſe of his Father, the Emperour, hee feared leſt if they ſhould happen to corrupt *Conſalvo* (as they had endeavour'd it) they might take from him the Kingdom of *Naples:* wherefore he recalled 2000 Spaniards from that Garriſon, under pretence of ſending them into *Africa*, and making the *Germans* be diſmiſt, he weakned the forces thereof, that he might have the leſſe cauſe of feare. Amongſt divers rumours which were ſpread abroad to diſcredit him with the *Caſtillians*, one was; that he intended to marry *Ioane*, who was thought to be Daughter to the laſt King *Henry* who had beene a Competitreſſe for the Crowne with his Wife *Iſabel*; that ſo he would undertake the Defence of Her claime, which formerly he had oppugned, and thereby make himſelf King of *Caſtile:* which he never Dream't of, Tis true; he pretended the claime of a Father, to whom the Guardian-ſhip of children under Age belongs, of which number though *Ioane* were none, in reſpect of Years, yet in reſpect of her weakneſſe, ſhe was to bee accounted one: The very ſelfe ſame thing was granted in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, to *Iohn*, King of *Arragon*, this mans Father. The rumour of his intention of marriage was not vaine; for hee Himſelfe had cauſed it to be ſpread abroad, from the firſt Beginning of the diſtaſtes, that he might thereby mortifie *Philip*; for in caſe ſhe ſhould have any Sons, he deprived him of all the Kingdomes wherein He had any Propriety, eſpecially of *Naples:* Hee pretended likewiſe to the Kingdome of *Granada*, or at leaſt to Halfe of it, having gotten it with his Wife. Theſe conceits proceeded from the Diſlike hee had, that during the Life of *Iſabel*, *Maximilian* and *Philip* ſhould make Peace with the King of *France*, without His knowledge: & that of the Articles, Theſe were ſome; The Marriage of *Claudia*, Daughter to *Lewis*, with *Charles*, *Philips* eldeſt Son: the inveſting of *Milaine* upon *Lewis* and his heires male, if he

he had any; and in caſe hee ſhould have none, upon *Claudia* and *Charles*; and if *Charles* ſhould happen to Dye, upon *Philips* ſecond Son, marrying with the ſame *Claudia*, ſo as willing to pay them with the ſame coyne, hee, not making Them acquainted therewithall, made his Peace with *Lewis*; who gave unto him for wife, *Germana de Foix*, his ſiſters Daughter, and by title of Dowry, renouncing unto him that part of the Kingdome of *Naples*, which belonged unto Him; with this obligation on the other ſide, that *Ferdinand* ſhould pay unto Him 700000 Duckets within ten yeers, for the expences he had beene at in that Kingdome, and ſhould give in Dowry to his Wife 300000. more. A buſines which incenſ't *Philip*, and made him undertake his voyage into *Spaine*.

The firſt contentions begate both Feare and Hope in *Henry*: Feare; that the Emperour, Arch duke, and King of *France* joyning in League together againſt *Ferdinand*, hee ſhould not only fall from being Arbitrator between thoſe Princes as till then hee had beene: but alſo (to boote with the Prejudice that might redound to Him, by their Confederacie) from the advantage of his friendſhip with *Arragon*, which now being left Single, might be to his diſadvantage: Hope; for that intending to marry *Ioane*, Queene of *Naples*, Dowager to the laſt *Ferdinand*, he beleeved, that Kingdome would be aſſigned over to Him, as a Feoffee in Truſt; whilſt the other two were in contention. There were at this time in *Naples* two Dowager Queens, the Mother and the Daughter; both of them but young. The firſt, who was ſiſter to *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, was ſecond Wife to *Ferdinand* the firſt, King of *Naples*; by whom ſhee had this ſecond *Ioane*, who was both Wife and Ant to *Ferdinand* the Second; for ſhe was ſiſter, by the Fathers ſide, to King *Alphonſo*, who was his Father. Hereupon *Henry* built his Deſigne. He ſent Embaſſadours, by way of Complement, unto them Both: and *Katharine*, who was Widow to Prince *Arthur*, being Neece to the One of them, and Cozin to the Other, he gave unto them Letters from Her; giving them particular Inſtructions to examine the conditions well, and ſee what, by vertue of ſuch a Match, might be hoped for in that Kingdome: from thence they were to paſſe into *Spaine*, as they did. But when they returned, hee gave over that Deſigne, having learnt that ſhe lived meerly upon Penſions from *Ferdinand*, without other Lands or Iuriſdictions. The advantage hee got by this Embaſſie was, to know how hee might keepe the friendſhip both of *Ferdinand* and *Philip*, and to free himſelfe from feare of *Philips* joyning with *France*, and of the Marriage of *Charles*, the Sonne of *Philip*, to the Daughter of *Lewis*; as was formerly agreed upon; for *Ferdinands* Secretary had ſecretly treated with the Embaſſadours, that the Princeſſe of *France* being taken from *Charles*, contrary to the Firſt capitulation, that ſhe might be married to the Duke of *Angouleſme*, heire apparent to the Crowne; their king ſhould give *Mary*, his Second daughter, for wife to *Charles*: A buſines which hee was much pleaſed with, for

Charles

Charles was the Greateſt match of Chriſtendome, being to inherit all that his Father, Mother, and Grand-father poſſeſt: and to this purpoſe, he endeavour'd as much as in him lay, that there ſhould be no breach between them in the future. Amongſt ſo many of their relations, he liked not to heare that *Caſtile* deſired *Philip*, and deteſted *Ferdinand*, by reaſon of the great Taxes and Impoſitions which he put upon them; it being his Own very caſe: ſo as, upon the like reaſon, he thought his Son might be deſired and He abhorr'd; the grievances impoſed by Him, much ſurpaſſing thoſe of *Ferdinand*.

Thoſe who tooke part with *Philip* did much importune him to come into *Spaine*, before *Ferdinand* ſhould be ſetled in his pretended Adminiſtration; but he deſirous to come thither unexpected, took ſhipping together with his Wife, in *January*, when 'twas thought hee would not have tane his journey till the next Summer. He had hardly quitted the coaſt of *Flanders*, when, taken by a ſodaine tempeſt his Navy was diſperſt upon the coaſt of *England*: he himſelfe lighted upon *Waymouth*, and was brought a ſhore in a little Frigat: His Counſell would not have had him landed, ſince by loſſe of Time, hee would miſſe of his deſigne of comming unexpected unto *Spaine*; but he being ſea-ſick, would by all means come on ſhore. The great number of his ſhips had given an Alarme to the Countrey, ſo as many troops of armed men came to *Waymouth*, not knowing what his Fleet was, nor what he would doe: Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, and Sir *John Carew*, who were their Leaders, underſtanding the reaſon of his comming, deſired him that he would reſt himſelfe in Sir *Thomas Trenchards* houſe till ſuch time as they might advertiſe the King of his being there; to which he gave way, being certaine that otherwiſe they would not have ſuffered him to depart. When *Henry* heard hereof, hee ſent the Earle of *Arundell* by way of complement unto him, and to let him know that he Himſelfe would preſently come and viſit him. But *Philip*, fearing, leſt, if he ſhould waite his comming, his ſtay would be too long, reſolved to goe Himſelfe to *Henry*, making his Queene come at leiſure after him. He was met ſix miles from *Windſor*, by Prince *Henry*; and One mile from thence, by the King: who received him with all terms of Honour and Friendſhip. He treated with him of the marriage of their Children; and of his owne marrying with *Margaret* the Dowager of *Savoy*, *Philips* ſiſter: he renewed all Confederacies made between them the preceding years which were Then made with him by the name of Arch-duke *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*; Now, by the name of King of *Spaine*: they had better ſucceſſe for the Engliſh, then had the former, eſpecially in the Fiſhing-buſines; at which the Flemmings were much offended: he with much adoe obtained the perſon of the Earle of *Suffolke*, who lived under the protection of *Philip*; *Henry* knew ſo well how to perſwade him, by paſſing his Word he would not put him to Death, that *Philip* ſent for him into *Flanders*: the one deſiring to have him before

1506

the other departed; and the other not to depart, till he were arrived; that it might be beleeved he had beene Enforced to deliver him up. Assoone as the Earle was come, and put in the Tower. *Philip* departed *England*; and was received in *Spaine*, without any manner of Resistance; *Ferdinand* totally quitting the Government to him: but he enjoy'd it but for a while, for he dyed soone after. The Englishmen will have it that his death was Prognosticated by the Fall of a golden Eagle, which standing upon the top of *Pauls* steeple, was blowne downe by the same wind, which drave him into *Waymouth*, and brake downe a signe in the Church-yard, wherein was a blacke Eagle. *Ferdinand*, being call'd for, and entreated by the Kingdome, returned to the Government thereof; this Death of her Husband, having so oppresst the fancie of the Queen, his daughter, as she was never after good for any thing: not without suspition, that her Father did not greatly endeavour her Recovery, that so he, of Himselfe, and without Trouble, might manage the Scepter of *Spaine*.

The Earle of *Suffolke* being in the Tower, *Henry* was now freed from all manner of Trouble and Molestation: so as betaking himselfe to Domesticall affaires, he sent *Thomas Wolsey* (he who was Cardinall, and of so great Power under *Henry* the eighth) to *Maximilian*, to treat of the marriage with the fore-named *Dowager* of *Savoy*: but it tooke no effect by reason of *Henrye's* indisposition of health which shortly ensued. The marriage of *Charles* King of *Spaine*, with *Mary*, daughter to *Henry*, stirr'd up some jealousies in *Ferdinand*: for though He was the first that had mention'd it, yet his Sonne in Law being Dead, and *Charles* being come to the Crowne, he feared he should meet with Two Competitours in the Government; with *Maximilian* as Grand-father, and *Henry* as Father in Law; which though neither of them dreamt of, yet did He feare it: but This match had no better effect then had the Other; the tender yeares of the young couple, and the alteration of affaires in following times broke it quite off. The expectation hereof, nevertheless, made *Henry* live contented the little while he lived: for having married One of his daughters to the King of *Scotland*, and the Other to the King of *Castile*, Duke of *Burgundy*, he thought himselfe more safe, then if his Kingdome had beene compassed about with a wall of Brasse. He, the mean while, began to draw towards his End: the Gout, a disease more Troublesome then Mortall, was the Fore-runner of a Distillation, which falling upon his Lungs brought him into a kind of Consumption, which perceiving he began to give himselfe totally to Pious Workes.

1507 He set all Prisoners at Liberty, who were in for Debt of not above Forty shillings, hee himselfe paying the Creditours: he gave Almes in greater measure then he had done formerly: but though hee felt great Remorse at the daily complaints made against *Empson* and *Dudley*, for their Oppressions; yet did hee not seeke to Remedy them. His Conscience and his Covetousnesse

wrought

wrought contrary effects in him: many for very ſlight cauſes were troubled in their Eſtates and in their Lives: one died in Priſon, before his cauſe was heard; another, being impriſoned for denying to pay what Contrary to the Lawes he was adjudged at, was not let out till *Henry* the eighths time; and then *Empſon* was put in his place.

To make good the uſuall cuſtome of promiſing obedience to New Popes, he ſent Sir *Gilbert Talbot* with two other Embaſſadours to Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, which he had not formerly done, though he were created in *November* 1503. They preſt much for the Canonization of *Henry* the ſixth; but could not obtaine it for the reaſon formerly given, in the life of *Edward* the fourth. Being diſmiſt by the Pope, they carried the Garter, and Robes of that Order to *Guido Vbaldo*, Duke of *Vrbin*, whoſe Father, *Frederick*, had likewiſe had it. This Prince ſent into *England* to be inſtalled for him, according to the Inſtitutions of that Order, the Count *Balthaſar Caſtillion*, he to whom the nobleſt Courtiers owe ſo much. 1508

The finiſhing of the Hoſpitall in the *Savoy*, was one of the laſt of *Henries* actions: he would not alter the name of it, this fabrick having beene, in former times, the habitation of *Peter* of *Savoy*, Unckle to *Eleanor*, the Wife of *Henry* the third; by whom *Peter* of *Savoy* was created Earle of *Richmond*: but he reſigned the Earledome, when *Savoy* fell, by inheritance to him. The Lancaſtrians lived in this houſe, and King *Henry* converted it into an Hoſpitall. Beſides this, he built three Monaſteries for the Conventuall Friers of Saint *Francis* order, and three for the Obſervantines of the ſame order in divers places. When he knew he hee muſt die he diſpoſed himſelfe thereunto. Hee had lived almoſt all his time in Troubles; but always with proſperous and happy ſucceſſe: he found the Kingdome involved in Civil wars, he left it in a ſetled Peace: his ſubjects, who were impoveriſht by the paſt diſorders, were (notwitſtanding his Taxations) by reaſon of his good Government, become Rich: he did not only free the Crowne out of Debt, but left it rich in Treaſure; his ſonne found in *Richmond* houſe, a Million, and eight Hundred Thouſand ponnd ſterling; ſo as he was thought the richeſt Prince in Europe. He granted out a Generall Pardon; and ordered by his Laſt Will and Teſtament, that all ſuch monies ſhould bee Repay'd as had unjuſtly beene levied by his Officers.

He died at *Richmond*, the twenty ſecond day of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1509 and was buried, by his wife, in the ſumptuous and ſtately Chapell built by Himſelfe, in the Abbey Church at *Weſtminſter*. He lived two and Fifty years, and Reigned three and Twenty Years, and Eight moneths. The Children which he left behind him, were *Henry* the Eighth his Heir and ſucceſſor in the Crown; *Margaret*, Queen of *Scotland*, from whom the Kings of Great *Britaine* doe deſcend, and the Prince and Princeſſes of the Electorall houſe *Palatine*; and *Mary* married to *Lewis* the 1509

the twelfth, King of *France*; by whom having no issue, she, after his death, married *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke*, by whom she had *Henry* Earle of *Lincolne*, and two Daughters, *Frances* and *Eleanor*. The Earle dyed without issue in his Fathers life-time: *Frances* was married to *Henry Gray* Duke of *Suffolk*, and by him had the Lady *Iane Gray*; who being married to *Guilford Dudley*, sonne to the Duke of *Northumberland*, and constrained to call her selfe Queene, was beheaded in Queene *Maries* time: she had by him moreover two Other daughters, *Katharine*, and *Mary*; who dyed without issue. *Eleanor* was married to *Henry Clifford*, Earle of *Cumberland*, by whom she had a daughter, named *Margaret*; who was married to *Henry Stanley*, Earle of *Darby*, and had by him two sons; *Ferdinando* and *William*: both of them, in succession one of the other, Earles of *Darby*. Earle *William* dyed this present yeare 1642. leaving his sonne *Iames* behind him, to inherit his Honours and his Estate.

The End of the Second and Last volume of the Civil Wars of England, *betweene the two Houses of* Yorke *and* Lancaster.

FINIS